EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

OCT 6 1966

Mr. Floyd McKissick
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Floyd:

Enclosed please find a confidential memorandum that spells out some of the significant accomplishments of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission that may be of interest to you. I would appreciate an opportunity to discuss any of these matters with you in full at anytime convenient to you.

In order that you may have information about the Commission's operation that is not available through normal releases, I will send you similar memoranda periodically.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel C. Jackson
Commissioner

Enclosure

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Enclosure

September 9, 1966

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM

As you know, Section 709 (e) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 places general restrictions on the type and amount of information that may be included in reports of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's activities. Limitations imposed by the disclosure clause tend to carry over and to affect the freedom with which we might tell the story even in those areas where we need not be hampered by such circumscriptions.

This memorandum is designed to transmit to some of those in vital leadershippositions information not otherwise available, or information which may not become generally known until a later date. When the Commission is able to report on progress made, it will be important to recognize that this progress is the result of many months of effort by all of the Commissioners and a dedicated staff. I need not remind you, who have labored so long for equal rights, that in the face of an intransigence that has taken years to reach the intensity we encounter today in the denial of equal opportunity to Negroes and other minorities in America, all employment discrimination could not be terminated immediately.

The Commission has received approximately 10,000 cases and has investigated approximately two-thirds of those of which we have jurisdiction. Each investigation and its spin-off effects has resulted in improved job opportunities for Negroes and other minority groups.

I know that you were equally disturbed over the tragic statistical story concerning the August, 1966 increase in unemployment rates for Negroes and lesser skilled workers, released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Commissioner Ross stated at that time, "We have been avoiding stressing this trend up to now, waiting to see whether it was mere month-to-month variation or something more serious. Unfortunately, it seems to be the latter." He also is reported to have said he was unable to explain the increase in the non-white rate in view of the rapidly expanding economy.

It seems clear that the rapidly expanding economy itself--as well as increasing enforcement of civil rights legislation and a generally more hopeful response to these efforts--has contributed in a marked degree to the phenomenon referred to as "rising expectations." More non-whites are in the labor market than before, inspired by the news of record high employment and higher income.

While Negro unemployment has long hovered around a rate twice that for white unemployment, it now has reached two and one-half times the rate for whites.

* * * *

COMMISSION STAFFING

The fact is that this Government agency is, in several important respects, completely different from anything seen before--for several important reasons. To begin with, the Commission's staffing pattern is unlike any other in the history of Federal agencies and departments. Minority group personnel hold a significant number of the higher-grade jobs (over 40 per cent). Specifically, Negroes hold the following key spots in the agency:

1. General Counsel - Charles Duncan
2. Deputy Executive Director - Walter Davis
3. Acting Director of Compliance - Kenneth Holbert
4. Chief of Analysis & Advice (determines jurisdiction and develops pattern attacks on discrimination) - Calvin Banks
5. Chief of Research - Dr. Phyllis Wallace
6. Management Analyst - Denette Harrod
7. Acting Special Assistant for Program Development - Timothy Jenkins.

In ten Regional Offices, six Directors are members of minority groups (four Negro, one Mexican-American, and one Puerto Rican). Don Hollowell was the first Negro Director appointed to head a southern regional office among all Government enforcement agencies. Other Negroes serving as Regional Directors are: Chester Gray, Cleveland; Elmer McClain, Chicago; Lorenzo Traylor, Los Angeles; Manuel Diaz (Puerto Rican) New York; and Tom Robles, Albuquerque. More than 40 per cent of <u>all</u> Commission employees are Negro.

* * * *

INVESTIGATIONS

Practicing attorneys who have long been involved in civil rights will agree that a serious problem has been the lack of training or the faulty approach to training of investigators who fail to grasp the subtleties in discriminatory practices. Even those of good will may exhibit a total absence of the ability for intuitive reactions to unlawful patterns and practices.

Foreseeing this kind ofdanger in the training and orientation of the Commission's own investigators, it was possible to obtain the services of Calvin Banks and to have him designated as Training Officer. The influence he has been able to exert has helped to make a great deal of difference in the style our Investigators have developed.

The Commission has accomplished a successful reversal of some of the traditional attitudes toward the task of investigating charges. In the past, you will recall, it seemed that agencies spent as much time investigating charging parties as it spent on the charges, and frequently it appeared that investigators tried consciously to prove that the respondent was making considerable progress in its hiring policy and thus did not discriminate against the charging party. Often, little time was given to developing facts of whether or not the charge itself was true. From the outset, Commission investigators have been trained to seek evidence concerning the discrimination complained of--to learn if it is true or not true--and, if the evidence indicates that it is true, <u>then</u> to proceed to develop information that will determine the existence of patterns of such behavior designed to disadvantage not only persons who bring charges, but also others similarly situated .

This approach has distinguished Commission investigations from those carried out, for example, by the state agencies--often the targets of criticism from civil rights groups for making cause findings only in about 25 per cent of their cases. The average for the Commission is around 65 per cent, and this difference is directly attributable to the approaches used.

* * * *

SIMPLIFIED PROCEDURES

Another major accomplishment (and one which will never be heralded) is the adoption of simplified procedures which assure that processing of charges allows more latitude and flexibility than a set of complex, rigid rules which dictate quick rejection for technical reasons. Despite a multitude of delays in staffing, funding, and the thousand-and-one procedural and authorization delays, this principle has been kept firmly in mind--with the result that a charging party is assured of his opportunity to be heard.

Many of you have had experiences involving investigations by Federal agencies and other governmental units, when the person bringing the charge was never actually contacted, and when organizations or individuals representing the charging party were never given a chance to be heard. Our investigation must commence with the charging party (or his representative), and the investigation must end with a close-out interview when the charging party will be told what evidence the respondent has given and will have the chance to refute this or to clarify any uncertain matters. If anyone has knowledge that this is not being done, it should be called to our attention. Corroboration of our procedures can be had from those who were close to the Commission's Task Force investigations in the state of North Carolina early this year.

* * * *

CREATIVE LEGAL ATTACK

An imaginative and committed General Counsel, well-grounded in the use of the 14th Amendment and in all legislation affecting civil rights, is absolutely necessary to an agency such as the Commission. Implementation of the law cannot proceed easily without sound and creative interpretation. It is crucial that the statute be interpreted so as to permit the agency to accomplish the tasks it faces. Least of all do we need negative interpretations which are arrived at from the standpoint of establishing what we may not do.

A wide variety of legal opinions has been recorded by the Commission's General Counsel, touching upon many aspects of Title VII. Avoiding the narrow view, many of these have made it possible to establish Commission jurisdiction and to provide operational freedom in the investigative process.

Typical are:

* "Title VII applies as of July 2, 1965, to a labor contract in existence at that time." (GC Opinion 304-65)

* "...in the light of the history and structure of Title VII, it is our view that the...union as collecting bargaining representative, has 'a direct and substantial personal interest' in eliminating racial discrimination against employees in its bargaining unit..." (GC Opinion, May, 1966)

* "...Technical deficiencies in the charge do not affect its filing date; such deficiencies can be corrected by amendment during the investigative period..." (GC Opinion, 11-10-65)

* "A Commissioner's charge may be based on information as to company practice, or on a company admission, which indicates 'reasonable cause' to believe the Act has been violated, where such information or admission comes to the attention of the Commission through the investigation of a charge filed by an 'aggrieved party' even though the allegations of that particular charge are not substantiated." (GC Opinion, 8-26-65)

* "Where notaries public are not available, or a notary fee may be excessive for a particular complainant, the complainant may submit an unnotarized charge and the Commission investigators will cause it to be notarized during the initial stage of the investigation." (GC Opinion 111-65)

* "An employer's requirement that a photograph accompany an application for employment does not constitute a per se violation of Title VII. The fact that photographs are required may, however, constitute evidence of discrimination and will be considered by the Commission in determining whether Title VII has been violated." /emphasis added/ (GC Opinion 193-65)

* * * *

RECTIFYING DISCRIMINATION

That the Commission has been able to rectify discriminatory practices in many instances is another solid accomplishment, for despite unsatisfactory statutory authority for doing so, creative use of the authority we do have has resulted in solid remedies. Through a variety of procedures, the Commission has established precedents for ending such practices which will be applied increasingly more often throughout industry and labor within the next year.

Again, because of restrictions and prohibitions on the amount and type of publicity the Commission may issue, these changes will take place in a "silent revolution" in employment. Only when parties agree to permit publicity about agreements may we seek to realize the full benefits of getting out the story through appropriate media. Suchwas the case with the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, party to an historic agreement with the Commission, which provides (among other things) for correction of differential wage rates based on race, discriminatory promotion policies and job classification, segregated facilities, etc.

Notable achievements in settlements with employers cover a wide range and should be called to your attention. Among these are:

* The principle for disregarding departmental seniority systems and switching to plantwide seniority to allow Negroes to transfer into previously all-white departments, for purposes of advancement. (Kaiser Aluminum, Baton Rouge)

* Affirmative action clauses (incorporated into numerous agreements resulting from individual charges) which provide for continuing efforts not required by Title VII to "bring about the employment of Negro and other minority group members" through referrals from civil rights organizations and active recruitment among minority groups.

* Cash settlements paid to a number of charging parties (or donated to charities of their choice), representing lost wages or back pay, whether or not the party intends to accept an offer of employment tendered as a result of the charge to the Commission. In one such instance a charging party received $400.

* Institution of on-the-job training programs for employees who have previously been denied the opportunity to qualify for upgraded jobs, either under the auspices of the employer alone or through Federal MDTA funds; in the latter case, securing the MDTA funds is facilitated by the presence of a full-time manpower developer, detailed from the Department of Labor's Manpower Administration. This was made possible because of the employer's desire to avoid future charges.

* In a large number of instances, extensive renovation designed to eliminate facilities previously segregated by rule or by usage. Some of these involve radical changes and expenditures of thousands of dollars.

* * * *

STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICES

With regard to settlements reached with private employment agencies and state employment services, there have been again a wide variety of agreements. Several private employment agencies have paid cash settlements to the charging parties for whom a finding of cause is made. State employment services--particularly in the southern states--have been required to agree to sweeping corrective measures for some especially blatant violations.

* In one, the employment service agreed to "direct all of its personnel assigned to local offices to exercise a liberal construction" of a section related to testing. "If an applicant...makes a claim that his aptitude has been affected by education or experience," retesting--previously forbidden--will be permitted.

* Another instance dealt with the employment service's discriminatory treatment of a trainee under the MDTA program administered by the state, in that Negro trainees were not referred for employment opportunities despite their higher class ranking. When they did receive job offers, they were for lower-paying jobs. The agreement provided for non-discriminatory placement and assistance in finding training-related jobs which most fully utilize their skills, experience

and training, at income levels comparable to those for white persons placed. Other aspects of the agreement dealt with in great detail were the employment service's response to discriminatory requests for referrals, providing information and counseling to minority group applicants and trainees, liberalized testing policies, selection of persons eligible for referral to apprenticeable trades, and several other matters.

* * * *

LABOR UNION DISCRIMINATION

Labor unions have come in for a great deal of attention, most often because of charges brought jointly against employers and unions, but also against unions alone. Nearly one year ago, the Commission ruled that "racially segregated local unions, bargaining units, lines of promotion, etc., constitute per se violations of Title VII." The statement of guidelines on this subject "interprets Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to prohibit such practices." In addition to the individual charges received, the Commissioner's charge is being used in a strategic manner to deal with the problems presented by unions. As a result, numerous agreements are being rewritten, to eliminate provisions that have barred Negro workers from transfer, promotion, etc. Often this is in the face of a great deal of Klan activity in southern locals.

* One large international craft union has agreed to enlarge its bargaining unit to include Negro workers traditionally excluded--the housekeeping and janitorial workers--with the effect that it is now possible for hundreds of Negroes to bid on better jobs, to enjoy the benefits afforded by union membership, etc.

* * * *

ACTS OF REPRISAL

In the past, many persons who had the courage to bring charges of unfair treatment into the light were subjected to reprisals for daring to speak out. Those not discharged outright were denied promotion, demoted, or in some fashion were further disadvantaged. Even those who served as witnesses suffered such punishment. This often made it difficult or impossible to secure charges or to persuade people to serve as witnesses. As might be expected,

the Commission, too, has encountered this kind of behavior from respondents--and it has been able to secure relief in most instances learned about.

* One charging party became the victim of a trumped-up theft charge even before a decision had been rendered on our investigation. The prompt filing of a new charge under Section 704 (a) resulted in a new investigation which enabled us to develop even more information pertinent to the original charge. The company was found in violation of Section 704 (a) in a decision which may become a landmark for its thorough coverage of some other classic issues and direction for elimination of: totally segregated facilities; discriminatory wage differentials based on race; segregated job classifications; and discriminatory leave policies--in addition to the reprisal violation.

* Upon receiving notice of a finding of reasonable cause, one respondent summarily dismissed three employees on the grounds that they were "dissatisfied" with their jobs, and "this was considered detrimental to... efficiency." Prompt charges under Section 704 (a) resulted in reinstatement within a few days.

* * * *

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Though it is too early to predict the outcome, the Commission has high hopes for projects designed to attack discrimination on a wholesale basis such as the Southwest Connecticut affirmative action program being carried out by the Office of Technical Assistance. Preceded by thorough investigation of minority grouppopulation and plans for business expansion and job needs, contacts in a concentrated area have been made with major employers, in an effort to mobilize all available resources in a concerted attack on job discrimination and to seek voluntary affirmative action. Emphasis is placed on the benefits to business and the community through the utilization of all available manpower resources.

This kind of program, together with follow-up work with respondents and charging parties, promises to gain much ground for the Commission in reaching its goals.

* * * *

PUBLIC HEARINGS

Although only a few public and closed hearings have been held so far, the Commission plans a vital series of hearings over the next few months--in various locations around the country--which will be aimed directly at industries that need attention. Much preliminary work has gone into the hearings; contacts will be initiated with individuals and organizations, with the intent to seek advice on targets and emphases, to arrange for expert testimony and witnesses, etc. Among the industries to bespotlighted are: the textiles industry (North & South Carolina, November, 1966); the trucking industry; the construction industry; agriculture-allied businesses; the transportation industry; and the services industries (New York, January, 1967--including white-collar services in legal firms, banks, advertising, insurance, etc.).

Hearings to date have covered the following subjects: reporting requirements (necessary for Bureau of Budget approval); airlines' request for a bona fide occupational qualification ruling; seniority (separate sessions for labor, civil rights organizations, and management); and state protective laws for women.

* * * *

COMMISSION INITIATIVE

Earlier references have been made to Commissioner's charges and referrals to the Attorney General. These come under the heading, "Commission Initiative," and are a matter of prime concern. One of the major criticisms of state agency functioning in the past has been that they merely sit and await charges. From the beginning, this has not been the Commission's approach. Under Sections 706 and 707, members of the Commission may take the initiative in the elimination of unlawful employment practices. Much of this activity is underway, and we anticipate a step-up. More than 145 charges have been filed by individual Commissioners; eleven cases have been referred to the Attorney General and are awaiting decision by him for filing of suits.

* * *

CONCLUSION

The Commission has had its failures in conciliation--almost all attributable to the lack of authority contained in the statute. The agency must rely on the Attorney General to take respondents into the courts to enforce its law, and of course, the Commission has no cease and desist order authority. It has operated with an inadequate budget--one arrived at before the Commissioners were appointed and before anyone could know the agency would be so deluged with charges, amounting to four and one-half times the number upon which the budget was based.

The disclosure clause, you can better appreciate, prevents potentially beneficial discussion and airing of gains and accomplishments. Despite all this, the Commission <u>has</u> had a remarkable number of successes and you should know about this.

# # #

Job Prospects Bright for All Except Negroes

Rate of Unemployment Drops to 3.8% but Figure for Nonwhites Stands at High 7.8%

WASHINGTON (AP)—The nation's job picture remained bright for most Americans except Negroes last month and the unemployment rate dipped to 3.8%, the Labor Department said Monday.

Commissioner Arthur M. Ross of the Bureau of Labor Statistics said the prospect is good the rest of this year for continued high employment and a low jobless rate, except for Negroes and unskilled workers.

Total nonfarm payroll employment rose 400,000 to 64.9 million, a record for September. And factory workers average wages went up 4 cents to a record high of $2.74 an hour.

Negro Prospects Dim

The bureau said the total number of unemployed dropped by 350,000 to 2.6 million in September, bringing the jobless rate down from 3.9% in August.

The bureau reported "continuing demand for qualified and experienced workers," and "substantial job gains" for women who were returning to the labor force in large numbers to fill the demand for skilled and experienced workers.

But the report noted a continued poor job situation for Negroes. It said Negroes are not getting a proportionate share of expanding professional and white-collar jobs.

The unemployment rate for nonwhites—mostly Negroes — dipped from 8.2% to 7.8% but was still more than double the white jobless rate of 3.3%.

Teen-Age Factor

Ross said, however, there was no evidence that white workers were taking existing jobs away from Negroes.

Total U.S. employment dropped from 76.3 million to 74.2 million, about the usual decline for September. And the total civilian labor force decreased 79.2 million to 76.8 million, also in line with seasonal expectations.

Ross said that because of the larger than expected

Program Dept.

Unemployment

418-B East Main Street
Port Hueneme, Calif.
October 12, 1966

→ CORE

~~SNCC~~

Gentlemen:

Unemployment among negroes is more than double the white jobless rate and yet the Federal Reserve Board and the President recently took steps to slow down an "overheated" economy.*

That means that there never has been and never will be an escape from unemployment for a percentage of whites or blacks. Such actions are unconstitutional ! They do not "promote the common welfare" or result in "equality and justice for all".

Black Power - that's bad ?

White Power - capable of producing unemployment for millions - that's good ?

Wm Stone

William Stone

*probable alibi:

"We must attempt to have price stability in free markets, even if unemployment exists and increases."

Information
news letter
Advisory Council on Plans for Progress

Number 38 October 1966

Vice President Humphrey Praises Accomplishments of PFP Council

Major Campaign To Organize Local Councils Continues

There are now 38 local merit employers councils in cities across the nation. Many of these Councils have been formed with the assistance and guidance of Plans for Progress and are now working to extend the basic objectives of the national program.

The formation of such councils was identified by Charles E. Spahr, chairman of the Advisory Council, in his major speech at the Fourth National Conference in January, as one of the top objectives of Plans for Progress during 1966.

Responding to this call, the Community Relations Committee, headed by Eugene F. Rowan of J. C. Penney Company, has concentrated its efforts on helping businessmen in various cities form such groups to work toward removing barriers to equal employment and helping generate training opportunities that better equip minority citizens for jobs now available in industry.

Nearly half of the councils have been formed since Chairman Spahr's speech.

Recently, Chairman Rowan said in a speech to the U. S. Conference of Mayors meeting in Dallas:

". . . The potential results of such voluntary employer councils are recognized by everyone who is involved with the national Plans for Progress program. These councils are concerned basically with improving em-

(*Continued on Page 4*)

CITING Plans for Progress programs in employment, training and motivation, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey recalls the major contributions made by the organization. Others shown are Hobart Taylor, ex-officio member and director of the Export-Import Bank; E. G. Mattison, Administrative Director; Norman E. Nicholson, Kaiser Industries; Donald W. Thomas, Western Electric; T. C. Allen, IT&T, and H. G. Crook, Westinghouse Electric Corporation.

Three Local Employers Councils Recruiting In Troubled Areas

Local merit employers councils in Chicago, Los Angeles, and Cleveland have launched campaigns which strike at one of the basic causes of the recent civil disturbances—namely, unemployment.

Los Angeles Merit Council Tackles Watts Problem

In a recent issue of *The Wall Street Journal,* the Management Council for Merit Employment Training and Research for Los Angeles was praised for its success in finding jobs for the unemployed who comprise an estimated 25% of Watts male adults. This highly respected newspaper said " . . . less than one month after the riots, the

(*Continued on Page 3*)

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey met with the Plans for Progress Advisory Council August 18 to mark the group's third anniversary as an organization.

The Vice President reviewed the leadership programs of the Council —especially those concerned with training and with youth motivation —and labeled them "highly essential during this period of social change."

Noting that many of the programs were being picked up and extended by local groups, the Vice President asked the Council and the individual companies to look for new approaches to the problems with which they are concerned and also asked that they re-assess their positions and pick up the pace of their activities.

During the meeting, five new Council members were appointed to

(*Continued on Page 2*)

Southern Regional Conference Planned for New Orleans Nov. 10 & 11

The New Orleans Voluntary Employers' Council has announced plans for a two-day Plans for Progress Regional Conference to be held at the Monteleone Hotel on November 10 and 11, 1966. According to a recent announcement by its president, J. J. Reetz of Boeing Company, all Plans for Progress companies with major locations in that region as well as non-member companies will be invited to participate.

The seminar will have two major phases. The first day will be devoted to defining and highlighting the continuing need for strong business and industry support for voluntary Plans for Progress programs designed to implement training and motivation efforts for minority citizens who are unable to qualify for the existing jobs. Also, the vital role of local councils will be highlighted as well as suggestions on how to organize them.

An unusual aspect of the conference will be an informal "cracker barrel" session which is being planned for evening of November 10.

Manpower Development Seminar

The second day of the conference will be devoted to Manpower Development. This program will closely follow the content of the seminars now being held in other cities. Here, presentations are made by representatives of Labor, HEW, and OEO to acquaint the employers with the available programs and financial resources. The major effort will be to support local industry and business in locating, motivating and training persons from the hard core unemployed group to qualify as job applicants for present vacancies. There will be discussions on successful techniques in escalating skills of those currently employed.

Invitations will be extended to all employers in the Southeastern Region plus Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri. Ragan DeFreese has been named general chairman of the two-day conference.

Four PFP Companies One Merit Council Honored by NTA

A National Technical Association award recognizing outstanding leadership in employment practices has been presented to four Plans for Progress companies and the Chicago Merit Employment Committee.

Companies receiving the award were Standard Oil Company of Ohio, International Telephone and Telegraph, International Business Machines, and General Electric. This is the first occasion that this award has been presented to members of industry. The 1966 awards reflect outstanding performance by the industry recipient in two areas—leadership in employment practices and excellence in scientific achievement.

The NTA was started by a group of Negroes who obtained jobs with major companies several years ago. They set out to acquaint others with the opportunities that were available. Now that the companies have taken over this task, the NTA members are concentrating their efforts on stimulating young people to prepare for technical and scientific careers.

Humphrey Cites PFP Achievements

(*Continued from Page 1*)

fill the positions of members retiring in August, 1966. They are: Charles H. Fletcher, Vice President-Administration, Mellon National Bank & Trust Company; Fred Huleen, Director of Personnel, The Boeing Company; Harold E. Lane, Vice President-Personnel & Labor Relations, Sheraton Corporation of America; Alexander Smalley, Vice President, St. Regis Paper Company; and G. H. Scott, Director, Corporate Industrial Relations, Ling-Temco-Vought, Inc.

The terms of T. C. Allen of IT&T and H. W. Seinwerth of Swift & Company, which were to expire in August, 1966, have been extended for an additional year.

C. W. Butler and Hal F. Nabors have new corporate assignments and are being replaced by George Collins, Director of Manpower, Genesco, Inc., and A. B. Slaybaugh, General Manager, Personnel, Continental Oil Company, respectively.

Taylor Says PFP Participants Are Force for Stability

Businessmen participating in the Plans for Progress program and similar efforts are one of the main forces for sanity and stability in the present highly disturbed situation, Hobart Taylor, Jr., recently told a Detroit audience.

He said such businessmen, by demonstrating that there truly are many opportunities in their plants and offices, have helped many thousands of minority citizens to have confidence in the American free enterprise system.

"I would not like to consider where we would be today if the men who operate the Plans for Progress companies, and like-minded businessmen across the country, had not started to work on this problem of proper manpower utilization when they did several years ago," Mr. Taylor said.

Mr. Taylor, former Associate Counsel to President Johnson and former Executive Vice Chairman of the old President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, under which the Plans for Progress program was developed, is now a director of the Export-Import Bank. He still works directly with Plans for Progress and is a special advisor to Vice President Humphrey.

He told his audience of businessmen in Detroit they still face a large task, adding: "We must draw everyone possible into the work force—even the culturally deprived, who can develop useful and productive capacities if given the chance and the guidance necessary."

Three Local Employers Councils Recruiting In Troubled Areas

(*Continued from Page 1*)

group contacted top officials of some 100 aerospace and industrial corporations in the area to interest them in hiring Watts Negroes. Working closely with a state job placement center in Watts, the council used personal contact, follow-up letters, and phone calls. The response was immediate: By December, over 2,000 Negroes had been placed in training programs and by March the total had reached 4,900. The council recently launched a research project with the University of Southern California to determine how the trainees are doing in their new jobs."

Chicago Employers Sponsor "Operation Lite"

In Chicago, the 1100-member Merit Employment Committee conducted an intensive six-week informational campaign to inform minority leaders about available employment and training opportunities as well as welfare assistance programs in Chicago which relate to employability.

The program is dubbed "Operation Lite" (Leaders' Information on Training and Employment). Under it, some 120 Chicago volunteers from industry, public and private agencies and churches have formed 60 interracial teams. In addition, 40 clergymen were trained and called on other members of the clergy and on church groups throughout the city. All are showing community leaders how they can help others take advantage of job and job training opportunities in Chicago.

Four thousand Operation Lite kits have been distributed, containing:

1. A booklet explaining how to help someone find a job, or enroll in a training program, or a social agency that could provide immediate assistance.
2. A directory of agencies providing job training, referral, and placement services.
3. A directory of merit employers, listing each company's name, address, personnel contact, and telephone number.
4. A Chicago transit system map.
5. A "Lite" referral pad to be used to introduce the job seeker to the specific agency or corporation.

The campaign was conducted from June 20 to July 29. More than 800 personal calls were made.

Cleveland Companies Set Up Hough Area Recruiting Center

In Cleveland, the Greater Cleveland Plans for Progress Council established a Hough Area Employer Job Center at the Addison Junior High School to register individuals who lost their jobs as a result of the Hough area rioting. This action stemmed from a series of meetings held by leaders of civic, church, and grass roots organizations to identify the most pressing problems of the Hough area.

Of the many problems identified by the community leaders, most had to be handled by the city. However, one specific action, providing employment, fell within the area of Plans for Progress Council. Immediately responding to the problem, a job center was established in the Hough area and the member companies began a search for jobs for those who had been made jobless by the rioting.

C. B. Conner, D. S. Nye Join Plans for Progress Staff

C. B. CONNER
Pepsi Cola Co.

D. S. NYE
Mobil Oil Co.

Two of the latest executives loaned to the Washington staff of Plans for Progress by member companies are David S. Nye, an Employee Relations Advisor from the Mobil Oil Company, and Chris B. Conner, Manager, Special Markets, Public Relations Department, the Pepsi-Cola Company (now Pepsico).

Dave is a graduate of Cornell University, receiving his Bachelor of Science in Industrial & Labor Relations. He has been with Mobil Oil since March, 1958, serving as senior job analyst, staff assistant, and employee relations advisor. His primary assignment will be the management of the Manpower Development Seminars. He replaces Steve Mahon, who has returned to Westinghouse Electric in Baltimore as director of equal employment opportunity.

Chris attended Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, majoring in political science, and thereafter attended the Wharton School of Business at the University of Pennsylvania. He joined Pepsi-Cola in 1962 as associate manager of special markets. His primary responsibility will be the coordination of the Vice President's Task Force on Youth Motivation. He replaces Ted Curtis, who is now special assistant to the General Counsel of Eastman-Kodak.

Job Seekers With Police Record May Get Closer Look from Employers

The reluctance of employers to hire applicants with police records is receiving increasing attention on both a local and a national level.

For example, in the Los Angeles area, with its high concentration of aero-space and defense industries, many people believe employers generally tend to disqualify such applicants too automatically.

Recently, the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations appointed a sub-committee to study the problem and recommend guidelines for employers. Included on the sub-committee were two officials from Plans for Progress companies who have studied the problem at length—Karl R. Kunze, Training Manager, Lockheed-California Company, who was a co-chairman, and Dwight Zook, Corporate Director, Personnel Services, North American Aviation, Inc. The sub-committee recommended that employers consider the following:

1. A differentiation should be made between arrest and conviction.
2. What were the frequency and severity of the violations?
3. How old was the applicant when the act was committed?
4. How long ago did the last arrest occur?
5. The whole man should be considered—his aptitudes, abilities, interests, and education—as well as one negative aspect of his personal history.
6. The employability of people with police records would vary according to the nature of the work.

The problem has attracted Vice President Humphrey's attention—especially in the area of Federal contracting—he stated recently that discussions are being held "to see that security requirements are not being misinterpreted so that a person with a minor police record is barred from employment.

MAJOR DRIVE TO FORM COUNCILS

(Continued from Page 1)

ployment prospects, eliminating discrimination, and communicating with minority groups in that community. Voluntary employer councils can provide member firms with a business and industry-wide identification and association with other firms. It can serve as a means of communicating policies of equal employment opportunity to member companies and to the entire community. It is a body to promote community programs and action. A voluntary employer council can also act as a group to establish contact and work with the local municipal bodies such as a human relations or community relations commission. In summary, a voluntary employer council may serve as a group that can foster free exchange of information concerning equal employment opportunity, employment of minorities, and problems involved in training, upgrading, and promotion. And *it can tailor its programs to the needs of its own community.*

"Plans for Progress has been successful. We have many programs and projects on a continuing basis, some of which have grown to such magnitude and importance that it is difficult for the individuals and companies represented on the Advisory Council and the staff in Washington to initiate and coordinate them in the most effective and efficient manner. Employer groups functioning in their respective communities like a miniature Plans for Progress program can do much to bring these programs to the grass roots."

774 Guidance Counsellors Trained

A total of 774 guidance counselors attended the 19 Vocational Guidance Institutes held in the following cities:

University of New Mexico, Albuquerque; Georgia State, Atlanta; Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore; Chicago Teacher's College, Chicago; Western Reserve, Cleveland; Southern Methodist University, Dallas; Texas Southern, Houston; U.C.L.A., Los Angeles; Pittsburgh University, Pittsburgh; Lewis & Clark, Portland; Cincinnati School Board, Cincinnati; University of Colorado, Denver; Wayne State University, Detroit; New Orleans School Board, New Orleans; University of Richmond, Richmond; University of San Francisco, San Francisco - Oakland; University of North Carolina, Winston-Salem.

The institutes varied from one to three weeks in length, and were designed to acquaint high school counselors and administrators with a current and comprehensive picture of the rapidly changing job market.

To evaluate the 1966 program and suggest ways the seminars can be made more effective, Plans for Progress has retained Dr. Theodore Volsky of the University of Colorado. Dr. Volsky is very interested in the approach expressed in the institutes.

Task Force Work Expanded—Includes High Schools

The programs of the Vice President's Task Force on Youth Motivation will be extended to junior and senior high schools in 17 major cities this fall.

A member of the Task Force and a senior representative of a local PFP company are now at work with school superintendents in the chosen cities to work out the program.

Task Force members—all "living witnesses" to a company's equal opportunity programs—will conduct the programs in the schools. It is hoped that they will reach most minority students in the selected cities.

The high school program also will utilize a film to reinforce the message of the Task Force member about the importance of training and motivation. There also will be informal discussions with students in their classrooms.

Where they exist, local merit employers councils are playing a key role in this phase of the Task Force program.

Chicago Merit Employers Support "JOBS Now"

Seven Manpower Seminars Completed Program Continues

One-day seminars designed to give businessmen an opportunity to learn how they can benefit from Federal manpower development and training programs have now been conducted by Plans for Progress in seven cities.

Nearly 2,000 businessmen attended the meetings in Chicago, Milwaukee, Cleveland, San Diego, Los Angeles, Cincinnati and Detroit to hear representatives from the Department of Labor, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Reports from the agencies and from the groups assisting the national staff in producing the Manpower Development Seminars in the seven cities indicate that the seminars have made many businessmen more receptive to the idea of participating in some way in the manpower programs.

Additional Seminars Listed

Similar programs will be held in the following cities: Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Gary, Houston, Memphis, Miami, New Orleans, New York, Newark, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, San Francisco-Oakland, St. Louis, Toledo, and Washington, D.C.

The seminars were undertaken by Plans for Progress after representatives of more than a score of member companies met in Washington and decided businessmen could benefit from knowledge about the federally assisted manpower programs.

It soon will be possible to see a Comanche, an Apache, a Vicelord, and members of other Chicago street gangs punching a time clock at one of scores of Chicago merit employers, according to plans just announced. This action will be the culmination of an extensive effort by the Chicago Urban League, working with local businessmen, including personnel of a number of Plans for Progress companies, and a variety of local agencies, public and private, to resolve the problem of hard core employment.

Objective—3,000 Jobs

The project, JOBS Now, is intended to find employment for 3,000 hard core young men and women, provide a unified approach to youth employment, and operate a seminar center for personnel involved in recruiting, training, and employing the disadvantaged. It is hoped that this imaginative program will help answer the perplexing question of "why doesn't the hard core group member take advantage of a wide variety of training programs open to him?" A recent study of 217 street groups in Chicago reports the following observations:

"First, (the hard-core street group member) lacks the qualifications for most entry jobs. His probable police record and lack of a high school diploma eliminate him; his low academic ability makes it difficult for him to reveal his true potential through aptitude tests. He has little orientation to the disciplines of a work situation.

"Second, he has little interest in securing a low-pay, dead-end job. He wants work with a decent pay check now and the chance to advance in the future.

"Third, he has a low tolerance for delay. Lengthy employment office interviews, repeated visits, the strain of job applications exhaust his limited fund of patience before a job materializes.

"Fourth, he is leery of training programs. He is loath to risk his hard-won street status by revealing his academic weaknesses and the low level of training allowances does not tempt him."

Urban League Initiates Action

This experimental program was developed in a series of meetings sponsored by the Urban League. Its objectives include opening private employment opportunities to graduates of the Neighborhood Youth Corps and other training programs.

170 PFP Companies

The prospective employers are companies who have cooperated with the Chicago JOBS Project and the Urban League. They include 170 Chicago—area companies who are part of Plans for Progress. It is expected that at least 200 companies, large, middle-sized, and small, will participate. At a series of small meetings, the JOBS Now Advisory Board will explain the supplementary services of the project and each company will be asked to:

1. Waive their usual standards (high school diplomas, no police records, specialized aptitude tests) for experimental purposes.
2. Accept the JOBS Now clients as employees after they have completed an orientation program in the hope that, with special support, a high proportion of these will become productive citizens.

Humble Gives HELP to Stenos

A program has been initiated by Humble Oil & Refining Company in Houston, Texas to help Mexican and Negro applicants qualify for employment as stenographers. HELP is an abbreviation for Humble Earn and Learn Program.

After having passed Humble's employment standards, but found to be lacking in stenographic skills, 15 trainees were enrolled in a 12-week training program for which they were paid for work assignments and time spent in training classes. The company provides all instructional materials and pays all costs of the program. Upon satisfactory completion of the program, graduates who are selected will become regular Humble employees.

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COMMUNITIES

Tulsa

Representatives of 13 of the largest employers in Tulsa, Oklahoma met on July 26 to discuss the formation of a voluntary employers' council. The group formed an organization and gave itself the name TEAM, the Tulsa Employers' Association for Merit Employment. This newest local council will receive materials, information, and suggestions from Plans for Progress concerning both ongoing and future programs.

Newark

A new imaginative program has been launched in the Northern New Jersey area by "The Business and Industrial Coordinating Committee," a partnership between business leaders and Negro leaders. For the first time in Newark history, a regular channel of communication between these groups has been established . . . established by a group possessing no official status, no budget, and no staff, but having the support of a growing number of key people in business and civil rights.

BICC's primary project is to secure employment for minority citizens. Appropriately enough, its corporate membership accounted for 75% of the past year's job placements of the Urban League.

Experience has indicated that it takes more than cooperation and a feeling of good will to resolve the unemployment problem in the minority communities. Large numbers of job applicants were unable to take advantage of the jobs available due to lack of training and education. In an effort to bridge this gap of inadequate education and training, the BICC group has initiated an extensive training program for Newark's hard core unemployed. The major effort will be to prepare the "unemployables" for point of entry jobs in industry as well as to escalate the skills of those who are employed in unskilled jobs.

It is hoped this unique organizational structure will produce many unusual dividends in addition to serving as a recruiting and training center, and serve as a model for other major cities with large percentages of minority people.

EEOC Announces New Insurance Guidelines

The EEOC has announced a new ruling which assures equal insurance benefits to men and women alike.

This ruling was delivered in a recent case in which a female employee of a large corporation complained that women receive less sick pay then men, that women are paid smaller life insurance benefits, and the at death and accident monies were $2500 higher for men than for women.

The decision of the Commission stated that the above policies should be construed as unfair employment practices under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Commission added that insurance plans which offer insurance to male employees and their wives, but do not offer such insurance to the husbands of female employees also constitute unfair employment practice. However, a plan may exclude from coverage the spouse of an employee (male or female) where the family is primarily dependent upon the income of the spouse.

PFP NOW HAS 347 MEMBERS

An ever-increasing number of companies are joining Plans for Progress. Since the last publication of our newsletter, the following companies have worked up individual plans for signing by their chief executive and Vice President Humphrey:

AAI Corporation
(Aircraft Armaments, Inc.)
Cockeysville, Maryland
Alan Wood Steel Company
Conshohocken, Pennsylvania
Pneumo Dynamics Corporation
Cleveland, Ohio
Alford Refrigerated Warehouses, Inc.
Dallas, Texas
Atlantic Richfield Company
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
FMC Corporation
San Jose, California
The Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore, Maryland
American Electric Power Serv. Corp.
New York, New York
Appalachian Power Company
Roanoke, Virginia
Indiana & Michigan Electric Co.
Ft. Wayne, Indiana
Kentucky Power Company
Ashland, Kentucky
Kingsport Power Company
Kingsport, Tennessee
North American Van Lines
Fort Wayne, Indiana
Ohio Power Company
Canton, Ohio
Time, Inc.
New York, New York
Wheeling Electric Company
Wheeling, West Virginia
Borg-Wagner Corporation
Chicago, Illinois
Crocker-Citizens National Bank
San Francisco, California
Douglas United Nuclear, Inc.
Richland, Washington
Colonial Stores, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia
McCormick & Company, Inc.
Baltimore, Maryland

Directory of Local Merit Councils Is Now Available

Accompanying this Newsletter is a current listing of the voluntary employer councils working in the area of equal employment opportunity, as compiled by the Plans for Progress staff. Other copies are available from the editor of the Newsletter. The staff would appreciate knowing of other groups which may be developing spontaneously around the country. It is also hoped that PfP companies will call the attention of their local plants and affiliates to these groups and urge their active cooperation with them. They may be contacted directly.

AFL-CIO

Transmittal Slip

DATE:

TO: Mr. Floyd McKissick

FROM: Nat Goldfinger

☐ Note and File	☐ Prepare Reply For My Signature
☐ Note and Return To Me	☐ Take Appropriate Action
☐ Return With More Details	☐ Per Your Request
☐ Note and See Me About This	☐ Signature
☐ Please Answer	☐ Advice Please
☐ For Your Approval	☐ Attach Complete File and Return

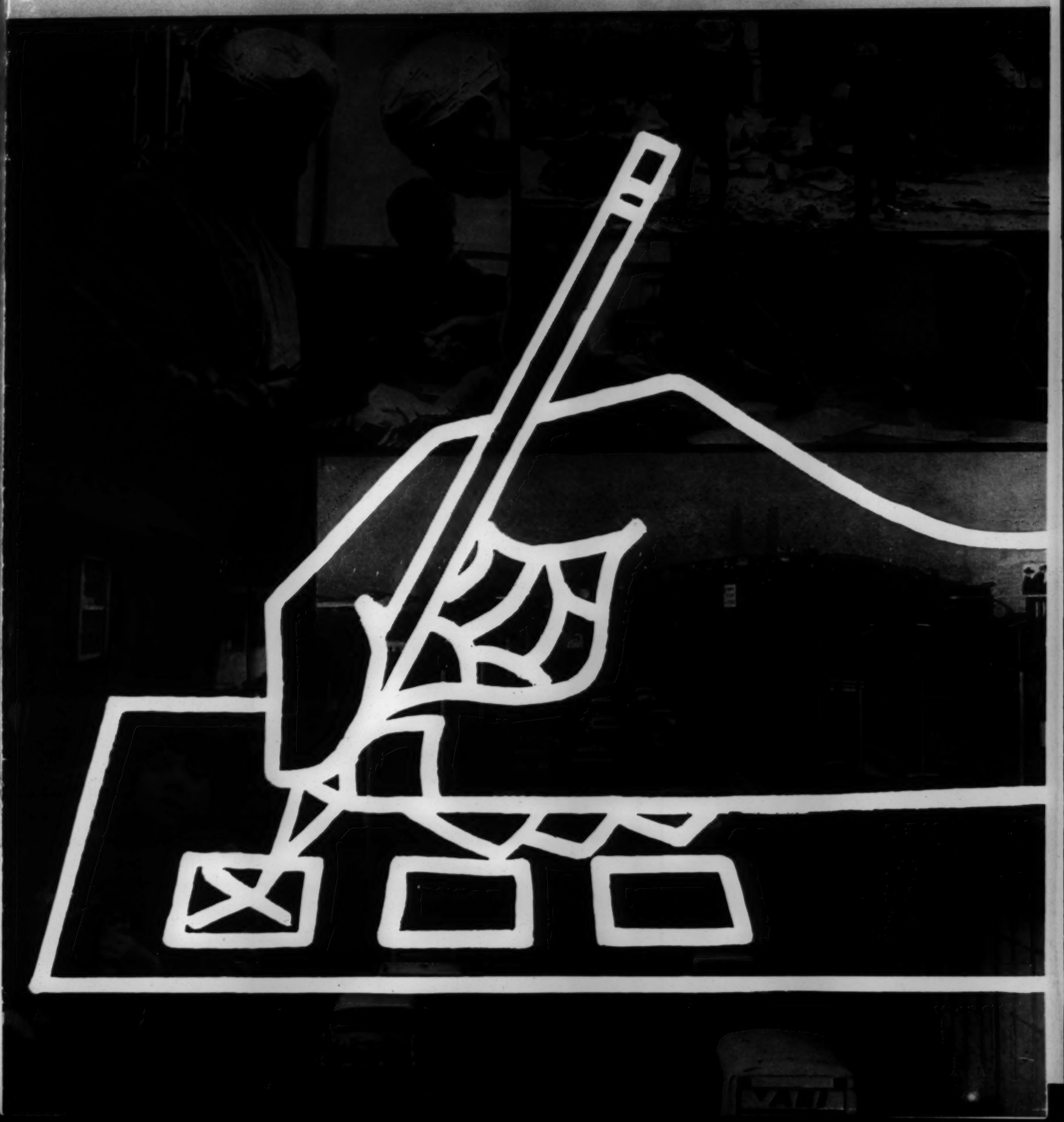
COMMENTS:

For your information

OCTOBER 1966

The American Federationist

THE '66 ELECTIONS: Progress or Stalemate



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The major concern of the November 8th congressional elections is whether the southern Democratic-Republican conservative coalition, which until the 1964 elections blocked progressive and liberal legislation, will return to power. A loss of some 20 seats by the liberals, mostly Democrats, would help restore power to the coalition and bring about another stalemate as the nation faces new and complex problems. This article analyzes the factors and forces of the election—including the key question of the size of the vote. Willard Shelton

Labor's Role in a Free Society 6

The American trade union movement is essentially pragmatic, rooted in two basic principles: the right to strike and the right to bargain collectively. Without these rights, the president of the AFL-CIO says, there would be no labor movement strong enough to win gains for union and non-union members alike and the preservation of a free society would be in question. George Meany

Mergers and the Concentration of Corporate Power 8

Business mergers continue to sweep the nation, with profound implications for the country. If the current rate of mergers continues, America soon will face a condition of super-concentration. By 1977, Labor's Economic Review says, the 100 largest manufacturing corporations will control over two-thirds of the nation's net manufacturing assets. This article presents a few approaches aimed at preserving competition and protecting the public interest. Irving Beller

The Income Needs of the City Worker's Family 16

How much does it take to provide a "modest but adequate" standard of living for a family of four in America's cities in 1966? This Collective Bargaining Report updates the Labor Department's figures and concludes it requires earnings of nearly $6,800 a year or $131 a week. The average factory worker in June 1966 fell about $23 a week short of this figure, indicating the urgent need to increase earnings and fringe benefits. Ralph D. Scott

Scholarships with a Union Label 20

A college education for the children is a dream of many American workers, a dream often shortchanged by lack of funds. The government is beginning to provide some assistance and, with labor's support, new programs are planned. But pending their growth and spread, labor supports its own scholarship programs. This fall, over 1,400 students will benefit from these union programs, as described in this Education News and Views. Lawrence Rogin

New Books and Pamphlets 24

THE '66 ELECTIONS: Progress or Stalemate

by Willard Shelton

The striking fact about this year's campaign as it turned into October is that it had developed no sign of a trend, a national mindset, giving the Republican Party good reason to hope for a substantial bounce-back from the disastrous Goldwater experiment of 1964. There has been no Republican concentration upon a central issue (such as the 1946 "meat shortage") indicating that the party and the candidates think they have discovered a winning issue, as in 1946 indeed they had and thus won control of the 80th Congress.

The consensus of observers is that President Johnson, although no longer enjoying anything approaching a "honeymoon" with Congress, has managed his enormous majorities well, that the 90th Congress convening in January will look much the same as the 89th Congress, that the Democrats are likely to hold very closely to their present margin of 67 to 33 in the Senate, their lead of 33 to 17 among the governors.

There is, however, another side of the coin—that a perfectly normal and understandable Democratic loss of 20, 25, or 30 seats in the House from the swollen 294-141 majority Johnson carried with him in 1964 would threaten the future of the President's Great Society programs, including new programs now being drafted and the appropriations to carry out anti-poverty projects, school aid, health, housing and total city reconstruction projects already in the first stages of operation.

The reasons lie deep—in the swings of the ins and the outs, the politics of race, the "white backlash" that never happened in 1964, in the familiar suspicion of rural and small-townsmen toward the cities, in the fermenting explosiveness of the cities themselves, in the fictions and fears of centralized federal control, in the arithmetic of the southern Democratic-northern Republican coalition in the House.

The arithmetic of the House is that a swollen 294-141 margin is just about the minimum a Democratic President needs to push through creative programs that go far beyond the felt necessities of the Roosevelt-Truman era.

The Johnson-Kennedy bills have passed by narrow majorities of 5 votes, 11 votes, 23 votes on the key rollcalls to amend or to kill by returning to committee.

WILLARD SHELTON is Managing Editor of the AFL-CIO News. He has covered all presidential and congressional elections for the past 24 years.

An increment of 25 northern Republicans to the conservative coalition would have beaten them every-time—school aid and medicare, poverty programs and rules changes—in the past six years.

"It isn't so much the freshman Democrats elected in 1964 that worry us," says one expert. "Most of them are in pretty good shape although some of them won in districts we never dreamed would go Democratic.

"Where we are in danger is the redistricted areas and in districts where veterans are retiring."

It may be ironic considering Senator Everett McKinley Dirksen's assaults on the Supreme Court's "one-man-one-vote" decisions, but the effect has been to increase the influence of normally Republican voters in perhaps two dozen city-fringe districts by augmenting the power of the suburbs.

Still there was no smell in the air, five weeks in advance of the elections, that allowed the politicians to say confidently, "This is a Democratic (or Republican) year."

Midterm elections are by definition a jumble of local contests, an ordeal by fire between the two major parties involving clashes of personality, changing issues and shifting voting patterns in hundreds of congressional districts and contests for governor or senator or both in most of the states. The fact that they are midterm prevents them from being dominated by the single overriding issue that gives a national character to the choice of a President.

Nevertheless, all midterm elections are not alike and there is no longer any validity to the rule, if there ever was, that the party out of White House power "always" scores substantial gains.

There is no validity, or at least applicability, to the observation that the opposition party gains an "average" of 37 House seats two years after losing the presidency. This average is compiled by putting together such actual figures as a Republican gain of 56 seats in 1946 but only 2 seats in 1962, such Democratic gains as 49 in 1958 but only 19 in 1954. There is no "average"—only individual elections held in individual years, with another individual election coming up on November 8 of this year.

There were palpable signs in advance of the last midterm election—a conviction that President Kennedy in two years since his narrow 1960 victory had grown so much in the estimate of the country that Democratic losses, if any, were likely to be exceedingly small. They were. The Republicans gained only 2 House seats, lost 3 Senate seats and got a deadheat in maintaining the party share at 17 governors against 33 Democrats.

A tide could be sensed even more strongly in 1958, when Democrats picked up their 49 House seats and 17 in the Senate in the final midterm election of the Eisenhower years. The General was never very successful, and probably not much interested, in building Republican Party strength and his era was in its waning days.

The House races remain an uncertainty today because President Johnson could both win and lose. Democrats could lose only 20 seats from their super-victory of 1964, making the party division 274 to 161, yet power might pass back to the conservative coalition.

The fact is in the forefront of White House thinking about the elections. It is one of the reasons the President may be expected to campaign hard throughout October, urging Democratic candidates to stress the themes of prosperity, nearly-full employment, a vast array of new social programs and the Administration's need of effective influence in the new Congress.

The country is volatile and there were a number of issues potentially available to Republicans as the campaign swung into its last weeks.

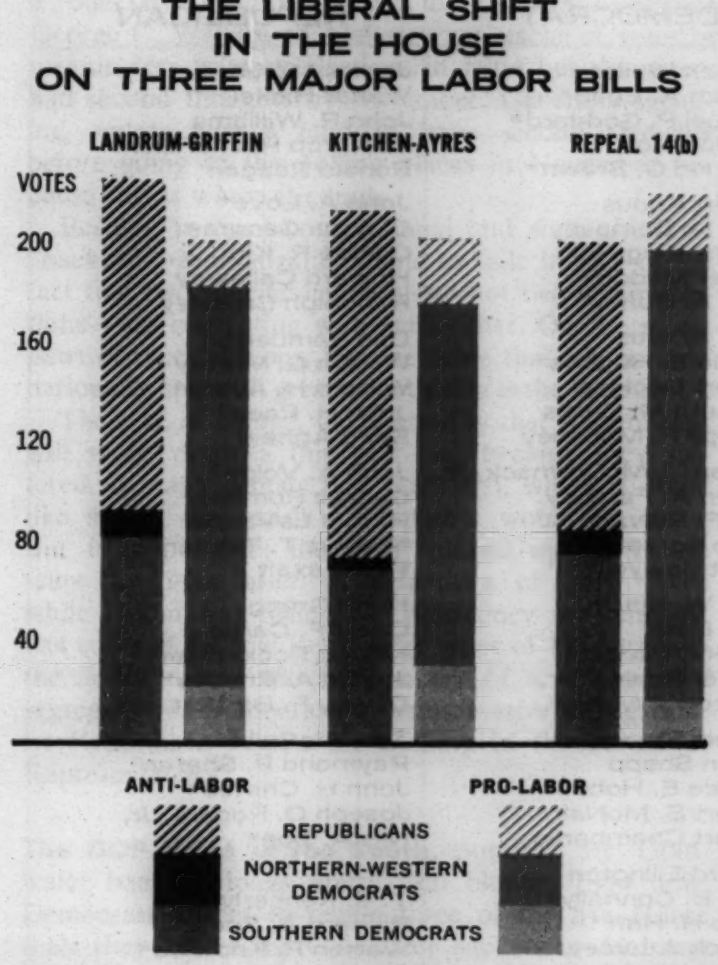
An obvious potential was Viet Nam. But Viet Nam cuts two ways. There are, so far as the opinion surveys and observation can show—more voters who would like the President to "clean them out" than people who would like a pull-out or a retirement of American forces to coastal enclaves while the Viet Cong operate guerrilla warfare undisturbed in the interior.

There is a vast middle group that does not pretend to expertness in foreign policy or the military arts, that may be troubled by the question of what we are doing in Southeast Asia at all, but prefers Johnson's patient, careful way of stepping up the pressure to a policy of plunging recklessly and frighteningly for swift, crushing triumph by bombs and troops alone.

The news out of Southeast Asia's other countries—Burma, Thailand, Malaysia, for example—shows the United States as having a very different image in the minds of Asian political leaders than that of the plunging imperialist bull. The Asians are afraid of the Chinese, not the Americans, and tend to believe that the U.S. determination to keep its commitment in Viet Nam is the shield behind which they can gain time to build modern and viable economies.

There is another fact about Viet Nam, which is that the Republicans have never been able to make up their minds. House GOP Leader Gerald P. Ford, Senate Leader Everett Dirksen and former Vice President Nixon have spoken with divided tongues. They might have learned a lesson from the self-discipline with which Johnson and Hubert H. Humphrey, then Democratic leader and whip of the Senate respectively, handled themselves when General Eisenhower sent the Marines into Lebanon.

The President can control the timing of many events, if not immediately the ultimate results themselves, in Viet Nam. The massive buildup of American forces, with more to come, makes it impossible that we should be thrown into the sea, as we might have been from the Pusan perimeter in Korea in 1950. Viet Nam does not seem likely to become a profitable campaign issue for Republicans.



A small shift in liberal strength in House of Representatives makes a big difference in the outcome of major labor bills, as this chart shows. In 1959, the anti-union Landrum-Griffin Act passed the House by a 229-201 margin. Two years later, the anti-union forces still had the upper hand and the minimum wage bill was drastically scaled down by the Kitchen-Ayres amendment. The vote then was 216-203. In the 89th Congress, with its influx of liberal congressmen, the House voted 221-203 for repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Inflation certainly may be made an issue by many GOP candidates—the price of bread, the price of milk. But there is the countervailing factor that unemployment has been cut from above 6 percent to 4 percent, that there has not been a recession in six years (as compared to three recessions and sometimes 7 percent unemployment in Eisenhower's eight years), that more people have more money to pay the prices of bread and milk.

Democratic candidates have a perfect right to talk about this countervailing factor and about the fact that people with jobs are better off than those with no jobs—that the jobless of the Fifties were caught in a sluggish economy and not much hope of getting jobs, since unemployment stuck at the 6 percent level for years and a balanced budget was deemed more important than business expansion.

Democratic candidates also have a right to talk about the creative programs of the Administration—the school aid program passed and put into effect after 30 years of struggle; the medicare program; the poverty and training programs designed to pick up the 4 percent remaining jobless from despair and give them a chance to make a better chance for themselves and their children.

Some of the midwestern farmfolk were infuriated when Secretary of Agriculture Freeman a few months ago predicted that hog prices would soon "come down." Farmfolk have a perfectly human hope that prices for their food and fibers will never "come down" and the principal thing that dropped conspicuously was the popularity ratings of Freeman and Johnson himself in the farm belt opinion polls.

Still, farm income as distinguished from farm prices has gone up (so have most prices by now) and the surpluses once clogging the warehouses and hanging over the markets have been eliminated by using them to meet human needs. The five freshman Democrats elected in Iowa in 1964 will no doubt place great stress on these matters.

The cost of living may yet turn out to be an effective theme for Republicans—one can never tell about the American voter—but it must be sold in a campaign when business is still expanding, when profits are at an all-time high, when the problem as Congress neared adjournment was to get rid of some of the "overheating" by a temporary suspension of the 7 percent investment tax credit that started business on its expansionary binge in 1962.

The interest squeeze and the tight money squeeze are something else again because they hit everybody. People who wanted to buy new cars may find themselves resentfully postponing the purchase and those who wanted to buy new houses may find either that they can't get the money or that the interest rate has soared beyond reality. The Democratic Party is traditionally the party of low interest rates and easy credit. Rates are now at their highest in 40 years and an angry protest came from Harry S. Truman in Independence, Missouri.

The powers of the President over the money market are by no means total, but Johnson overrode his Treasury Department to slow down the "overheated" boom and check the runaway rise in money costs by technical steps he does have at his command. Whether he moved fast enough and far enough were for the campaign to show.

There are some who think that this is the year of the "white backlash," an anger of white city groups at Negro demonstrations that might break the cities from their traditionally Democratic moorings. Open-occupancy housing bills were a distinct issue in some campaigns this year and if scallywags can ride it effectively the Democrats will lose votes.

The Negro himself, seething with genuine anger at his ghettos, the rats and the joblessness, also represents a potential vote loss to the party in power—even if he simply doesn't vote.

The bottle-throwers and jeering mobs of both races made no contribution to the eventual accommodation that obviously has to be reached. But whether this is

GUBERNATORIAL RACES

STATE	DEMOCRAT	REPUBLICAN
ALABAMA	Lurleen Wallace	James Martin
ALASKA	William A. Egan*	Walter Hickel
ARIZONA	Samuel P. Goddard*	John R. Williams
ARKANSAS	Jim Johnson	Winthrop Rockefeller
CALIFORNIA	Edmund G. Brown*	Ronald Reagan
COLORADO	Robert Knous	John A. Love*
CONNECTICUT	John N. Dempsey*	Clayton Gengras
FLORIDA	Robert King High	Claude R. Kirk, Jr.
GEORGIA	Lester Maddox	Howard Callaway
HAWAII	John A. Burns*	Randolph Crossley
IDAHO	Cecil Andrus	Don Samuelson
IOWA	Harold E. Hughes*	William G. Murray
KANSAS	Robert Docking	William H. Avery*
MAINE	Kenneth M. Curtis	John H. Reed*
MARYLAND	George P. Mahoney	Spiro Agnew
MASSACHUSETTS	Edward J. McCormack, Jr.	John A. Volpe*
MICHIGAN	Zolton A. Ferency	George Romney*
MINNESOTA	Karl F. Rolvaag*	Harold LeVander
NEBRASKA	Philip Sorensen	Norbert T. Tiemann
NEVADA	Grant Sawyer*	Paul Laxalt
NEW HAMPSHIRE	John W. King*	Hugh Gregg
NEW MEXICO	T. E. Lusk	David F. Cargo
** NEW YORK	Frank O'Connor	Nelson Rockefeller
OHIO	Frazier Reams, Jr.	James A. Rhodes*
OKLAHOMA	Preston J. Moore	Dewey F. Bartlett
OREGON	Robert Straub	Tom McCall
PENNSYLVANIA	Milton Shapp	Raymond P. Shafer
RHODE ISLAND	Horace E. Hobbs	John H. Chafee*
SOUTH CAROLINA	Robert E. McNair*	Joseph O. Rogers, Jr.
SOUTH DAKOTA	Robert Chamberlin	Nils A. Boe*
TENNESSEE	Buford Ellington	
TEXAS	John B. Connally*	T. E. Kennerly
VERMONT	Philip H. Hoff*	Richard A. Snelling
WISCONSIN	Patrick J. Lucey	Warren P. Knowles*
WYOMING	Ernest Wilkinson	Stanley Hathaway

* Incumbent.

** New York — Liberal Party Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr.

SENATE RACES

STATE	DEMOCRAT	REPUBLICAN
ALABAMA	John J. Sparkman*	John Grenier
ALASKA	E. L. Bartlett*	Lee L. McKinley
ARKANSAS	John L. McClellan*	
COLORADO	Roy Romer	Gordon Allott*
DELAWARE	James M. Tunnell, Jr.	J. Caleb Boggs*
GEORGIA	Richard B. Russell*	
IDAHO	Ralph Harding	Len B. Jordan*
ILLINOIS	Paul H. Douglas*	Charles H. Percy
IOWA	E. B. Smith	Jack Miller*
KANSAS	Floyd Breeding	James B. Pearson*
KENTUCKY	John Y. Brown	John S. Cooper*
LOUISIANA	Allen Ellender*	
MAINE	Elmer H. Violette	Margaret Chase Smith*
MASSACHUSETTS	Endicott Peabody	Edward W. Brooke
MICHIGAN	G. Mennen Williams	Robert Griffin*
MINNESOTA	Walter F. Mondale*	Robert A. Forsythe
MISSISSIPPI	James O. Eastland*	Prentiss Walker
MONTANA	Lee Metcalf*	Tim Babcock
NEBRASKA	Frank Morrison	Carl T. Curtis*
NEW HAMPSHIRE	Thomas J. McIntyre*	Harrison Thyng
NEW JERSEY	Warren Wilentz	Clifford Case*
NEW MEXICO	Clinton P. Anderson*	Anderson Carter
NORTH CAROLINA	B. Everett Jordan*	John S. Shallcross
OKLAHOMA	Fred R. Harris*	Pat J. Patterson
OREGON	Robert B. Duncan	Mark Hatfield
RHODE ISLAND	Claiborne Pell*	Ruth M. Briggs
SOUTH CAROLINA	Ernest F. Hollings	Marshall Parker
	P. Bradley Morrah, Jr.	Strom Thurmond*
SOUTH DAKOTA	Donn Wright	Karl Mundt*
TENNESSEE	Frank G. Clement	Howard Baker
TEXAS	Waggoner Carr	John Tower*
VIRGINIA	Harry Flood Byrd, Jr.*	Lawrence M. Traylor
	William B. Spong	James P. Ould
WEST VIRGINIA	Jennings Randolph*	Francis J. Love
WYOMING	Teno Roncalio	Cilfford Hansen

* Incumbent.

a "backlash" election remains to be shown; Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama got stacks of votes in meaningless primary elections in 1964 but the voters had second thoughts by November. Generally speaking, voters always tend to have second thoughts before going to the polling places in November because this is where it counts.

Besides, in local congressional and state elections, "backlash" generalizations tend to fade in face of the fact that two specific candidates—not two generalizations—are competing with each other. On the moral issue of race relations, the one voice that can be used nationally and with greatest authority is the President's.

There is, of course, the possibility that Republicans will score victories this year just because they suffered so many defeats two years ago, which is about like saying they wish a nightmare would go away. But it is possible; the GOP picked up 20 House seats in 1960, after its calamities of 1958, even while Nixon was losing the presidency to Kennedy. But some of the few Republican gains of 1964 were in the South, where the replacement of a conservative segregationist Democrat by a conservative segregationist Republican counts for nothing in the House of Representatives.

The GOP drive in the South, powered by Goldwater backers, looks pretty well blunted right now. Democrats expect to regain three of the five House seats they lost to the Goldwater backers in Alabama and the one Mississippi seat they lost. A couple of months ago there seemed a chance for Republicans to win governorships in Alabama, Georgia and Florida; now only Georgia is rated as a state they may carry, with Representative Howard (Bo) Calloway recognized as a strong contender.

In some regions there are significant contests, including the Pacific Coast. There a brushed-up, cleaned-up Ronald Reagan is running against incumbent Democratic Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown in California and Republican Governor Mark O. Hatfield and Representative Robert B. Duncan are rivals in Oregon for the Senate seat being vacated by Maurine Neuberger.

In the upper Rocky Mountain states, there are elections pitting straight-out Goldwater Republicans against liberal Democrats (Tim Babcock against Senator Lee Metcalf in Montana, Clifford Hansen for the GOP against Representative Teno Roncalio in Wyoming).

The Midwest has major conflicts, including the giant contest between Democratic Senator Paul H. Douglas against his younger onetime student, Charles Percy, in Illinois, and the battle of G. Mennen Williams, six times Democratic governor of Michigan, against the appointed Senator Robert P. Griffin.

But take the country section by section and it is hard to forsee major Republican gains. Not in New England, once rockribbed in its GOP status, where the latter-day Democratic governors seem to be doing excellently. Not in the mid-Atlantic states, where Republicans already hold governorships in New York and Pennsylvania and don't seem likely to do much better, if as well.

The Midwest is Republican heartland—except it may not be any more, or at least wasn't in 1964, and the GOP either can't or isn't likely to pick up governorships in 1966. George Romney in Michigan and James A. Rhodes in Ohio are incumbents, Democratic Governor Otto Kerner in Illinois isn't up for re-election this year, and only the most optimistic Republican believes his party has a chance to beat Democratic Governor Harold Hughes in Iowa.

The wheat belt (or "small grains") states of the prairies are something else again, still apparently hard-core Republican except for the highly individualistic state of North Dakota and maybe—just maybe—Nebraska this time. And the Mountain states are something else again, both because the Goldwaterites are still present in strength and it costs so little, relatively speaking, to finance a Senate campaign in sparsely-settled states, although each elected senator has precisely the same rights and power as a senator from California or New York.

The spacing and timing are against Republicans in 1966. Most of the elections for governor and senator in really hotly-contested territory were fought out and won by the Democrats two years ago. It is only in the House races—435 of them—that serious gains or losses can be scored and the GOP would need a sweep ranging from New York through Michigan and Iowa to California to make notable inroads.

A trend, a current, may become apparent in late October but if it is hostile to Democratic officeholders it may also become apparent for the first time on November 9, after the ballots have been counted.

With this addendum: Off-year elections are tricky things and the size of the vote counts.

When there is a defection of voters in a midterm election, it tends to be a defection among groups that normally vote Democratic—white-collar and blue-collar workers rather than the college-educated and middle-income to high-income families.

Only 39 percent of the eligibles have bothered to vote in midterm elections, on the average, since 1920, as compared to 51 percent in presidential years. When the midterm vote drops to 33 percent, as it did in 1942, and 38 percent, as it did in 1946, Republicans gain enormous numbers of House seats. When the midterm vote climbs to 43 percent, as in 1958, or to 46 percent, as in 1962, Democrats score great gains or hold their own.

The President believes his programs, pouring federal money into city schools, housing and community development, investing funds in regional projects and in retraining bypassed workers, are essential to orderly transitions in American society. But, of course, he must be able to persuade the voters to agree with him—again—this year and the size of the vote will be a factor.

Labor's Role in a Free Society

by George Meany

In recent weeks and months, some of the basic precepts of free trade unionism have been challenged. Let us look briefly at the nature of the American labor movement.

The one word that best describes its day-to-day operation is "practical." We deal with one problem or one set of problems at a time. We avoid pre-conceived notions and we do not try to fit our program into some theoretical, all-embracing structure.

This down-to-earth, one thing at a time approach is uniquely American. And it can be said, I think, that this same pragmatic approach is a unique feature of the American legislative system.

But this does not mean—as our friends overseas sometimes say—that the United States or the American labor movement has no basic principles, no fundamental beliefs or no philosophical perspective.

All of us who are Americans know, almost instinctively, what our country stands for. We may disagree on specific issues, but we were raised in a free society and we have no need for a handbook to define it for us.

The same is true of us who are in the labor movement. We also know, almost instinctively, what the labor movement is and why. But this is not true, unfortunately, among many Americans who are not trade unionists. So a few lines of history may be useful.

From the early years of the republic it was apparent to wage-earners that there was a need for collective bargaining. Maybe they didn't use those words, but they realized that workers had to stand together in order to win fair terms of employment and to protect themselves against arbitrary and capricious decisions by management.

By now, an overwhelming majority of the American people also realize this fact. But it was not until 1935 that the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively was written into federal law—a law that was unanimously upheld by the Supreme Court two years later.

For more than a century before that time, workers had been trying to organize—sometimes successfully, but more often unsuccessfully—without any legal protection and often in the face of government hostility. They persevered because they knew collective bargaining was both necessary and right. They knew it was necessary simply by their experience as workers. They knew it was right because their instincts as free Americans told them so.

So eventually, what was necessary and right became, by law, the policy of the United States. There are still some who seek to evade or frustrate that policy, but in general it is accepted. Now let's see what is involved in collective bargaining.

There is nothing complicated about the basic idea. The workers get together and decide what they want and what they need in the way of wages and working conditions. They elect representatives to discuss these proposals with the employer, who may have other ideas. Then the two parties bargain until they come to an agreement which is reasonably satisfactory to both sides.

This may sound too simple to be true. But in actual fact, something very much like this is what actually happens. This is how the overwhelming majority of the 150,000 labor-management contracts now in force are negotiated.

In other words, the prevailing condition in union-management relations is labor peace, based upon agreements reached through collective bargaining.

This is due in part to the commonsense of the employers. There was a time when some trade union leaders failed to acknowledge this fact. They painted every employer as a symbol of total selfishness. While it is true that there are still many employers who fit that description, it is also true that there are many

GEORGE MEANY, President of the AFL-CIO, based this article on his 1966 Labor Day message.

others who genuinely want to be fair and many more who recognize that fair wages and working conditions are the best way to build a productive workforce.

Bargains can be reached because each side has the same general objective—a fair share from a prospering enterprise. The union has no desire to take over the enterprise from management. The union does not want to abolish profits or dividends. The union is seeking only what the workers believe is their fair share, just as management is seeking a fair share for those who have invested in the enterprise. Obviously, then, a bargain is always possible, even when there are great initial differences over what these shares should be.

However, there is another factor that helps to bring about the peaceful negotiation of good contracts. That factor is the right of workers to strike—to refuse to work under conditions that are not acceptable to them.

It is the right to strike that gives meaning to collective bargaining. It is the right to strike that gives a union's spokesman some measure of equality at the bargaining table. The word "strike" may never be mentioned, and usually isn't, but both sides know the right is there.

Let me emphasize a point I have made many times. The right to strike is almost universally accepted, in theory, as a fundamental right of free workers. But it is not just a theoretical right. It is an operating right. Anyone who says he believes in the right to strike must accept the fact that strikes will sometimes occur.

I have pointed out that the vast majority of union-management contracts are negotiated peacefully. But there are times when the differences—and they may be honest differences—are too great to be overcome by ordinary means. That is when strikes take place.

Every strike, of course, is a form of economic warfare; like all wars, it is wasteful, and some people suffer from it. No one is happy about a strike—least of all the strikers who bear the brunt of the battle. And when a strike affects the lives of persons who are not directly involved, there is often an outcry about the supposed damage that is being done to the public interest.

Because they are conflicts, strikes make headlines while peaceful settlements often pass unmentioned. It is not surprising that many Americans think that strikes are far more frequent, far bigger and far longer than they are. Actually, in the last 20 years, there have been about 3,500 strikes each year, as against the 150,000 labor-management contracts in force. They have involved about a million and a half workers each year—against a total non-farm workforce of some 63 million—and have lasted an average of about 12 days.

The time lost by strikes, all added together, amounts to far less than two-tenths of one percent of the total time worked. It is only about half as great as the time lost by on-the-job accidents.

Moreover, every American who is inconvenienced by a strike—even those few non-participants who suffer from one—should remember that, annoying as a strike may be, there is no alternative to the right to strike which is consistent with a free society.

That is by far the the most important basis for preserving a free labor movement strong enough to strike if necessary, but it is not the only one.

Without the right to strike, there would be no strong labor movement in America.

Without a strong labor movement, wages would be lower, consumer purchasing power would be lower and another economic collapse like that of the Great Depression would be inevitable.

Without a strong labor movement, much of the social progress of the last generation would not have been made.

It is as simple as that.

It seems to me that the right to strike—a right that is so seldom exercised that it consumes far less time than coffee breaks—is a small price to pay for a prosperous, progressive and, above all, a free society.

Let me conclude with a few words about the other role of the labor movement—the AFL-CIO's function as the "people's lobby."

Trade unionists do not function solely to raise the wages and improve the working conditions of their members. True, that is their primary function. That is what they were created to do. But many years ago, the labor movement recognized that it had much broader responsibilities. It recognized—as the AFL-CIO has said from its foundation—that the best interests of union members can be served only to the extent that the best interests of all the American people are served.

We fight for a better minimum wage law, not because union members stand to gain by it (hardly any union member is paid only the minimum wage), but because it is a basic weapon in the war on poverty—a war we have been fighting for generations.

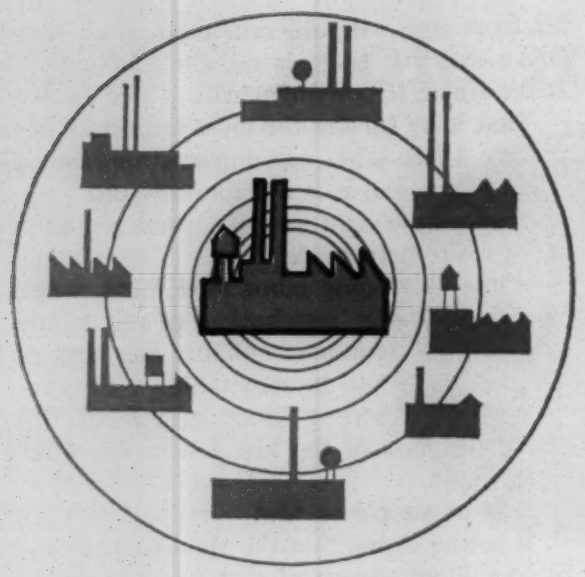
We fight for civil rights, not just for ourselves but for everyone.

We fight for ever-wider educational opportunities freely available to all Americans, not just to our children.

We want a better society in America. We are committed to the endless pursuit of perfection. This is our philosophy.

To be sure, there are those who disagree with us. There are those who believe that the measures we support, the proposals we advance, will not produce the benefits we seek. They have every right to disagree. And the disagreements should be brought, in the spirit of Thomas Jefferson, to the free marketplace of ideas where the American people will make a decision.

For nearly 200 years, trade unions have contributed to this marketplace of ideas. We believe our contributions have been greater as our movement has grown stronger. And we believe that the life of every American, and the hopes of every child, are brighter as a result.



MERGERS
AND THE CONCENTRATION OF CORPORATE POWER

by Irving Beller

Last May, the United States Supreme Court annulled a "marriage." It ordered the dissolution of a merger between the third and sixth largest supermarket chains in Los Angeles. Two weeks later, reversing a lower court decision, it reinstated the Justice Department's challenge of the Pabst-Blatz brewing company merger. Both mergers, the court found, had taken place in industries marked by a steady trend toward economic concentration and both threatened to "substantially lessen competition."

In earlier decisions, federal courts thwarted or dissolved what they regarded as "unholy matrimony" between duPont and General Motors, Bethlehem and Youngstown Steel, Alcoa and Rome Cable, Continental Can and Hazel-Atlas Glass, and others as well.

Yet, in spite of such decisions, an unprecedented wave of mergers continues to sweep the nation. The number recorded by the Federal Trade Commission has climbed spectacularly from a yearly average of 1,162 in the 1955-1959 period to 1,893 in 1965. Since these statistics exclude bank, utility and transportation industry mergers, as well as hundreds of smaller mergers, the actual number in 1965 alone undoubtedly exceeded 2,000.

More recently, W. T. Grimm and Company, a private consulting firm which keeps tab on merger developments, reported a 25 percent jump in the number of corporate mergers between the first-half of 1965 and the first six months of 1966. And hardly a day has passed, even in the period following the latest Supreme Court decisions, without a news story referring to another merger.

Executives known to be interested in mergers "often get half a dozen calls or letters a day from persons peddling companies," reports Newsweek (April 25, 1966). "Company hunting is my night-time and weekend sport," says the head of a rapidly growing communications media firm. And Dun's Review (May 1966) describes how the president of Hewitt-Robbins "proposed" to Litton Industries, an industrial giant and an experienced hand at mergers, at noon one Thursday, negotiated the terms on Friday and had them approved at a board meeting on the following Saturday morning.

The subject receives few front page headlines. Yet the implications of the frantic merger kick upon which American business has embarked are profound.

The power exercised by America's largest corporations is already enormous. As Professor Andrew Hacker of Columbia University points out: "The decisions made in the names of these huge companies guide and govern, directly and indirectly, all of our lives."

The giants of American industry have tremendous wealth and there are few restrictions on how they spend it. As a result, they have been able to set cultural standards and shape the social and political, as well as the economic, forms of American society to a far greater extent than most Americans realize.

They not only determine the prices we pay and the quality of the products we buy. They have an enormous influence as well, as Professor Hacker observes, over what we buy, the kind of work we do, how and where we do it, the kind of education offered to our children, the "regions of the country which will prosper" and those "which will stagnate," the social goals we set and much more.

If this is true now, what will the future be like if the merger movement continues and an even greater portion of the American economy becomes concentrated in the hands of a small number of extremely powerful enterprises? Will the U.S. indeed become, as the

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title of an article by Hacker in The New York Times Magazine (July 3, 1966) suggests, "A Country Called Corporate America."

Multi-Industry Giants

The "urge to merge" is not a new development in American history. Merger waves occurred in 1899, in 1920 and again from 1926 to 1929. However, none of the previous merger booms have been as prolonged as the current wave, now entering its twelfth year and still showing a vigor which belies its age.

The current merger movement involves the giants and semi-giants of American industry—not just the little concerns struggling to keep their heads above water. According to Dr. Willard Mueller, Director of the Bureau of Economics of the Federal Trade Commission, the 200 largest manufacturing companies acquired "more than 2,000 concerns with combined assets of $17.5 billion" during the period from 1950 to 1964. That $17.5 billion exceeded the value of the assets held by all manufacturing corporations between the 1,000 largest and the 2,000 largest in the fourth quarter of 1962. "In other words," said Dr. Mueller, "the acquisition activity of the top 200 was sufficient to more than wipe out the equivalent of the second tier of 1,000 corporations in manufacturing."

Many of the disappearing firms themselves have been large and important. Among those which have vanished as separate entities in recent years are a number whose names had become household words. They include Philco, Sperry, Sylvania, Glenn L. Martin, Squibb and Son, American Viscose, Pure Oil, Frito-Lay, Royal McBee, Briggs Manufacturing, Bell Aircraft and Doehler-Jarvis.

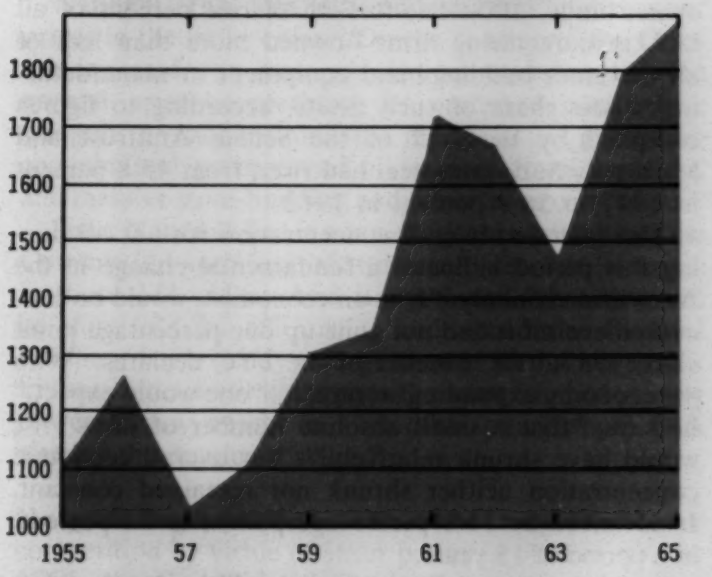
These, however, were only the better-known among the departed. A total of 811 manufacturing and mining firms, each with assets of at least $10 million, disappeared through merger between 1948 and 1965.

Significantly, very few of these large corporations were failing concerns or even losing money in the year prior to being acquired. In fact, says Dr. Mueller, "a substantial percentage were very profitable enterprises." And, he concludes, "had they not been acquired they would most likely have continued as healthy economic enterprises capable of offering effective competition."

The present merger wave also finds more companies invading fields which have little or no relation to their traditional line of business. Horizontal mergers, mergers between firms which have been producing a similar product and selling in the same market, have become less common. Vertical mergers, in which companies link up with a customer or a supplier rather than a direct competitor, have increased somewhat but still account for only a small proportion of all mergers.

THE MERGER BOOM

Mergers Reported in Key Publications*



*Moody's Industrials, Standard Corporation Records, Wall Street Journal, Journal of Commerce *and* New York Times.

SOURCE: Federal Trade Commission

Instead, conglomerate mergers, involving mergers between companies operating in different markets and without any previous buyer-seller relationship, have become the great fad.

Some conglomerates are more conglomerate than others. When the large national dairy concerns gobble up smaller dairy firms situated in areas in which the buyers have not previously operated, they are regarded as conglomerate because they have moved into new geographic market areas. When Continental Can merged with Hazel-Atlas Glass, it became a conglomerate by taking on the production of another type of container. In both instances, however, the merged firm was either producing the same product as before the merger or one that was closely related.

But when CBS buys the New York Yankees and Textron, which began as a textile manufacturer, takes over the manufacturing of helicopters, chicken feed, bathroom fixtures, men's shoes, rocket engines, eye glass frames and hearing aids, conglomeration begins to approach the ultimate. Companies like Textron and Litton Industries, FMC and Martin-Marietta, have expanded so rapidly and into so many different fields that it is almost impossible to determine their principal line of business. Litton, in fact, now produces some 6,000 different products.

Use and Abuse of Power

This massive merger movement, along with rapid internal growth, is producing a fundamental change in the American economic landscape. The change is taking place on the national scene as a whole and in specific regions and industries as well.

In 1962, there were more than 180,000 manufacturing corporations in the United States. At least 220,000 other firms engaged primarily in manufactur-

ing were owned either by single proprietors or by partners. Of these more than 400,000 separately-owned units, 100—one-fortieth of one percent of all U.S. manufacturing firms—owned more than half of all the land, buildings and equipment in manufacturing. Their share of such assets, according to figures compiled by the staff of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee, had risen from 45.8 percent in 1947 to 56.9 percent in 1962.

The fact that overall concentration rose at all during this period indicates a fundamental change in the American economy. "I, as an economist, would be concerned even if it had not gone up one percentage point since 1947," Dr. Mueller of the FTC declares. With the economy expanding so rapidly, "one would expect," he says, "that a small absolute number of firms . . . would have shrunk relatively." Yet overall economic concentration neither shrunk nor remained constant. It advanced by 11.1 percentage points, or 24 percent, in a period of 15 years.

If this rate continues, America will be faced with a condition of super-concentration within little more than a decade. By 1977, the 100 largest manufacturing corporations will control more than two-thirds of the nation's net manufacturing assets.

Besides increasing overall concentration, the merger movement has produced fundamental changes within specific industries. Production in a substantial number of sectors is controlled by a few firms. In 1958, the latest year for which figures are available, the four largest companies in 37 major industries accounted for more than 70 percent of their industry's output.

A general increase in such industry concentration ratios may have occurred after 1958 when the merger boom began to pick up additional steam. But, whether it did or not, the character of many industries has changed substantially.

Where the conglomerate giants have replaced independent firms, they have produced a fundamental change in competitive conditions. They may account for no greater share of production then their less powerful predecessors. Yet they have a far greater advantage than their predecessors had over the more specialized firms which continue to operate in the industry into which they have merged.

They can subsidize losses in one market with profits acquired in another market. They can use their huge purchases as leverage to persuade suppliers to buy their own products. And they can refuse to sell one product which may be difficult to obtain unless buyers are willing to accept other products as well. Consequently, when a firm having well over $100 million in sales and producing hundreds of products replaces a company with sales of a few million stemming from a single product, a fundamental change in the character of the single-product market takes place even though sales shares may be no different than before.

Mergers also have resulted in fundamental changes within specific regions. Firms which may not appear large by national standards have acquired significant power in localized markets.

In the Brown and Kinney merger, the record showed that the two firms together accounted for less than 2 percent of U.S. retail shoe sales. Yet, in each of 13 cities throughout the nation, they sold more than 50 percent of women's or children's shoes. And, in the Philadelphia National Bank-Girard Trust merger, the Supreme Court noted that a significant trend toward concentration in commercial banking had been occurring in the Philadelphia area, with the number of commercial banks declining from 108 in 1947 to 42 in 1963.

This rapid expansion of large corporations may seem like a great American success story to some. However, it has aroused a gnawing concern in many others.

The fact is that big firms have enormous power just because they are big. Money is power and big firms have huge sums of money at their disposal. The 500 largest industrial corporations—one-fourth of one percent of all U.S. industrial corporations—received 72 percent of all industrial profits in 1965. The after-tax profits of one firm alone, General Motors, exceeded the 1965 tax revenues of every state in the union except California and New York. It was greater even than the total revenues of 18 states combined. Most industry leaders, in fact, make money almost automatically year-in and year-out.

As a result, as Professor Corwin Edwards of the University of Oregon points out:

"A big firm can outbid, outspend and outlose a small firm. It can advertise more intensively, do more intensive and extensive research, buy up the inventions of others, defend its legal rights or alleged rights more thoroughly, bid higher for scarce resources, acquire the best locations and the best technicians and executives. If it overdoes its expenditures, it can absorb losses that would bankrupt a small rival."

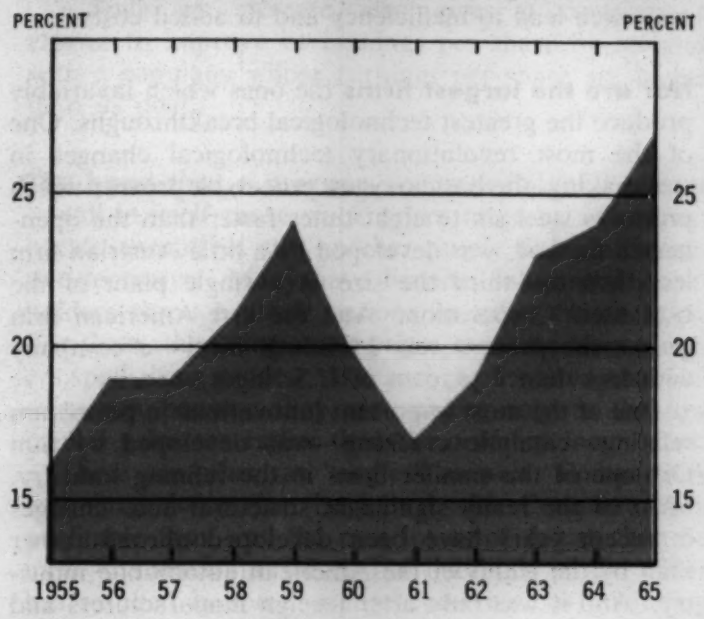
Such power frequently enables America's industrial giants to achieve their aims without resorting to grossly illegal and even criminal actions like price-fixing. In 1960, 29 companies were convicted of a conspiracy to fix prices on the sale of billions of dollars of electrical equipment. They were fined $1,787,000. And seven executives were jailed for their part in the conspiracy. Since 1959, 11 firms in the steel industry have pleaded "no contest" to price-fixing charges.

More commonly, however, executives in industries dominated by a few powerful firms are able to get around the law by "administering" prices. They do so through a system of price leadership under which one of the larger producers in the industry determines the price and the others follow more or less automatically (the smaller ones in particular feeling they have nothing to gain and much to lose by not "playing the game").

After an exhaustive study, the National Commission

THE BIG ARE GETTING BIGGER

Shares of Manufacturing and Mining Mergers Accounted for by Companies With Assets over $100 Million



SOURCE: Federal Trade Commission

on Food Marketing described the pricing process and its results in the food industry as follows:

"When a few large firms dominate a field, they frequently forbear from competing actively by price; competition by advertising, sales promotion and other selling efforts almost always increases; and the market power inescapably at the disposal of such firms may be used to impose onerous terms upon suppliers or customers. The breakfast cereal field provides one of the clearest examples in the food industry: Four firms have 85 percent of the business; advertising and sales promotion amount to 19 percent of manufacturers' sales; retail prices of cereals rose more than other retail food prices between 1954 and 1964; profits are nearly double the average for all food manufacturing; and entry of a new competitor would be extremely difficult."

A specific example of administered pricing reveals the power of larger conglomerates in general not only to set prices but to use the profits which they reap in one market to destroy competitors in another. On March 16 of this year, the Federal Trade Commission forbade the National Tea Company, the fifth largest food chain in the U.S., from acquiring any additional food retailing firms during the next 10 years without the Commission's approval.

The Commission found that, during the period from 1951 to 1956, National had acquired 24 concerns having "some 485 retail grocery stores in 188 cities in 16 states." These acquisitions gave National the power to exact special concessions from suppliers and to charge non-competitive prices in several hundred cities in which it had a significant share of sales. It then used this power to subsidize below-cost operations in 141 cities "where competition is still vigorous enough to limit its pricing power."

National Tea was not undercutting competitors' prices in the latter cities. "On the contrary," the Commission said, "it has . . . a distinct aversion to even normal price competition; its preferred competitive weapons are acquisitions, the receipt of . . . price concessions and promotional allowances from suppliers, and massive store-building and advertising campaigns."

Since National Tea is not a charitable institution, the Commission surmised that it would recover its losses in those 141 cities. And it concluded "that this will be done not by efficiencies and economies in food retailing, but a steady enlargement of its market shares in those cities until it acquires the same kind of pricing power it now enjoys in . . . other cities where it is already the dominant seller."

Merged organizations can ride roughshod over competition by virtue of sheer power in other ways. In 1951, the Consolidated Foods Corporation, a major food wholesaler, acquired Gentry, one of the two largest domestic manufacturers of dehydrated onions and garlic. It then proceeded to induce the food processors who are its own suppliers to buy onion and garlic products from Gentry in return for increased processor sales to Consolidated.

To some, it seemed clear that unless such arm-twisting trade relations were broken up the U. S. economy could end up as a vast cartel system dominated by giant conglomerates. Apparently this fear was shared by others. In 1965, the Supreme Court, concluding that Consolidated's reciprocal buying arrangement was likely to squeeze smaller onion and garlic companies out and to prevent new ones from coming into the market, ordered it to sever its ties with Gentry.

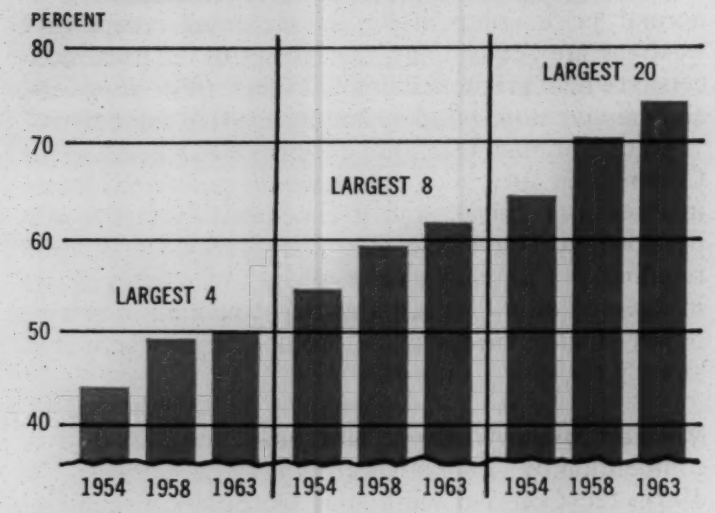
In another key case, the Supreme Court exposed the anti-competitive potential of the vertical type of merger which brings customers and their suppliers under the same management. They found that the du Pont Company's position as a supplier of finishes and fabrics to General Motors had been achieved only after it had purchased a substantial amount of GM stock and one of its directors had become a member of the GM board and a former du Pont sales manager had been appointed as a GM vice president. The Court concluded that "the acquisition had made it difficult, if not impossible, for other companies to sell substantial quantities of automotive finishes or fabrics to General Motors and therefore over the years the acquisition had resulted in a substantial lessening of competitive opportunity for such companies." It therefore ordered du Pont to sell its GM stock holdings.

Benefits for the Few

In spite of occasional court decisions like the du Pont and Consolidated Foods cases, mergers have clearly enhanced corporate power to set prices, bulldoze competition and influence other aspects of American life. In the process, thousands of jobs have been merged out of existence as well—often with little or

MONOPOLY POWER IN LOCAL MARKETS

Average Share of Grocery Sales of Largest Firms* In 218 Local Markets



**Refers to largest firms in each local market, not to largest national firms.*

SOURCE: Bureau of Census

no provision for cushioning the impact upon those who have been displaced.

Yet not every merger is an unmitigated evil. Some, in fact, have genuine social value.

Conceivably, a merger which rescues a failing firm from extinction may result in greater production, more jobs and even greater competition than might otherwise have been the case.

Mergers, particularly the horizontal and vertical types, may also result in real gains in efficiency. Firms producing the same or related products may be able to use machines and manpower more effectively and more fully when they bring their operations under one management. Buying in larger quantities may provide significant savings in the packaging and handling of materials. An alliance with a supplier may improve the flow of work from one stage of production to another and prevent costly delays. These represent genuine gains in efficiency and they could under some circumstances result in lower prices, higher wages and improved working conditions.

However, increased size via mergers or internal growth does not invariably result in genuine increases in the efficiency of production or distribution. Numerous studies have shown that medium-sized plants are often at least as efficient and in some cases more efficient than the largest establishments in an industry. They have also shown that the operation of many plants by a single company doesn't necessarily result in significant cost reductions. This appears to be especially true of the giant conglomerates producing a multitude of totally unrelated products. Horizontal or vertical combinations may in some cases achieve real savings by producing larger quantities of a particular product or by improving the flow of work from one stage to another. But the possibilities for genuine savings by highly diversified conglomerates are minimal. In fact, the effort to coordinate a far-flung industrial empire embracing parking lots, undertaking establishments and countless other unrelated activities may even lead to inefficiency and to added costs.

Nor are the largest firms the ones which invariably produce the greatest technological breakthroughs. One of the most revolutionary technological changes in steelmaking, the basic oxygen process, a process which produces steel six to eight times faster than the open-hearth method, was developed by a little Austrian firm less than one-third the size of a single plant of the U.S. Steel Corporation. And the first American firm to use the process was McLouth Steel—a company with less than 1 percent of U.S. ingot capacity.

One of the most important innovations in petroleum refining—catalytic cracking—was developed by Sun Oil, one of the smaller firms in the refining industry. Most of the really significant structural auto changes in recent years have been developed abroad rather than by the giants of the American automobile industry. And it was only after foreign manufacturers and smaller domestic firms had demonstrated that there was a sizable market for them that the largest auto producers began to turn out compact cars in the United States.

The fact is that the incentive to merge is often purely financial. It frequently has little or nothing to do with the introduction of new or improved products or more efficient methods of production.

The one factor which stimulates merger activity more than any other—which produces the kind of feverish search for acquisitions we have been witnessing—is the accumulation of hoards of cash during periods of general business prosperity. With profits and depreciation soaring to alltime highs during the current boom, American corporations have been searching frantically for opportunities to invest their extra funds. And, for a number of reasons, they prefer to buy companies rather than to pay even higher dividends or invest in securities with fixed returns or build additional plants and equipment.

For one, the merger route provides a short-cut to more rapid growth and higher profits; manpower, production facilities and a market for the goods produced by such resources can be acquired overnight in one fell swoop. For another, a merger is a way to enter a new market without increasing the number of competitors.

Even the tightening of credit since the latter part of 1965 has failed to cool the merger boom. "Buying companies is no easy task these days" reports Dun's Review (May 1966). This is so, however, not because money is unavailable. It is because, as Dun's says, "in an era of high profits and an embarrassment of cash, the market belongs to the seller, not the buyer."

A soaring stock market offers another inducement, totally unrelated to genuine efficiencies, to the merger-minded corporate executive. In fact, it offers a double

inducement:

—An especially rapid increase in the stock price of one firm enables it to pay for another firm with fewer shares of its own stock.

—Such an increase also gives a company a chance to improve its earnings per share by merging with a company whose earnings per share are higher than its own.

The hope that a merger—or even talk of a merger—will in itself cause stock prices to go up offers corporate executives still another purely financial incentive to merge. Many have become substantial stockholders through stock options or other transactions. For them, the rising stock prices resulting from mergers spell rising profits. And such profits have a special attraction because they are subject only to the low capital gains tax rather than the ordinary income tax.

There are other tax "angles" as well. Company A with large losses can be joined with Company B, a profitable firm, and the past losses of A can then be used to reduce the future tax liabilities of B. (This has resulted in some strange combinations, including the merger of a coal producer and an underwear manufacturer.)

Also, when the owners of an acquired company are paid in stock rather than in cash, the law regards the transaction as an exchange of assets. The sellers, therefore, pay no taxes on the gains they realize and this, of course, contributes immeasurably to their eagerness to merge.

The financial benefits for the few which mergers produce are obvious. The improvement in the production of goods and services which they create are not always so obvious. But even if they were, they would not offset the concern aroused by the disappearance of healthy firms with the capacity to compete effectively, the growing concentration of economic power and the frequent abuse of such power.

Coping with Super-Concentration

The problem of economic concentration in America is not new. More than 15,000 mergers during the past 11 years, however, have added immeasurably to its urgency. More than ever before, America has become a nation of giant enterprises with enormous power to fix prices, drive small competitors to the wall and deeply influence the behavior and social values of others.

No responsible organization suggests that all mergers should be banned and the tiny enterprises of an earlier era restored. No one really believes that 20th century America can be transformed into a model of 18th century economic theory—a model in which no firm is large enough to exercise any significant power over prices or the volume of production. The American standard of living depends upon modern production methods. And modern production methods frequently require substantial investments in plant, equipment and sales facilities.

However, the fact that relatively largescale operations can yield genuine social benefits does not mean that they automatically will. Presumably, competition would compel firms to produce better products at lower prices. But in industries dominated by a handful of large firms, competition is weak and almost non-existent. Instead of being regulated by the forces of the marketplace, the dominant firms in such industries regulate the marketplace. The conglomerates, in particular, because of their position in so many different markets, are free of the pressures of any single market in which they operate.

Mountains of testimony before congressional committees, administrative agencies and the nation's courts indicate that this enormous power of big business has frequently been abused. But even if there were no evidence of such abuse, the fact that so much power has been lodged in so few private hands should be a matter of deep public concern.

In the past, such concern led to the enactment of laws which have since become landmarks in American history. In 1890, Congress passed the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, making it illegal for a single company to monopolize trade or to conspire with others to fix prices or to divide up markets. Under this Act, the Standard Oil and American Tobacco trusts were broken up and the merger of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern Railroad was blocked.

In spite of such decisions, the Sherman Act had little effect upon the concentration of economic power. As a result, in 1914 Congress made another attempt to check the growth of concentration. It passed the Clayton Act, which prohibited mergers between competitors even before they reached monopoly proportions. "To arrest the creation of monopolies in their incipiency," the Act outlawed mergers which "may substantially lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly."

But the Clayton Act, too, had little effect upon the problem of consolidations. A serious loophole made it virtually useless in coping with the great merger wave of the 1920s.

To close that loophole and to broaden the scope of the Clayton Act, Congress passed the Celler-Kefauver Act of 1950. This amended the 1914 measure so that it clearly applied not only to mergers between competitors but to all mergers "which might substantially lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly"—including the vertical and conglomerate variety.

Still, the verdict of experts remained negative. Some of the cruder abuses, such as agreements to fix prices or divide markets, were either curtailed or driven underground. But the basic problem was still with us. As Professor Joe Bain observed in 1959:

"The existing anti-trust laws are considerably better than no such laws at all, but they have fallen significantly short of the task of entirely or largely suppressing monopolistic performance tendencies in the economy."

Faced with the impracticality of wholesale "atom-

ization" on the one hand and the dangers of "giving up" on the other, what can the nation do about the threat of ever-increasing concentration in American industry? Clearly, there are no easy one-shot solutions. There are, however, many measures which may be effective in dealing with parts of the problem. Used selectively and flexibly, with careful attention to the special circumstances of each case, their total contribution could be significant.

In the view of many who have studied the matter carefully, the following measures could be particularly helpful in dealing with the problems arising from mergers:

1. The parties to proposed mergers could be required to notify the government in advance. This would avoid unnecessary litigation and provide an opportunity for making arrangements which would preserve healthy competitive conditions. The American Newspaper Guild, for example, has proposed that the public be given at least 90 days' notice of a contemplated merger. During this period, persons other than competitors would have an opportunity to purchase the property at a fair market value before it could be merged with a competitor.

2. Government agencies which enforce the antitrust laws could be given the power to temporarily delay, subject to court appeal, mergers which they believe may be in violation of the law. As the National Commission on Food Marketing pointed out in advocating such authority, assets might otherwise "become intermingled before the government can act and, if divestiture is ordered, 'unscrambling' is difficult and expensive."

3. Corporations could be required to disclose sales, expenses and profits for each separate field of operation as well as in total—to tell "not only *how much* money they made but *where* they made it." Although conglomerates with a new kind of corporate structure have grown rapidly, financial reporting requirements have changed very little. For the most part, corporations are required only to divulge data concerning their total activities. As a result, not even the stockholders of Textron know whether Textron is reaping more of its gains from helicopters than men's shoes or fountain pens.

Actually, the Securities and Exchange Commission is now in the process of formulating requirements for information by division and in some cases by product. This should be completed and put into effect without unnecessary delay.

Security analysts favor such a step because knowledge of the industries from which the sales and earnings of a particular firm arise would help in forecasting the future prospects of that firm. Also, it would help the government to determine whether a company was deliberately losing money in a particular market in order to drive out competitors. It would make it more difficult for firms to misleadingly contend, as frequently happens in collective bargaining, that although the company as a whole is making money, the division involved in the bargaining is suffering grievous losses. And it could prevent unwarranted mergers from taking place at all. One investment expert, an officer of the Dreyfus Fund, observes:

" . . . Such disclosures may contribute to a much closer examination of new acquisitions, especially in unrelated fields, and may remove some of the incentive to grow for growth's sake without proper regard for the efficiency of existing operations and the stockholders' equity in the company." (Letter to Senator Philip A. Hart, D-Mich., May 26, 1965.)

4. The cloak of secrecy which now surrounds efforts to take over a firm through stock purchases could be lifted. Full disclosure is ordinarily required when one firm seeks to obtain control of another through an exchange of stock. However, legal loopholes make it possible for a corporation or group of individuals to purchase controlling blocks of shares of other firms without the latter's management or stockholders knowing about it.

The Pennzoil Company, for example, spent almost one year secretly buying up at least 275,000 shares of United Gas Corporation before openly indicating its desire to take over that company. One insider observed, according to Businessweek (February 26, 1966): "We could have made a merger proposal to United but we certainly would have been turned down. That also would have tipped United that we were interested."

To prevent takeovers from occurring in virtual secrecy, Senator Harrison Williams (D-N.J.) has proposed a bill which would require disclosure when more than 5 percent of a company's outstanding shares are acquired by a person or group of persons acting together. The bill would thereby provide safeguards for investors and workers, particularly against what Senator Williams calls "white-collar pirates" whose subsequent mismanagement can endanger jobs as well as stock values.

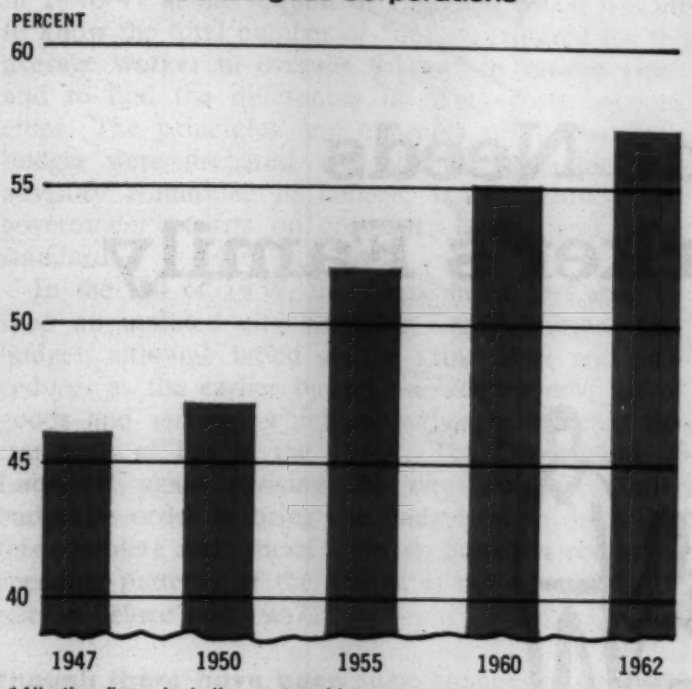
5. An increase in capital gains tax rates could dampen some of the present ardor for mergers which have little justification in terms of efficiency. Under present provisions, such gains, including gains from the sale of stock, are subject to lower tax rates than income from wages, salaries and dividends.

One reason why corporations frequently have more cash than they know what to do with is that there is less pressure from stockholders for increases in dividends because of the capital gains provision. Corporate income which is invested can drive the price of stocks up. A shareholder can then sell his stocks at a profit taxable at the lower capital gains rate. On the other hand, corporate income distributed in the form of dividends is subject to the higher ordinary tax rates.

An increase in the capital gains tax would encourage stepped-up dividend payments and compel corporations, to a greater extent than otherwise, to meet the tests of the money markets for additional

THE CONCENTRATION OF CORPORATE POWER

Share of Land, Buildings and Equipment in Manufacturing Owned by 100 Largest Corporations*



*All other firms, including partnerships and single proprietorships as well as corporations, exceeded 400,000 in 1962.

SOURCE: Staff of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary.

funds for mergers and other purposes. It would also perhaps reduce some of the enthusiasm for mergers exhibited by executives with huge stock options.

A number of other measures are available to combat monopolistic tendencies in general.

1. Existing legislation could be enforced more aggressively, with increasing attention to the growing number of conglomerate mergers. One of the reasons for the current popularity of conglomerate mergers is the knowledge that it is less likely to be challenged because it results in the substitution of one firm for another rather than in the immediate elimination of a competitor (and, therefore, an increase in concentration) as in the case of a horizontal merger.

However, judgments cannot rest solely on shares of the market controlled by conglomerates. The enforcement agencies must be more vigilant in rooting out anti-competitive practices in such situations. Some experts have even suggested that potential or probable anti-competitive effects be a basis for action. And, in fact, the courts have already upheld such action.

2. Stronger deterrents to anti-trust violations are necessary. Jail sentences where justified are obviously far more effective than fines of a few thousand or even a few hundred thousand dollars for firms whose profits run into the millions.

At the very least, the effect of financial penalties should not be diluted. To this end, Senator Hart has introduced a proposal to make it easier to collect damages from anti-trust violators. Under present law, violators frequently prefer to plead "no contest" in criminal anti-trust cases. They do so in order to avoid a guilty verdict which could be used by their victims as evidence to collect triple damages in civil suits. Senator Hart's bill, however, would close this escape route by giving "no contest" as well as guilty pleas status as evidence in civil suits.

Another proposal by Senator Hart would deny violators the right to deduct treble damage payments from their taxable income as though they were ordinary business expenses. A ruling by the Internal Revenue Service permittting such a deduction resulted in a $200 million reduction of the penalty imposed on the 29 electrical equipment manufacturers convicted of conspiracies to fix prices.

3. Government procurement policies should support rather than undermine government anti-trust policies. Rising federal purchases can have an impact on the structure of the economy and should be constantly reviewed to ensure that efficiently operated small and medium-size firms are participating in government orders.

4. In industries dominated by a few firms which are difficult to enter because of large investment requirements or other barriers, the government, it has been suggested, should provide special financial assistance to encourage the entry of new firms. Or, as others have suggested, it might even establish a government-owned corporation like the TVA to provide a yardstick by which to judge and improve the performance of other firms in the industry.

5. Determined action along the lines suggested thus far can do much in the longer run to deal with the kind of pricing power which has imposed a heavy burden during the past year upon families with limited incomes and inhibited the government from taking more vigorous steps towards full employment. However, more direct and immediate action is necessary. Such action could take the form of direct congressional investigations of the price-profit-investment policies of dominant firms in important industries. Or it could result in the establishment of a special board which would hold hearings and publish findings and recommendations concerning intended price increases by dominant firms in key industries before such increases actually took effect.

The remedies could be extended. No combination of measures, however, can ever be fully effective without a much greater appreciation of the dimensions of corporate power in the American economy today, the freedom with which that power is currently exercised and the danger of allowing it to continue to reside in the hands of the officials of a few private corporations.

Hopefully, such appreciation will ultimately lead to a new and greater respect for the positive role which a democratically-elected government can and must play in the creation of a better life for all Americans.

The Income Needs Of the City Worker's Family

by Ralph D. Scott

An income of $131 a week is needed to provide a family of four with a "modest but adequate" standard of living in America's cities in 1966. At present prices, a worker would have to earn $3.27 an hour or $131 a week for 52 weeks—$6,797 a year—in order to meet his family's current needs, according to the AFL-CIO's updating of the U.S. Department of Labor's "City Worker's Family Budget" for 1959.

This is the cost of maintaining a four-person family at a modest standard of living in America's cities, the amount required to meet the necessities of life, pay taxes and enjoy a few of the amenities of life—but with no allowance for luxuries or savings, other than life insurance.

The budget can serve as a useful tool in collective bargaining. Although these budget figures obviously are not a precise guide to wage needs for all workers, they represent a general estimate of the cost of maintaining a modest standard of living in the city.

This updating of the U.S. Department of Labor's city worker's family budget clearly shows that the earnings of many wage and salary workers are not high enough to maintain reasonable living standards for a family.

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The average factory worker in June 1966 earned $2.71 an hour—56 cents per hour less than the minimum of $3.27 needed for adequate support of a family of four. When judged by the updated Department of Labor's standard, the average manufacturing worker's weekly income is about $23 a week too low for a "modest but adequate" family living standard. If he does not work full-time throughout the year, he falls even further behind the minimum needed for a four-person family.

The worker in the retail trades is in a worse position. In June 1966 the retail worker earned $69.14 a week—about $62 a week short of the standard.

The construction worker, with an average weekly income of $146.31 in June, earned above the amount necessary for the "modest but adequate" standard of living. But the average construction worker usually puts in some short workweeks and is unemployed when the weather is bad. As a result, many construction workers earn less than $6,797 a year.

Millions of American workers—skilled as well as unskilled—do not earn the $6,797 a year needed to maintain a minimum, decent living for a city family of four persons.

The "modest but adequate" standard, commonly referred to as the "city worker's family budget," was first developed by the U.S. Department of Labor

in 1946-47 at the request of Congress which wanted to know the total number of "dollars required for the average worker in overalls to live" in various cities and to find the differences in living costs between cities. The principles and concepts of the worker's budget were prepared with the aid of a technical advisory committee of college, labor, industry and government experts on consumer buying and living standards.

In the fall of 1959, the Department of Labor issued an updated city worker's family budget. This budget, although based on the same ideas and procedures as the earlier budget, included a new list of goods and services which more nearly reflected the standards of life in the 1950s. The Department of Labor is again revising the city worker's family budget in order to bring the budget up to date. But this complete and official revision, based on consumer spending patterns of the 1960s, is not scheduled for release before mid-1967.

Though there have been some changes in consumer buying habits and in ideas of adequacy since 1959, an updating of this budget for 1966 can be useful for collective bargaining purposes. The AFL-CIO Research Department updated this budget by taking a weighted average of the weekly income required by the Department of Labor's standard in 20 large cities and their suburban areas at the prices of mid-1966.

The budget measures the income needed by a family of four (an employed husband, age 38, a wife not employed outside the home, and two school-age children, a boy age 13 and a girl age 8), who live in a rented dwelling in a large city or its suburbs, to buy all the goods and services which make up a "modest but adequate" standard of living.

It should be emphasized that the budget does not represent a "luxury" or "ideal" standard. Nor does it show how an "average family" actually spends its money or how it should spend it. Individual families may spend more on one item and less on others, than indicated by the "representative list of goods and services" which make up the budget. But, in general, the budget represents the present cost of what the Department of Labor described in 1959 as a "level of adequate living according to standards prevailing in large cities of the United States in recent years."

The Department of Labor priced the budget in 20 major cities in 1959 and published the separate figures for each of the cities. To update this report, the AFL-CIO calculated the percentage changes in the Consumer Price Index from Autumn 1959 to June 1966 for each of these 20 cities. By this method, a 1966 figure was calculated for the annual income necessary to purchase the amount of goods, rents and services that the Labor Department considered necessary for a modest living in 1959.

Changes in both federal income and social security taxes that have occurred over the past seven years were updated to 1966 levels, so the budget takes account of the full tax reductions under the 1964 tax law, as well as increased social security taxes. The figure for each city was calculated separately. Then, to provide a single figure broadly representative of all the cities, the average was calculated—$6,797—for the 20 cities (weighted by their 1960 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area population).

How is the "modest but adequate" city worker's family budget determined? What quantities of goods and services make up this standard of living concept?

Items included in the budget have been determined by the U.S. Department of Labor, not by any particular individual's judgment of what an adequate level of living should be, but rather by certain standards for some items and by analysis of actual consumer buying practices.

For food and for housing, standards were used to determine nutritional requirements and needs for

MINIMUM INCOME NEEDED FOR "MODEST BUT ADEQUATE" STANDARD OF LIVING [1]

20 MAJOR CITIES – JUNE 1966

City	Necessary Annual Income	Necessary Weekly Income [2]	Necessary Hourly Income [3]
U.S. Average [4]	$ 6,797	$ 131	$ 3.27
Atlanta	6,161	118	2.95
Baltimore	6,307	121	3.03
Boston [5]	7,209	139	3.48
Chicago	7,063	136	3.40
Cincinnati	6,608	127	3.18
Cleveland [6]	6,687	129	3.23
Detroit [6]	6,629	127	3.18
Houston [5]	5,851	113	2.83
Kansas City	6,787	131	3.28
Los Angeles	6,985	134	3.35
Minneapolis [5]	6,751	130	3.25
New York	6,711	129	3.23
Philadelphia	6,525	125	3.31
Pittsburgh [5]	6,811	131	3.28
Portland Ore. [5]	6,992	134	3.35
St. Louis	6,980	134	3.35
San Francisco	7,041	135	3.38
Scranton [6]	6,379	123	3.08
Seattle [6]	7,255	140	3.50
Washington, D.C. [6]	6,874	132	3.30

1 For worker with wife and two children, "modest but adequate" as defined in the Monthly Labor Review study entitled, "The Interim City Worker's Family Budget," August 1960; pp. 785-808; U.S. Department of Labor.

2 Assumes this weekly income received 52 weeks a year; if income is less in some weeks, must be more in others to provide necessary annual total.

3 Assumes 2,080 hours worked during the year (40 hours per week, 52 weeks per year).

4 Average for the 20 cities listed; calculated by the AFL-CIO on basis of each city's "SMSA" population.

5 Budget for April 1966 due to lack of June 1966 data.

6 Budget for May 1966 due to lack of June 1966 data.

housing adequacy. These technical standards were then combined with survey findings on actual purchases.

The quantities of clothing, household equipment and other goods and services included in the budget were determined from surveys of actual family expenditures.

The following specific examples of the quantities of certain items serve to illustrate the modesty of this budget:

- Under food, the budget provides less than one egg per person per day. A four-person family is allowed less than three quarts of milk and milk products per day.
- The clothing allowance for the husband permits purchases of only one suit every two years, five shirts a year and nearly two pairs of shoes (including street, work and casual) a year. For a wife, the allowance for dresses is for an average of 3½ new dresses (one a house dress) a year.
- For furniture and appliances, the budget assumes the family already has the basic household furnishings and equipment, so allowances are essentially for necessary replacement rather than additional purchases. Among the items (and replacement rates) included in the budget: A washing machine (new one every eight years), vacuum cleaner (one every 14 years), toaster (one every 12 years) and sewing machine (one every 20 years).
- The budget assumes the family lives in a rented house or apartment with five rooms (including kitchen) and a bathroom. The specifications for this dwelling are based on standards set by the American Public Health Association and the U.S. Public Housing Administration. They include hot and cold running water, private bathroom including tub or shower, electricity for lighting and installed heating facilities.

Dwellings with more than one bathroom, or above "average size" for 5-room dwellings, or in an apartment with "luxury" services were considered part of a living standard higher than the one provided by the budget and were therefore excluded in checking on rents for the 5-room "modest but adequate" housing. The housing budget also includes the cost of heating (to maintain 70 degree temperature in the winter) and other utilities.

- The transportation budget provides for the purchase of a car by a certain proportion of families, but does not allow for a new car. The allowance is for the purchase of a used car by auto owners every three years. The budget allows for auto ownership for 74 percent of the families in all cities except New York, Philadelphia and Boston, where ownership is assumed for only half the families.

The average annual allowance for car purchase, operation and maintenance for auto owners is $696. (By contrast, in April 1964 the Bureau of Public Roads estimated that a typical one-car family driving 10,000 miles a year spends more than $1,000 a year for automobile travel.) For non-owners of autos, the transportation allowance is an average of only $166 a year. (The non-owner's allowance for public transportation—other than school bus fares—is for an average of only 12 rides a week for the entire four-person family.)

- The recreation allowance includes a TV set (one purchased every nine years), magazines and book purchases of only $23 a year and attendance at the movies an average of every two weeks for the husband, wife and daughter; every 10 days for the son.
- The budget recognizes the need for some gifts and contributions. On the average, a total allowance of $138 a year is made to cover all Christmas, birthday and other presents to persons outside the immediate family and for contributions to church and charities.
- An amount is allowed for life insurance (an average of $110 a year in 1959). A small "miscellaneous" allowance is provided to meet all other expenses, such as lodging away from home, music and dancing lessons for the children and legal expenses. No provision is made in the budget for savings other than life insurance.

The income required by the city worker's budget varies from one city to another—ranging from $5,851 ($113 a week) in the lowest-cost city, Houston, to $7,255 ($140 a week) in the highest-cost city, Seattle.

Some of the variations between cities are due to differences in climate (affecting clothing and fuel allow-

MAJOR COMPONENTS OF THE CITY WORKER'S FAMILY BUDGET [1]

JUNE 1966

City	Food	Housing [2]	Clothing	Medical
U.S. Average [3]	$ 2,005	$ 1,512	$ 604	$ 400
Atlanta	1,706	1,502	580	316
Baltimore	1,775	1,360	616	365
Boston [4]	2,134	1,720	591	392
Chicago	1,986	1,732	602	395
Cincinnati	1,940	1,507	583	335
Cleveland [5]	1,887	1,496	643	432
Detroit	1,979	1,368	610	458
Houston [4]	1,719	1,250	540	356
Kansas City	1,920	1,478	621	379
Los Angeles	1,925	1,656	582	487
Minneapolis [4]	1,836	1,502	623	465
New York	2,092	1,414	607	343
Philadelphia	2,049	1,302	602	384
Pittsburgh [4]	2,119	1,381	624	388
Portland, Ore. [4]	1,990	1,507	622	396
St. Louis	1,992	1,639	584	356
San Francisco	2,010	1,546	633	490
Scranton [5]	1,981	1,186	613	322
Seattle [5]	2,084	1,708	623	428
Washington, D.C. [5]	1,925	1,627	613	392

[1] Does not include the following components of the budget — transportation, other goods and services, taxes or federal old age and survivors' insurance.

[2] Includes rent and utilities.

[3] Average for the 20 cities listed; calculated by AFL-CIO on basis of each city's "SMSA" population.

[4] Budget components for April 1966 due to lack of June 1966 data.

[5] Budget components for May 1966 due to lack of June 1966 data.

ances), in state and local taxes and to regional differences in quantities or types of goods purchased or needed in particular areas.

Although state and local taxes have increased rapidly over the last seven years, there is no satisfactory method of including these cost-increases in this budget. For this reason, increases in state and local taxes are not included in this updating of the budget.

The chief cause of differences in the cost of the budget from city to city is the cost of housing (rent and utilities). This important item varies more than any other major part of the budget—from $1,186 in Scranton to $1,732 in Chicago. But there is no consistent regional pattern in these differences of housing costs.

A second variable is the cost of food, although differences are not as great as for housing. The foods in the budget are different for each region, according to the regional preference patterns shown in the studies of actual food expenditures. In the southern region, the "preference" was for foods which are cheaper than those preferred in other regions. If the foods priced in the southern cities were the same as those allowed in other regions, larger food-money allowances would be needed in southern cities.

Due to the rapid rise in medical expenses in recent years, the medical care portion of the budget has increased 24 percent since 1959. As a contrast, the allowances for food and housing have increased 13 percent and 10 percent, respectively, since 1959.

Some employers have argued that the "city workers's family budget" estimates are not appropriate for consideration in wage bargaining. They stress that while the budget measures the need of a wage earner for support of a four-person family, many families are smaller than four persons and some actually have more than one wage earner.

These arguments have little merit. In this country, wages are not related to size of family. Thus the fact that there are variations in worker-family size should not make any difference in wage negotiations. It makes sense to use a reasonably representative family size in measuring worker-family needs—as one guide to the wage and salary needs of American workers.

It should be noted that a four-person family is widely considered a typical American size. According to the 1960 census, the four-or-more-person family comprised over half of all non-farm families, with household heads under 65 years of age. Thus a city family with four members would appear to be the most meaningful and typical.

Wages should be enough to support adequately at least a wife and two children, whether or not each worker has a family just that size. It should not be necessary for two members of a family to work for the family to live on a modest American scale. In too many cases, a wife finds that it is necessary for her to take a job in order to bring the family's income up merely to a level of adequacy.

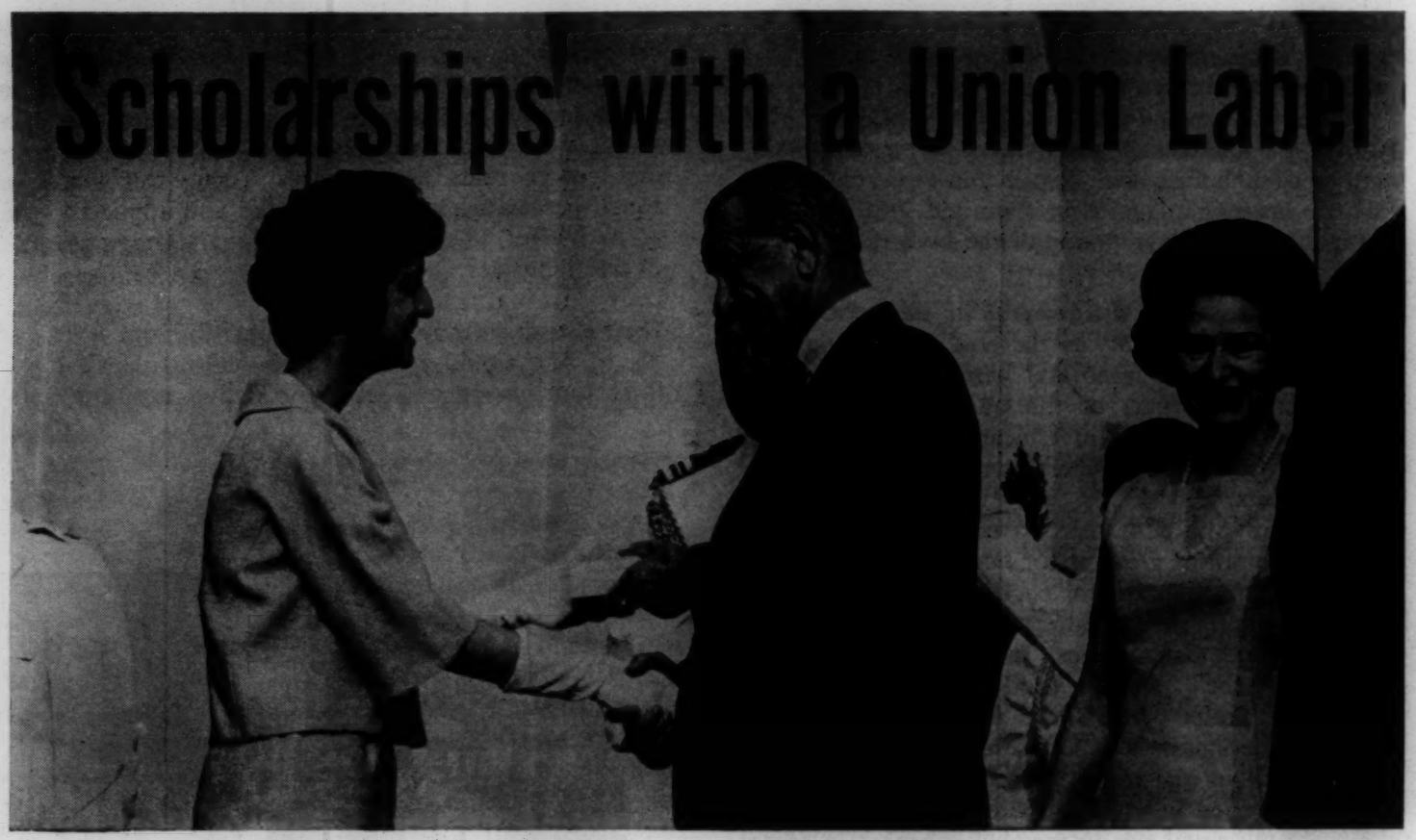
The Department of Labor has not developed a budget for various-size families. However, using the four-person family as a guide, it has developed a technique for calculating the approximate amounts required for families of other sizes to buy the equivalent goods, rents and services. Using this guide, a rough percentage can be estimated and applied to the entire budget, to obtain the cost of maintaining families of different sizes.

Thus a two-person family of husband and wife, age 35 to 55, would need $4,690—69 percent of the total four-person budget. For a five-person family,

with the oldest child between 6 and 16 years, the total budget is about $8,020—18 percent greater than the four-person amount.

When the figures presented in this brief explanation of the "city worker's family budget" are related to the income of the average American working man, a clear picture of the inadequacy of the wages paid to large numbers of workers emerges. Millions of American workers simply do not earn enough to maintain modest living standards for themselves and their families.

The updating of the "city worker's family budget" indicates the need for substantial wage increases—to lift the average earnings of workers up to at least the $6,797 required to maintain a minimum, adequate standard of living for a family of four in 1966.



by Lawrence Rogin

For the past three years, in the late spring, the President of the United States has honored 121 of the nation's outstanding high school graduates. Selected on the basis of academic achievement, leadership in school activities and community concern, they are brought to Washington, feted, and held forth as examples for those still engaged in high school study. In a sense they are the "All-American" scholastic team. Each year, about 10 percent of these Presidential Scholars have been sons or daughters of union members.

The existence of such great talent among their children is no surprise to union members. For American workers have long been making great sacrifices so that their children might have opportunities to go on to college and university. They have seen their children work long hours at low paying jobs in order to put together the money needed for higher education. But, too often, parents have had to tell their children, anxious and able for more study: "Sorry, but the money just isn't there" or "You'd better get a job so the family can make ends meet."

It has been this latter bitter experience that has placed unions in the forefront of the fight in state and nation for free or low tuition institutions of higher learning with open admission policies; for student aid programs which would enable workers' children to have a real opportunity for higher education.

And it has been the same experience which has caused national and local unions, the AFL-CIO and many state and local federations to establish their own programs of scholarships and grants.

This fall, somewhat more than 1,400 students will attend college, or participate in some form of post-high school education, with the assistance of a grant from the AFL-CIO or one of its affiliates. The amounts received will vary from $50 to the winner of a high school essay contest to $2,500 a year for four years to winners of some major international union awards.

The best estimate by the AFL-CIO Education Department, as the result of a continuing survey, indicates that the total amount to be spent this school year will reach $1.4 million. Most of those receiving grants will be union members, or children of union members, but there will be many others who will be selected because of special abilities or their concern for special fields, such as teaching.

Most of the money to make up this $1.4 million comes from union treasuries, financed by regular dues payments. In a few cases, local union members have assessed themselves to establish scholarship programs and there are a few scholarship trust funds made up in part from gifts received especially for this purpose. More and more, however, the scholarship program is becoming a fringe benefit, either part of a health and welfare program or financed by a specific number of cents per hour negotiated just to help some union

LAWRENCE ROGIN is Director of the AFL-CIO Department of Education.

Opposite: Carolyn Toly accepts a medal from President Johnson in White House ceremony. Carolyn and her sister, also a Presidential Scholar, are daughters of a Sheet Metal worker.

Ivy Lorraine Thomas is studying at Wellesley on an AFL-CIO 1966 merit scholarship. She also was named a Presidential Scholar.

Richard J. Hasher majored in biochemistry at the University of Chicago on an AFL-CIO grant. He will do graduate work at UCLA.

members or their children pay the costs of higher education. These negotiated programs are a conscious decision of the members that some of their money should be used in this way.

The unionists who have established these programs recognize that the help they can provide is a very small part of what is needed if the United States is to live up to its implied promise of equal educational opportunity. They know that increasing tax support of both students and institutions of higher education is essential to accomplish this goal. But for those who are helped by union grants, the assistance is real, in some cases making the difference between going to college and not going and in others making it possible for the recipient to have a real choice of the college.

A close look at a few of the scholarship programs may provide some understanding of how they function.

The AFL-CIO awards six scholarships a year in cooperation with the National Merit Scholarship Corporation. The awards are made on a regional basis to graduating high school seniors who are among the approximately 14,000 annually who rise to the top in the NMSC testing program. The AFL-CIO agreement with NMSC provides that three of the winners must be sons or daughters of AFL-CIO affiliated unions while the other three are unrestricted, the winners may or may not be children of unionists. The maximum grant is $1,500 a year for four years, with the exact amount determined on the basis of need, under NMSC rules. Since need is always an important factor in selection, most of the winners receive the full amount

John Ferrell did his undergraduate work at Harvard on an AFL-CIO grant. He is now at Columbia University Law School.

and, with the costs of going away from home to college being what they are, they have to work during the summer and at school, too, in order to make ends meet.

Just what kinds of youngsters get this help from the AFL-CIO? A look at those who started college this fall and those who graduated last June provides some examples.

- Ivy Lorraine Thomas is at Wellesley College, planning to become a child psychologist. When she was in high school in Flint, Michigan, she was active in the NAACP. Her mother, a schoolteacher, has been working hard to build the Teachers' local in Flint.
- William M. Boyd of Mobile, Alabama, is the son of a member of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Lodge 1128, and a schoolteacher who is part of the effort to unionize that school system. Bill felt that it was important to leave the South to continue his education and the AFL-CIO award has made it possible for him to go to Harvard.
- Belinda Yuk Kim Wong goes from Hawaii to the U. of Southern California, hoping for a government career. The AFL-CIO scholarship provided this opportunity. Miss Wong's father is a longtime member of Local 742 of the Iron Workers.
- Julia G. Webb of Jackson, Mississippi, has enrolled in Vanderbilt University where she hopes to prepare for teaching. Julia's father died some years ago and her mother has been working to support the family.
- William E. Wainer of Brunswick, Maine, needed financial help to go to college. With the assistance of the AFL-CIO, he has entered Bowdoin, where he is majoring in history.
- William K. Tomhave of Austin, Minnesota, whose father has belonged to Local 9, United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers, for many years, attends Luther College, Decora, Iowa. He is planning to teach math and music after graduation.

Here is the other view, the graduating AFL-CIO scholars of last spring. There were four. One recipient, a young lady, graduated a semester early and is now teaching in North Carolina. Another, a young man, is enrolled at Harvard and postponed his graduation so he could study in Europe. But the four who did receive their degrees in June are typical of those who have gone before them or who have benefited from other union awards.

- Paul Meyer of University City, Missouri, graduated from Harvard with an almost perfect scholastic record. He won his A.B. magna cum laude and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. He has received a grant which enabled him to attend Harvard Law School. Paul continued his interest in art and music while at Harvard and spent many weekends at Boston Hospital, where he taught art as part of the therapy program for mental health patients. Paul's father is a former member of the American Newspaper Guild who now belongs to the Typographical Union.
- Edward Holpuch of Issaquah, Washington, is now in graduate school at the University of Michigan, from which he graduated last spring with an excellent record in studies and sports and where he served as dormitory counselor. He is a member of Laborers Local 440 back home and has worked summers to supplement his income.
- Richard J. Hasher, formerly of Euclid, Ohio, graduated from the University of Chicago as a major in biochemistry. He is continuing his studies at the University of California, Los Angeles, where he has a teaching fellowship in the zoology department. During the spring vacation of 1965, Hasher and his wife, a member of the Southern Work Project Committee, worked with 33 other students in Fayette County, Tennessee, helping to build a community center for Negro sharecroppers evicted from their homes because they had insisted on their right to vote. Both have been active in civil rights work throughout school.
- John Ferrell of Walnut Ridge, Arkansas, who graduated from Harvard, also has demonstrated his concern for civil rights. He spent the summer of 1964 as part of an interracial tutoring project at Miles College, Birmingham, Alabama. A report of this activity was published in the November 1964 American Federationist. This past summer he worked in a Cambridge, Massachusetts, settlement house before entering Columbia University Law School. John's mother

Labor on Education

The AFL-CIO takes the position that there should be opportunity for post-high school education for every person who desires it and has the ability to benefit from it. To accomplish this, the labor movement supports:

- Sharply increased federal and state appropriations for the construction of needed classrooms, libraries and other facilities, in both public and non-public institutions of higher learning, particularly community colleges, so that no student shall be denied opportunity for higher education because of lack of space.
- Increased federal and state support for community colleges, including operational expenses, to make available throughout the country free public education through the 14th year.
- A greatly expanded student aid program, including grants, work-study and federally subsidized student loans.
- In the long run, a universal bill of educational rights for higher education which will provide support to the student, so as to make possible free choice of educational institution.

This program is based on the assumption that there will be major improvements in elementary and secondary education so no student is deprived of educational opportunity because of inadequate preparation.

is an active member of Local 579, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union.

Most of the 24 international union programs are directed toward helping younger members of the union or sons and daughters of union members. The International Ladies' Garment Workers Union has awarded scholarships for many years, as have such unions as the Machinists, Retail Clerks, Bricklayers and the Operating Engineers. The National Association of Letter Carriers and the Hotel and Restaurant Workers are among those who have recently started activity.

One new program is of particular interest. This spring, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers awarded eight scholarships to young journeymen, under 30, to study electrical engineering. Some of the winners were already enrolled in night classes and will now be able to go full time. Each scholarship is $2,500 a year for four years. Since most of the winners are married men with children, the union is planning to help them get summer and holiday work.

The two major seamen's unions have established scholarship programs as part of their negotiated pension and welfare funds. Nine scholarships annually are available in the National Maritime Union and five in the Seafarers International Union.

The United Packinghouse Workers uses an award in honor of Russell H. Bull, a pioneer leader of the union, as a means of giving recognition to students who have demonstrated leadership in the fight for civil rights.

Another unique activity is sponsored by the American Federation of Musicians. Each year the union brings together on the campus of Michigan State University 100 young musicians who play the violin or other string instruments. The program is called the International Congress of Strings. Here the young men and women have a chance to receive instruction from the finest musicians in the country and perform under noted conductors. All expenses are met by the AFM.

Local scholarship programs vary even more than do those of the internationals. Some provide a single grant to one or more outstanding students to help them get started in college. In some cases, like Laborers Local 252 in Tacoma, Washington, the grant is accompanied by assurance of summer employment, permitting earnings as high as $1,500 a year and assurance of ability to meet college costs until graduation.

Most grants run four years and are financed by union treasuries or by putting aside regular sums in a special fund. Almost every international union has one or more locals who make grants of some kind. The United Steelworkers of America has pressed the program in its districts and local unions with widespread response. In a recent year, 14 Steelworker districts and 78 local unions awarded scholarships valued at $150,000.

Recently, more and more of the local scholarships are financed as a fringe benefit in collective bargaining. Local 3 of the IBEW in New York pioneered in this activity, as it has in many educational programs. In 1965, twenty sons and daughters of Local 3 members entered college on grants which were "negotiated" for them, so to speak. Local 3 provides financial help to union members themselves and wives of members who continue their education.

This example of negotiated scholarship funds was followed by another New York union, the Times unit of the New York Newspaper Guild. In this instance, the fund is financed through the allocation of 13 cents per worker per week and in 1966 it made possible 14 four-year scholarships ranging from $250 to $500 annually.

The Chicago Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has faced up to the problem that almost all scholarship programs are selective, that is, only a very few of the eligible children of members benefit. Taking advantage of employer contributions to a long existing welfare fund, this ACWA unit will award $600 a year for post-high school education of the child of any 13-year member of the union. The money may be used for college, junior college, technical or vocational training, or attendance at any other accredited institution.

Most of the 14 state AFL-CIO organizations which provide scholarships combine the grant with an essay contest or a test related to unionism, participated in by graduating high school seniors throughout the state. There has been little difficulty in obtaining cooperation from the schools and from interested teachers in getting widespread participation and in establishing effective, impartial selection. In some instances, such as Massachusetts and California, the state AFL-CIO cooperates with local central bodies and local unions in order to provide a greater number of awards and to arouse interest.

The Kansas State AFL-CIO has taken a quite different approach. Recognizing the great teacher shortage, Kansas unionists use their funds to make it possible for needy students to attend the Kansas State Teachers College at Emporia. Selection of worthwhile needy students is made by the college. As many as 42 future Kansas teachers have received the grants in one year.

In some ways the students who are helped are the most dramatic evidence of American labor's concern for education. Those who have benefited have been warm in their appreciation. One recent graduate, a recipient of an AFL-CIO grant, had this to say: "With this, the last letter of my undergraduate years, I suppose I should join my fellow Merit Scholars in showering the labor movement, the AFL-CIO, with words of thanks and praise. But let me choose another path. Let me plan to thank you not with words but with deeds, not today but in the decades to come."

NEW BOOKS

The National Election of 1964.

Milton C. Cummings, Jr., editor. The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. 1966. 295 pages. $5.

This Brookings Institution study, the latest in a series of surveys of American politics, should be read and remembered. The seven contributing authors review specific aspects of the 1964 campaign, comment on its background and speculate on its meaning in terms of long-term changes in the electoral process and immediate shifts in the balance of political power.

The nomination of Barry Goldwater in San Francisco in 1964 was the result of a well financed, minutely organized and, most important, early national effort by ultra conservatives of both parties. The Republican convention floor was filled with people new to professional politics and dedicated to the nomination of their "leader."

Subsequent Republican campaign strategy pushed the conservative "choice, not an echo." Moderates were pointedly rebuffed in an attempt to reach the supposed hidden bloc of conservative voters. This, in essence, changed the activist core of the Republican Party. Where moderate Republicans won hard fought primary battles in Senate races in Oklahoma, Texas and Ohio, they later went on to defeat in the general election—strengthening the conservative cause within the party structure.

The Citizens for Goldwater-Miller announced a 1964 campaign surplus of $200,000 and said they planned to use it to elect conservative candidates to Congress in 1966. They have been successful in most Republican primaries thus far. The chairman of the moderate Republican Governors Association, Idaho Governor Robert Smylie, was defeated by a conservative in his primary bid for renomination. Several conservative representatives who supported Goldwater in 1964 and went down to defeat with him have won their primary battles with moderates.

Prior to 1964 the tendency would have been to forecast a Democratic defeat in 1966. Though Democrats are in the majority, Republicans have in the past identified more strongly with their party and been more inclined to vote. But the current disunity in Republican Party ranks which has resulted from the conservative takeover of 1964 may temper the traditional and predicted Democratic loss. —*Shari B. Teele*

Sky Full of Storm: A Brief History of California Labor.

By David F. Selvin. Center for Labor Research and Education, Institute of Industrial Relations, U. of California, Berkeley. 1966. 86 pages. $1 per copy; 50 cents each for 50 or more copies.

In this lively and easy-reading history of California labor, Selvin warns that the gains which workers fought for and won over the course of 115 years can be quickly washed away. The many anti-union open shop employers in California seem to have an unquenchable thirst for a cheap and abundant labor supply, Selvin observes. He points out that the nation's most populous state will in the years ahead be expected to absorb 1,700 people a day and open up jobs for workers of all ages, for women and for minorities. Though the issue of union recognition and bargaining is stilled for the moment, it can be "noisily revived" by failure to solve problems of the poor, the impact of automation and a changing economy.

"Sky Full of Storm" recounts the colorful and often violent history of labor in sketching the creation of the Workingmen's Party in 1877 following the dispute over Chinese labor; the San Francisco general strike of 1900; the bombing of the Los Angeles Times, which left an open-shop climate for 30 years; and on to the successful grape picker strikes of 1966.

Teaching Methods and Techniques of Labor Education.

Prepared by Fanny Simon for ORIT, the Inter-American Regional Organization of the ICFTU, Apartado Postal 7039, Plaza de la Republica 30, Mexico, D. F. 237 pages. $1.

For many years now U. S. labor education has needed a manual of workers' education purposes and techniques suitable for the new practitioner and for the teacher of college students who needs to adapt his methods for use with adult workers. This need is now largely met by this new ORIT publication, well described in its sub-title as "A Manual on How to Teach for the Use of the Teacher." The book has been written by an active unionist who has been a teacher of children and adults all of her life and most recently program coordinator for the Inter-American Labor College conducted by ORIT.

Miss Simon is attempting to meet the needs of the hundreds of new teachers who are being trained by ORIT and other organizations and who are participating in the great growth of union education in Latin America and the Caribbean. The book is, therefore, focused on their problems and the examples are taken from their experience. Miss Simon's experience has indicated that the basic labor education objective and techniques used in the United States are equally effective elsewhere. So her book has brought together much that is familiar to those who have been teaching U. S. unionists for some time. Because it does the job well, it will be useful to those who are just getting started.

Miss Simon starts from a definition of labor education which is "oriented to solving the problems of the union, its members and the labor movement of which it is a part." The specific chapters deal with such problems as program planning, how adults learn, the planning of a course and the lesson, as well as the actual techniques of teaching. Because she is convinced that student participation is a key to learning, Miss Simon stresses the discussion method, including such aids as role playing, films, filmstrips and recordings. There are sections on the use of the blackboard and questionnaires and on evaluation.

Labor educators in the United States will be grateful to ORIT for taking the initiative in issuing this manual and to Miss Simon for the way she has done the job.

NEW PAMPHLETS

Consumer, Beware!

AFL-CIO Publication No. 47. Revised edition, August 1966. Order from AFL-CIO Pamphlet Division, 815-16th St., NW, Washington, D.C. 22 pages. Single copy free; in quantity, 15 cents each and $13.50 per 100.

This extremely popular and valuable guide to installment buying is now available in a new edition. Using many examples, it cautions the buyer to be concerned not only with the price of a car or other item but especially with the cost of credit. This guide urges the consumer to restrain her impulse and plan her installment buying. It works out the arithmetic of credit charges, compares different types of charges and shows the advantage of using credit unions. Other useful information lists each state's legal ceiling on charges for small loans and also the state laws which regulate installment sales contracts.

Working Together—The Key to Jobs for the Handicapped.

AFL-CIO Publication No. 42. Available from AFL-CIO Pamphlet Division, 815 - 16th St., NW, Washington, D.C. 13 pages. Single copy free; in quantity, 10 cents each and $7.50 per 100 copies.

This new guide stresses the role labor can play in promoting jobs for the handicapped, including the mentally restored and the mentally retarded. The publication contains a six-point statement of policy and sample contract clauses covering jobs for the handicapped. Distribution is being made to state labor federations and councils and to Governors' Committees on Employment of the Handicapped.

How We Can Get The Nurses We Need.

Public Affairs Pamphlet, 381 Park Ave. South, New York, N.Y. 28 pages. 25 cents.

A constantly growing demand for more nurses has been accelerated by the enactment of medicare, a steady increase in medical and surgical insurance plans and community health facilities. More young women would be attracted to nursing as a career if it were not one of the lowest-paying professions. This pamphlet discusses this critical problem and its impact on the quality of health care received in hospitals today. Professional standards and new methods such as team nursing also are discussed.

Countering Extremism.

American Jewish Committee, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 28 pages. 35 cents.

A lot of material has been written on the extremists, their tactics and their attempt to infiltrate the major parties. The main value of this pamphlet is in its emphasis on an action program to combat extremist activities. Concentrating on how to find allies and mobilize public support, the pamphlet discusses ways to inform the community through meetings, publicity, literature, display materials and other channels. A list of organizations which will be able to provide aid in mobilizing against the extremist forces in your community is included.

How to Get Better Government.

By H. E. Kaplan. Public Affairs Pamphlet, 381 Park Ave. South, New York, N. Y. 20 pages. 25 cents.

Every citizen wants an orderly, well-administered government that will provide all the services which make his life comfortable and safe. The author argues that patronage as a system of filling jobs in the public sector does not bring the best-qualified people into the government. Yet only about 30 states, a minority of the cities under 100,000 and few counties and towns select their employes on any formal merit system. This pamphlet discusses the growing number of jobs in state and local government and urges expansion of the merit system. How the merit system was instituted in states such as Michigan, Connecticut and Pennsylvania is discussed.

The Job Corps: A Dialogue.

American Child. Winter 1966. Quarterly published by National Committee on Employment of Youth, 145 E. 32nd St., New York, N.Y. 32 pages. 50 cents.

This pamphlet records a free-wheeling discussion of the Job Corps by several of its officials and a group of constructive critics. They talked about Job Corps goals and strategy, dropouts and other problems.

Your Money and Your Life.

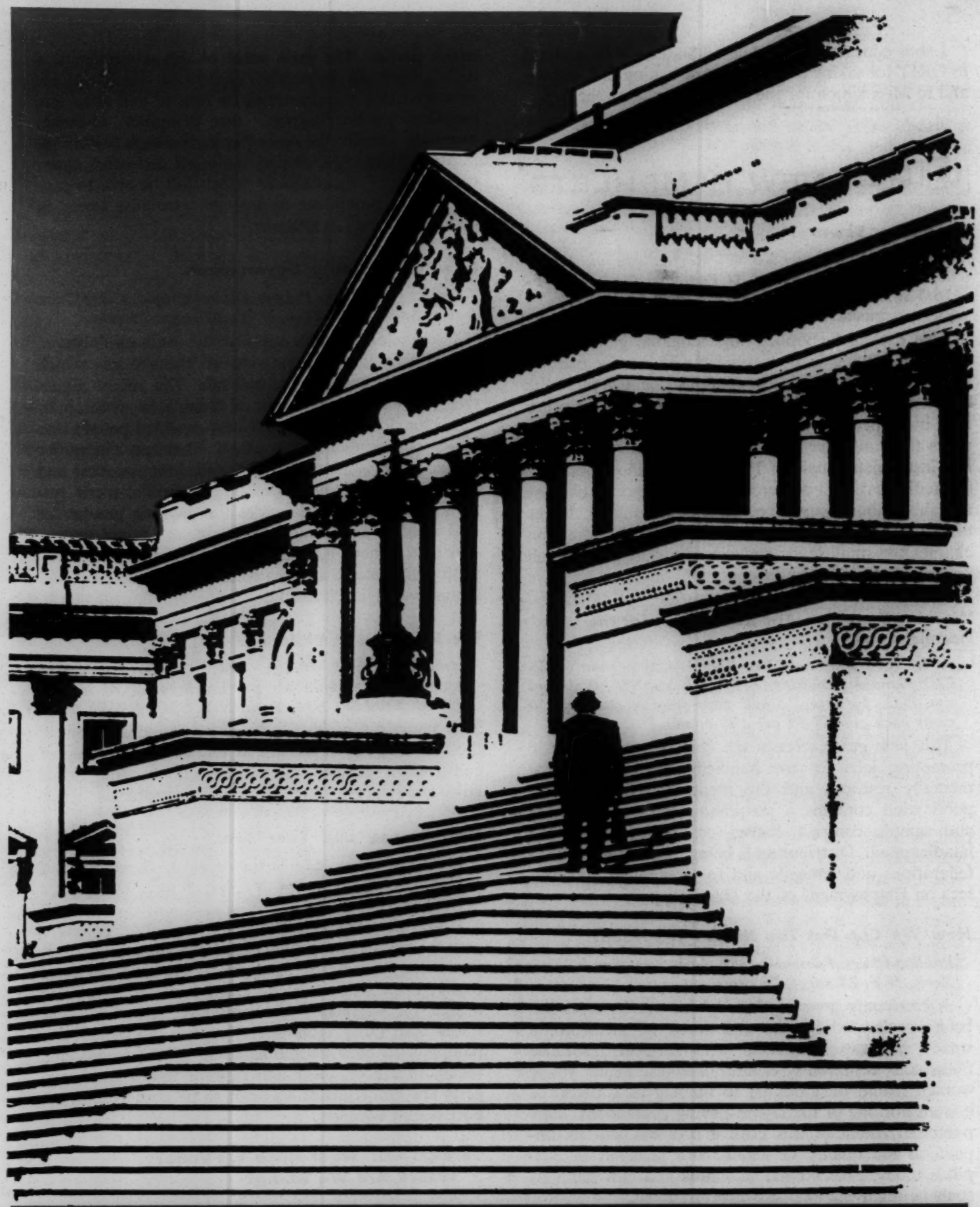
Food and Drug Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Wash., D.C. Single copy free.

Consumers are swindled out of a billion dollars a year by quacks and promoters of worthless and sometimes dangerous health products. It has been estimated that arthritic patients alone spend some $250 million a year on worthless, misrepresented remedies. The Food and Drug Administration has published this pamphlet to alert people to some of the frauds and fakery in cancer, ulcer and rupture "cures" and suggests law enforcement agencies to be contacted to report health swindles.

Foreign Aid: What Have We Done? Where Are We Going?

Center for Information on America, Washington, Conn. 4 pages. 35 cents.

A factual account of major trends in the American foreign aid program since its inception during the second world war is contained in this pamphlet. Issues now being discussed in the reappraisal of foreign aid programs are set forth in brief.



YOUR **VOTE** CAN HELP BRING
BETTER GOVERNMENT AND JUST LAWS

NOV 16 1966

Manhattan Youth Opportunity Center
330 West 34 Street
New York, N. Y. 10001

November 1966

Dear Friend:

The Manhattan Youth Opportunity Center is now engaged in a drive to recruit young men for Job Corps.

Will you assist us by referring interested young men to the Youth Opportunity Center <u>in the borough in which they reside?</u>

Manhattan residents may report to the YOC located at 330 West 34 Street, New York City. Please feel free to contact me should you have any questions. Telephone 695-0750.

Thank you for your cooperation.

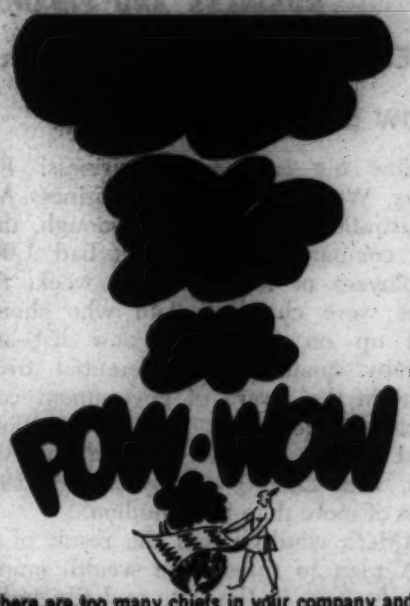
Sincerely,

Robert Payne
Director

Ruth Coleman

By: Ruth Coleman
Community Relations Coordinator

RP:RC:mh



If there are too many chiefs in your company and you're still slaving as a brave or a squaw, come on in for a pow-wow. We have 1500 skilled Professional Employment Counsellors in over 275 offices coast to coast. Any one of them will do a rain dance if that's what it takes to get you a better job. Don't send smoke signals . . . look us up in the white pages and call now.

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DIVIDEND ANNOUNCEMENT

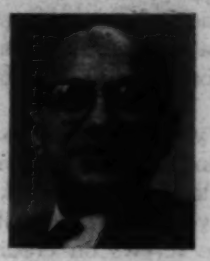
MASSACHUSETTS INVESTORS GROWTH STOCK FUND

135TH

CONSECUTIVE QUARTERLY DIVIDEND

A dividend of $3.4 million, equal to 4 cents a share, will be payable September 26, 1966 to over 149,000 shareholders of record Aug. 31, 1966.

ROBERT W. LADD, Secretary
200 Berkeley Street, Boston



MILTON FRIEDMAN

ON

MINIMUM-WAGE RATES

Congress has just acted to increase unemployment. It did so by raising the legal minimum-wage rate from $1.25 to $1.60 an hour, effective in 1968, and extending its coverage. The result will be and must be to add to the ranks of the unemployed.

Does a merchant increase his sales by raising prices? Does higher pay of domestic servants induce more housewives to hire help? The situation is no different for other employers. The higher wage rate decreed by Congress for low-paid workers will raise the cost of the goods that these workers produce—and must discourage sales. It will also induce employers to replace such workers with other workers—either to do the same work or to produce machinery to do the work.

Some workers who already receive wages well above the legal minimum will benefit—because they will face less competition from the unskilled. That is why many unions are strong supporters of higher minimum-wage rates. Some employers and employees in places where wages are already high will benefit because they will face less competition from businessmen who might otherwise invest capital in areas that have large pools of unskilled labor. That is why Northern manufacturers and unions, particularly in New England, are the principal sources of political pressure for higher legal minimum-wage rates.

IT'S ANTI-NEGRO

The groups that will be hurt the most are the low-paid and the unskilled. The ones who remain employed will receive higher wage rates, but fewer will be employed. As Prof. James Tobin, who was a member of President Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisers, recently wrote: "People who lack the capacity to earn a decent living need to be helped, but they will not be helped by minimum-wage laws, trade-union wage pressures or other devices which seek to compel employers to pay them more than their work is worth. The more likely outcome of such regulations is that the intended beneficiaries are not employed at all."

The loss to the unskilled workers will not be offset by gains to others. Smaller total employment will result in a smaller total output. Hence the community as a whole will be worse off.

Women, teen-agers, Negroes and particularly Negro teen-agers will be especially hard hit. I am convinced that the minimum-wage law is the most anti-Negro law on our statute books—in its effect not its intent. It is a tragic but undoubted legacy of the past—and one we must try to correct—that on the average Negroes have lower skills than whites. Similarly, teen-agers are less skilled than older workers. Both Negroes and teen-agers are only made worse off by discouraging employers from hiring them. On-the-job training—the main route whereby the unskilled have become skilled—is thus denied them.

WHO IS HELPED?

The shockingly high rate of unemployment among teen-age Negro boys is largely a result of the present Federal minimum-wage rate. And unemployment will be boosted still higher by the rise just enacted. Before 1956, unemployment among Negro boys aged 14 to 19 was around 8 to 11 per cent, about the same as among white boys. Within two years after the legal minimum was raised from 75 cents to $1 an hour in 1956, unemployment among Negro boys shot up to 24 per cent and among white boys to 14 per cent. Both figures have remained roughly the same ever since. But I am convinced that, when it becomes effective, the $1.60 minimum will increase unemployment among Negro boys to 30 per cent or more.

Many well-meaning people favor legal minimum-wage rates in the mistaken belief that they help the poor. These people confuse wage *rates* with wage *income*. It has always been a mystery to me to understand why a youngster is better off unemployed at $1.60 an hour than employed at $1.25. Moreover, many workers in low wage brackets are supplementary earners—that is, youngsters who are just getting started or elderly folk who are adding to the main source of family income. I favor governmental measures that are designed to set a floor under *family income*. Legal minimum-wage rates only make this task more difficult.

The rise in the legal minimum-wage rate is a monument to the power of superficial thinking.

Employment

TITLE VII NEWS BRIEFS

.....from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission -
Stephen N. Shulman, Chairman
1800 G Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506

October, 1966

These are some of the things that are happening every day as the EEOC pursues its assignment to end job discrimination...

HALF A MILLION DOLLARS in new wages for Negroes resulted from an EEOC conciliation at an aircraft manufacturing plant in the South.

Investigation of a job discrimination complaint revealed only 32 Negro employees -- all in laborers' jobs. The company agreed with EEOC's conciliator to initiate a training program in cooperation with the Labor Department's OMAT Division.

Result: 245 Negroes are now employed in 40 job classifications plus eight Negroes in salaried positions ranging from clerical to technical.

****

EEOC CARES about individuals. When a Negro employee of a paper products plant in a Deep South state was fired six months after he had filed one of the first job discrimination charges with the Commission, the Commission went to bat for him, worked out a reinstatement through the company/union grievance machinery.

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"COMMISSION FOLLOW-UP," says Commissioner Samuel C. Jackson, "is a top priority at EEOC. Ten regional offices put compliance officers even closer to the scene of conciliations, to see to it that agreements are carried out. Anyone who knows of a situation which is not holding firm is invited to call it to the attention of EEOC."

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NEGROES RESTRICTED to low-paying job classifications in a pipe plant in Alabama are now in new training program making it possible for them to move up to better paying jobs. It was worked out by EEOC conciliators and 125 of the 300 Negroes in the plant are already in training.

****

$10,000 IN BACK PAY has been obtained for persons through EEOC job reinstatements in all parts of the country.

****

NEGRO AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN EMPLOYEES of a Southwestern firm now receive retirement and hospitalization benefits. The employer, prior to a charge filed with EEOC, had provided such benefits to "Anglo" employees only.

****

SEGREGATED TOILET FACILITIES was the basis of a charge filed by an employee of a utility company in the South. EEOC's conciliator came back with assurance that the policy would be discontinued -- AND that Negroes would be upgraded to higher paying jobs.

****

EEOC's NEW CHAIRMAN, Stephen N. Shulman, said at his swearing-in ceremony at the White House: "I will work hard to eliminate my job. That will be when there is nothing left for the Commission to do."

****

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Jamaica, New York.

57 Willoughby Street
Brooklyn, New York

558 Southern Boulevard (149 St.)
Bronx, New York

25 Hyatt Street
St. George, Staten Island, N.Y.

PM 520(11-66)

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SERVICE
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DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
DIVISION OF EMPLOYMENT

NEW YORK STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

DATOS QUE LOS PADRES DEBEN DE SABER ACERCA DEL CUERPO DE EMPLEO

El Cuerpo de Empleo es principalmente para jóvenes o jovencitas que no asisten a la escuela y que no pueden conseguir trabajo. En Centros del Cuerpo de Empleo, estos jóvenes recibirán educacion básica, entrenamiento para trabajos, y la experiencia necesaria para desarrollar buenas costumbres para trabajar. Recibirán casa, comida, ropa y dinero ($30.00 mensuales). También cuando dejen, recibirán $50.00 por cada mes de servicio satisfactorio en el Cuerpo de Empleo.

Si el joven desea mandar dinero a su casa en vez de ahorrarlo, puede mandar la cantidad de $25.00 mensuales. El Cuerpo de Empleo mandarán una suma igual. Entonces, el joven puede ahorrar $25.00 y su família recibirá $50.00 por cada mes que el permanesca en el Cuerpo de Empleo.

Jóvenes de 16 a 21 años pueden aplicar para el Cuerpo de Empleo. Hay dos clases de Centros de Empleo donde un joven puede ir. Uno de ellos es situado en tierra pública tales como Parques y Bosques Nacionales. En estos centros, los jóvenes pueden hacer trabajos de carpintería, de silvicultura, carreteras y caminos. También aprenderán a leer y escribir mejor. Aprenderán como entrevistarse para empleos y otras habilidades que les ayudará mucho para conseguir trabajo en el futuro. La otra clase del Cuerpo de Empleo para jóvenes es situada cerca o en una de las ciudades grandes. En estos Centros ellos recibirán entrenamiento de trabajo más especializado.

Las jovencitas irán a Centros del Cuerpo de Empleo cerca o en una de las ciudades grandes. Serán entrenadas para trabajar en oficinas comerciales, hospitales, tiendas, salones de belleza, restaurantes, niñerías, o en otros trabajos que hayan disponibles. También aprenderán como manejar las responsabilidades del hogar y la familia.

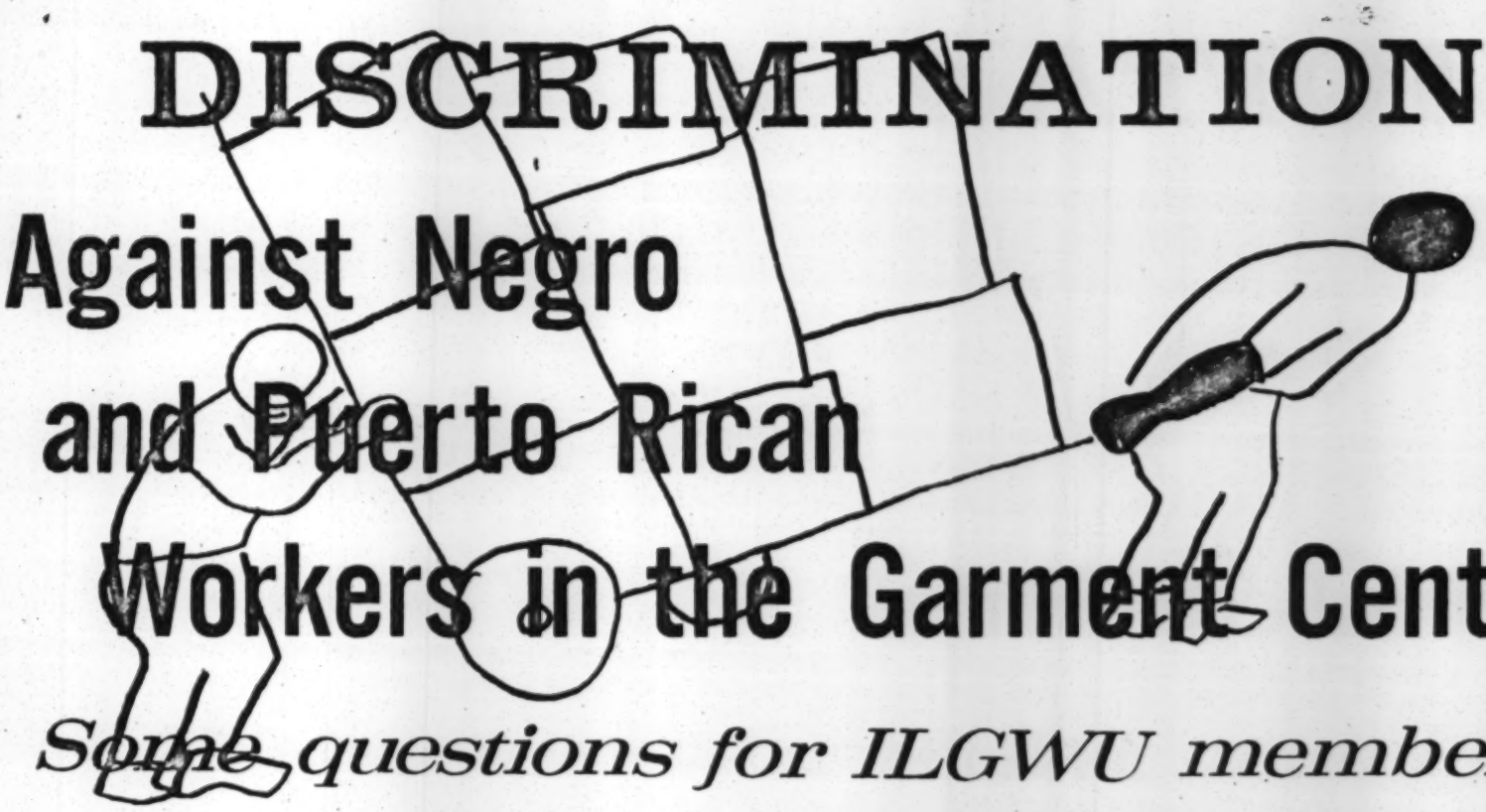
En todos estos Centros habrán cines, deportes, juegos, bibliotecas y varias clases de diversiones.

El joven o jovencita puede estar de unos meses a dos años en el Cuerpo de Empleo. El Cuerpo de Empleo pagarán los gastos para una visita al año a su casa. También pueden los jovenes visitar a sus casas si ellos mismos se pagan sus gastos. Los padres pueden visitar a los jóvenes en los Centros. Estos Centros son totalmente voluntarios y el joven puede retirarse cuando quiera. Si se queda en el Cuerpo de Empleo y termina su entrenamiento, estará más capacitado para conseguir un trabajo, regresar a la escuela o unirse a las Fuerzas Armadas.

El Cuerpo de Empleo usan el método más nuevo de enseñanza. Cada joven aprenderá de acuerdo con su habilidad e interés. Cada Centro tendrá gente capacitada para dar a cada joven consejos.

El Cuerpo de Empleo ayudará conseguir trabajo a todos los jóvenes y jovencitas que se gradúe del Cuerpo...Este programa está planeado para darle a la juventud un futuro mejor.

DISCRIMINATION



Against Negro and Puerto Rican Workers in the Garment Center

Some questions for ILGWU members

1 Why are less than 4 per cent Negro and Puerto Rican workers employed in the skilled crafts—cutters and pressers, when they constitute more than half of the apparel workers? Why doesn't the I.L.G.W.U. have a Fair Employment Practice clause in its contracts for upgrading of Negro and Puerto Rican workers without loss of accrued benefits, as in District 65 contracts?

2 Why are their wages $60 per week or less? Why do members of Local 60A, the shipping clerks local, earn $30 to $50 less than District 65 members doing the same work? Why have leaders of the I.L.G.U.U. opposed a $1.50 minimum wage in New York City? Why is the $1.25 minimum practically the maximum for Negro and Puerto Rican garment workers? Why haven't wages of skilled crafts in the womens apparel industry advanced as they have in other industries?

3 Why does the I.L.G.W.U. leadership permit shops employing mainly Negro and Puerto Rican workers to remain unorganized?

Why are Negro and Puerto Rican workers practically excluded from the general executive board of the union and from top leadership positions? Why do Local 60, the high paid pressers, and Local 60A, the low wage shipping clerks, have only one manager?

A FIGHTING PROGRAM

1 A $2.00 minimum wage in all union contracts in New York City now with the equivalent for piece workers.

2 Upgrading of Negro and Puerto Rican workers to the skilled crafts and to membership in the skilled locals.

3 Organize the unorganized shops.

4 Cut the work week with no cut in pay. Boost the wages not the overtime. Open up skilled jobs and jobs for the unemployed garment workers.

5 Membership control of the I.L.G.W.U.

I want to know more about the program and ways to achieve it.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

PHONE .....

LABOR CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE

National Association For Puerto Rican Civil Rights
137 West 72nd Street
New York, N.Y.

New York CORE
307 W. 125 St.
New York, N.Y.

Mass Meeting

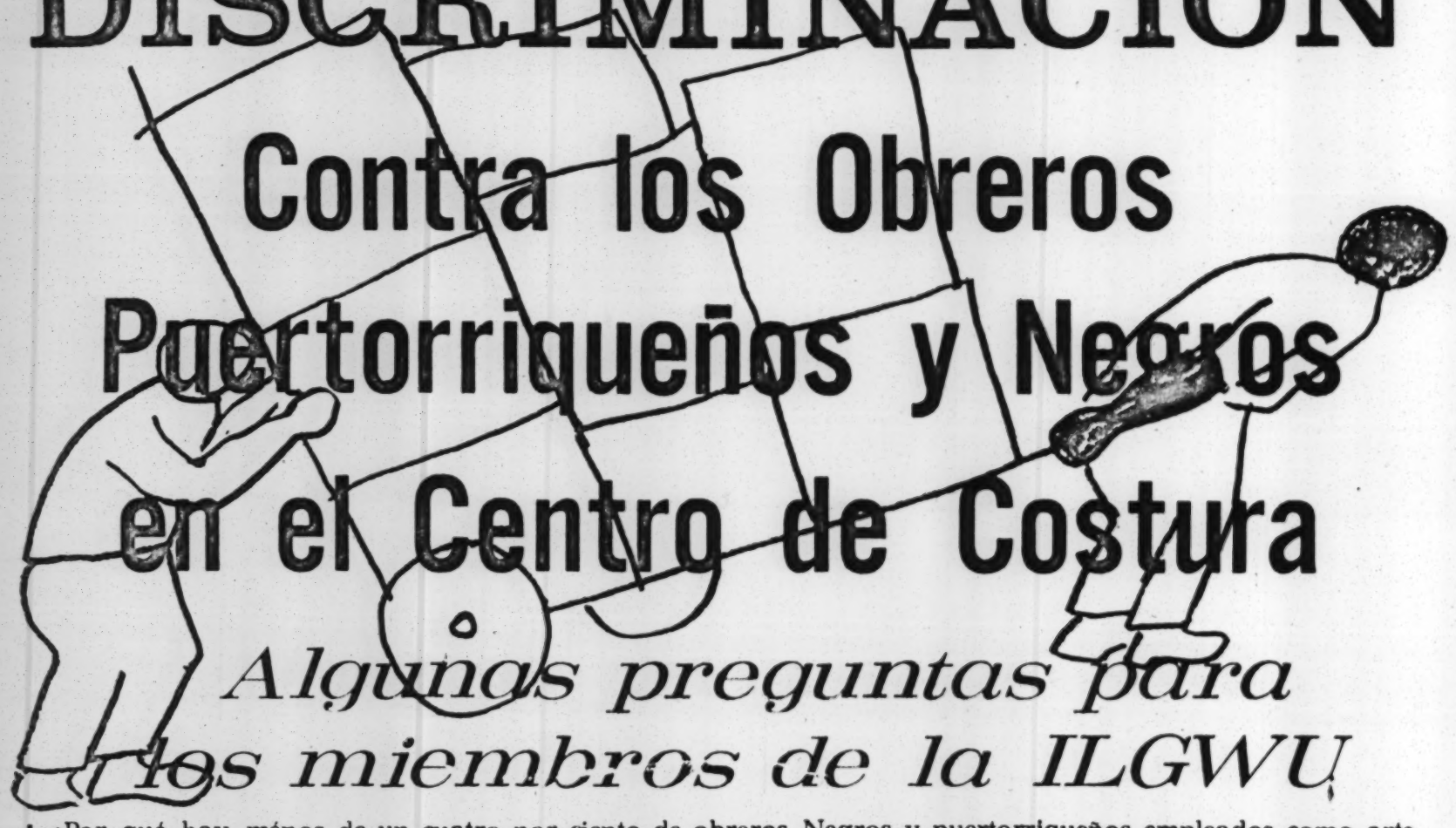
Monday–Aug. 30–12 Noon

36th St. & 8th Ave.

Employ

DISCRIMINACION

Contra los Obreros Puertorriqueños y Negros en el Centro de Costura



Algunas preguntas para los miembros de la ILGWU

1 ¿Por qué hay ménos de un cuatro por ciento de obreros Negros y puertorriqueños empleados como artesanos diestros (cortadores y planchadores) cuando éllos constituyen más de la mitád de los trabajadores en la industria? ¿Por qué la ILGWU no tiene una clausula en sus contratos que provéa derechos de igualdad en los empleos, y de ascensos, para todos los obreros Negors y puertorriqueños, como el Distrito 65?

2 ¿Por qué son sus salarios de $60 semanales ó menos? ¿Por qué los miembros (empacadores), de la Local 60A, perciben desde $30 a $50 ménos que los miembros del Distrito 65 y hacen el mismo trabajo? ¿Por qué los sueldos de los artesanos diestros de la industria de vestimentas de mujeres no han sido aumentados como en las demás industrias?

3 ¿Por qué los "líderes" de la ILGWU permiten fabricas no organizadas donde solo emplean obreros puertorriqueños y Negros no organizados?

4 ¿Por qué se excluye a los obreros puertorriqueños y Negros de posiciones ejecutivas y de liderato en las altas posiciones de la Unión? ¿Por qué la Local 60, que paga salarios altos a los planchadores, y la Local 60A, donde los obreros perciben salarios bajisimos, tienen un solo director?

UN PROGRAMA COMBATIVO

1 Un salario mínimo de $2.00 la hera en todos los contratos de Uniones de Nueva York **AHORA**, y el equivalente para los obreros que cobran por piezas.

2 Ascender a obreros Negros y puertorriqueños a la calidad de artesanos diestros y con el derecho de ingresar a las uniones de obreros diestros.

3 La organización de las fábricas no organizadas.

4 Reducir la semana de trabajo sin reducción en el sueldo. Aumentar los salarios, no el sobre tiempo Controlar la ILGWU atraves de la membresía proletaria.

Deseo saber más sobre el programa y como llevarlo a fin.

NOMBRE.....

DIRECCION.....

TELEFONO.....

LABOR CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE

National Association For Puerto Rican Civil Rights
137 West 72nd Street
New York, N.Y.

New York Core
37 West 125 Street
New York, N.Y.

Mítin Masivo - Calle 36 y Octava ave.

Lunes-agosto 30-12 Mediodía

FOREWARD

This is a selection of press clippings which grew out of the Commission's Public Forum on Textile Employment. It covers the matter from the first of four Commission press releases through the windup of the forum on January 13, 1967.

In addition to the newspaper coverage, radio and television was covered heavily on a local basis -- with television film clips at each news broadcast on two stations each day -- from the night before the forum to and including the roundup the last night. Special feature interviews of the Commissioners were carried live on one television station at the midday news and feature spot on each of the two forum days. A number of radio news tapes and interview tapes were also made during the forum and broadcasted locally.

Finally, trade press representing monthly textile publications, etc., covered the forum and further articles are expected in those outlets.

C. A. Caldwell
Acting Director of Public Affairs

Negro Textile Usage Pressed

Greensboro, N.C. News 12/11/66

BY ROY PARKER JR.
Daily News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON—The Carolina textile industry will be urged to undertake a positive program to recruit Negro workers.

The proposal will be made at a forum in Charlotte on Jan. 12-13 sponsored by the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in cooperation with the N.C. Good Neighbor Council. Textile industry leaders, public officials, civil rights leaders and educators have been invited.

At the forum, the leaders will have an opportunity to hear individual complaints from Negroes who have sought unsuccessfully to crack the color line in the industry which is the largest employer in North and South Carolina.

• • •

THE FORUM represents a new approach for the equal employment commission, which has received widespread complaints of racial discrimination in the textile industry.

Rather than work out the complaints one at a time, the commission hopes to promote an industry-wide agreement among textile firms that they will develop their own efforts to broaden opportunities for Negroes.

EEOC Chairman Stephen Shulman said the forum is planned to urge the industry to seek out employes for training and upgrading; bring about accelerated action in terms of immediate job placements for minority persons; establish better communications between the industry and the Negro community; develop recruiting techniques such as community employment councils and job fairs to reach minority groups, and increase the number of training programs for growing industries of the area.

Civil rights groups have cited the textile industry as a prime target for job opportunities for Negroes.

• • •

THE INDUSTRY lends itself to the recruitment of low-skilled workers, and while it is not a growth industry, it does provide the largest reservoir of blue-collar jobs in the South.

A recent study of the industry showed that about 8.4 per cent of the industry's labor force consists of Negro employes, although the Negro population is one-fifth of the total in the textile South.

The idea of urging an industry-wide approach to the recruitment of Negro workers developed in the commission after it successfully negotiated such programs for several large industrial units, mainly the big Newport News Shipbuilding Corp. in Virginia.

If such a program could be developed in textiles, those concerned with Negro job opportunities believe it would be the most dramatic breakthrough that could be accomplished in the South.

Such attempts have had scattered success in other industries, but often have run up against the problem of lack of training.

• • •

RECENT studies of the output of North Carolina's growing industrial training system indicated that Negroes still comprise only a tiny minority of the students.

The training school system is being used widely by newer industrial groups, such as electronics, to build a reservoir of workers.

The textile industry, said Shulman, "offers a promise of immediate job opportunities for the relatively unskilled worker" as white workers with training move on to jobs in other more highly skilled industries.

UPI-91
(RELEASE AT 6:30 PM, EST.)
(TEXTILE)
WASHINGTON--THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION WILL HOLD A PUBLIC FORUM JAN. 12-13 IN CHARLOTTE, N.C., ON MINORITY EMPLOYMENT TRENDS IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY.
CHAIRMAN STEPHEN N. SHULMAN SAID THE COMMISSION HOPES TO BRING TOGETHER STATE AND LOCAL OFFICIALS, BUSINESS LEADERS AND CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS.
THE PURPOSE IS TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON TEXTILE INDUSTRY EMPLOYMENT TRENDS AND ON THE LABOR MARKET GENERALLY IN THE CAROLINAS, WITH A VIEW OF INCREASING OPPORTUNITIES FOR MINORITY WORKERS, HE SAID.
12/13--TD1259PES

Mills Face Probe Of Negro Hiring

Greensboro, N.C. Daily News 12/14/66

WASHINGTON (AP)—Federal hearings will be held in Charlotte, N.C., Jan. 12 and 13 to consider minority employment trends in the textile industry.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, in announcing the hearings Tuesday, said the Charlotte sessions would be the first of a series of public hearings on alleged employment discrimination in industry.

TABULATION MADE

Commission Chairman Stephen N. Schulman said a commission tabulation of forms submitted by employers disclosed that although nonwhites constitute 22.3 per cent of the North Carolina population and 30.5 in South Carolina, only 8.4 per cent of textile workers in the Carolinas are Negro.

The commission also said the reports show about 3.4 per cent of the total female employes are Negroes, and 99 per cent of Negro employes in the industry are service and blue-collar workers and that there are few Negroes holding skilled and white-collar jobs.

Schulman, who will be accompanied to Charlotte by the two other commission members, said the purpose of the hearing is to "focus attention on employment trends in the textile industry and on the labor market generally in the Carolinas, with a view to increasing employment opportunities for minority persons."

DECLINES TO SAY

The commission declined to disclose at this time other data obtained from forms which the law required all employers of 100 or more persons to submit last April.

When the forms reached the commission, a spokesman said, special tabulations were made of minority group employment in the textile industry and "three or four others."

Neither did the commission make public the text of a report on Negro employment in the Carolina textile industry prepared by Dr. Donald D. Osburn of the University of Missouri.

But the announcement said the report's findings constituted a principal reason for calling the public hearings. The spokesman indicated the contents of the report would be made public prior to the hearings.

The announcement said the report shows that the textile industry provides about 45 per cent of the manufacturing jobs in the Carolinas.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.
TIMES
D. 50,372 — S. 83,324
CHATTANOOGA METROPOLITAN AREA
DEC 15 1966

Carolina Textile Mills To Be Examined for Bias

WASHINGTON (AP)—The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is going to North Carolina to investigate alleged employment discrimination in the Carolinas' textile industry.

Commissioners will conduct public hearings Jan. 12-13 in Charlotte, N.C., armed with a report showing that Negroes have few jobs in the industry in relation to their population.

State and local government spokesmen, business and industry officials, civil rights groups and individual complainants will be heard.

Commission chairman Stephen N. Shulman said a tally of figures submitted by employers shows that 8.4 per cent of textile employes in the Carolinas are Negro although nonwhites make up 22.3 per cent of the North Carolina population and 30.5 per cent of that in South Carolina.

EEO Hearing Set

Greensboro, N. C. News 12/14/66

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will hold the first of a series of public hearings into alleged employment discrimination in industry on Jan. 12 and 13.

The hearing will be held in Charlotte. Three commissioners will hear spokesmen for state and local agencies, business and industry, civil rights groups and individual complainants.

Commission chairman Stephen N. Shulman said a commission tabulation of forms submitted by employers showed that although non-whites constitute 22.3 per cent of the state's population and 30.5 per cent of South Carolina, only 8.4 per cent of textile employes in the Carolinas are Negro.

The tabulation also showed that 99 per cent of Negro employes in the industry are blue-collar and service employes and there are few Negroes occupying skilled and white collar jobs.

AMERICAN BANKER
NEW YORK, N.Y.
D. 10,500

DEC 15 1966

Negro Mill Jobs To Be Subject of Jan. 12-13 Parley

WASHINGTON. —Negro job chances in textile mills will be spotlighted during a Jan. 12 and 13 Federal forum in Charlotte, N. C.

The goal is to start a "dialogue" among business leaders throughout the Carolinas on boosting employment opportunities for minority group members.

Stephen N. Shulman, chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, said Tuesday his agency hopes to bring together State and local agencies, business leaders, civil rights groups, and those with individual complaints.

EEOC plans to avoid any preaching to the groups about the 1964 civil rights law, an EEOC source said.

"We're not going down there to tell anyone they must hire more Negroes. They know the law. All we want to do is start a dialogue," the source said.

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Women's Wear Daily 12-15-66

DAILY NEWS RECORD
NEW YORK, N. Y.
D. 21,709

DEC 27 1966

Negro Labor Gaining In Carolina Mills

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A tight labor market is opening textile employment opportunities for Negroes in North and South Carolina.

This is pointed out in a paper by Dr. Donald D. Osburn which will be presented and discussed at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's public forum on minority employment trends in the textile industry.

The forum will be held Jan. 12-13 at the public library in Charlotte, N. C.

Dr. Osburn, who was at North Carolina State University, Raleigh, and is now at the University of Missouri, points out: "The influx of new industry has created a tight labor market and whites have been moving from textiles to higher paying industries. As a result, the textile mill products industry has had to raise wages and hire Negroes to meet its labor needs."

Dr. Osburn in his report, "Negro Employment in the Textile Industries of North and South Carolina," says the textile industry "may serve as a training ground for Negroes in the future as it has for whites in the past, providing a medium through which workers can move from an agricultural to an industrial way of life."

Historically, Negroes were almost totally excluded from textiles, he states. As late as 1960, nonwhites in North and South Carolina represented 21.7 per cent and 30 per cent, respectively, of the total employment, but only 3.9 per cent and 5.2 per cent, respectively, of textile employment.

Since 1960 there has been an evident shift to new employment practices in the textile industry, he states.

The ratio of non-white employment in textiles to non-white employment in all manufacturing in South Carolina moved from 38 in 1960 to 47 in 1965, he says. The ratio in North Carolina moved from 34 in 1960 to 61 in the same period.

These employment gains, Dr. Osburn points out, are made in an industry which is one of the lowest paying of any manufacturing industry. The average annual wage in textiles in North Carolina in 1964, for example, was $4,000, compared to $6,000 for chemical workers.

Negroes are moving into the vacuum left in a low-wage industry by white workers leaving for higher paying industries, comments Dr. Osburn.

This shows that Negroes tend to advance most rapidly when general economic advances open new positions for whites, he points out.

Dr. Osburn stresses the point that it is important for Negroes to make employment gains in textiles even though it may not be a growth industry.

WOMEN'S WEAR DAILY
NEW YORK, N. Y.
D. 50,791

DEC 28 1966

New Negro Opportunities Seen In Tight Textile Labor Market

NEW YORK. — A tight labor market is opening textile employment opportunities for Negroes in North and South Carolina.

This is pointed out in a paper by Dr. Donald D. Osburn which will be presented and discussed at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's public forum on minority employment trends in the textile industry.

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WOMEN'S WEAR DAILY
NEW YORK, N. Y.
D. 50,791

DEC 28 1966

Dr. Donald D. Osborn, in a paper which will be presented and discussed at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's public forum, points out that tight labor market is opening textile employment opportunities for Negroes in North, South Carolina. [20]

EEOC scrutinizes Carolina textile practices Jan. 12-13

UPI-133
(RELEASE AT 6:30 PM EST)
(NEGROES)

WASHINGTON--NEGROES HAVE MADE MAJOR ADVANCES IN TEXTILE MILL EMPLOYMENT IN NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA BUT THE GAINS HAVE BEEN CONCENTRATED IN UNSKILLED JOBS, THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION REPORTED TODAY.

THE REPORT WAS BASED ON A SURVEY OF 1486 MILLS LOCATED IN AREAS WITH LARGE NEGRO POPULATIONS AND HEAVY TEXTIL EMPLOYMENT. THE REPORT SAID THE MILLS WERE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE CAROLINA TEXTILE INDUSTRY AS A WHOLE.

THE MILLS SURVEYED EMPLOYED 194,047 PEOPLE, 16,719 OF WHOM WERE NEGRO. NEGRO MEN MADE UP 7.2 PER CENT OF THE TOTAL AND NEGRO WOMEN WERE 1.4 PER CENT.

THE REPORT SAID THAT 103 NORTH CAROLINA MILLS SURVEYED IN BOTH 1964 AND 1965 HAD ADDED 3,043 WORKERS. THREE-FIFTHS OF THE NEW WORKERS WERE NEGRO. EMPLOYMENT ROSE 54.8 PER CENT FOR NEGRO MEN AND 312 PER CENT FOR NEGRO WOMEN.

IN SOUTH CAROLINA, 38 PER CENT OF 2,269 NEW WORKERS IN 33 MILLS WERE NEGRO. NEGRO MALE EMPLOYMENT WENT UP 47.6 PER CENT AND NEGRO FEMALE EMPLOYMENT ROSE 311 PER CENT.

BUT 99 PER CENT OF THE NEGROES WERE EMPLOYED IN BLUE COLLAR AND SERVICE JOBS. "WHITE COLLAR EMPLOYMENT FOR THE NEGRO WORKERS WAS PRACTICALLY NON-EXISTENT," THE REPORT SAID.

THE REPORT CONCLUDED THAT:

--NEGRO EMPLOYES ARE CONCENTRATED IN THE LOWEST OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES. FORTY-FOUR PER CENT ARE LABORERS AND SERVICE WORKERS.

--NEGROES ARE NOT HIRED FOR WHITE COLLAR JOBS.

--NEGRO FEMALES ARE SIGNIFICANTLY UNDER-UTILIZED. ONLY 3.7 PER CENT OF ALL WOMEN IN THE MILLS WERE NEGRO.

--BOTH ON A HEAD COUNT BASIS AND ON A JOB QUALITY BASIS THE UTILIZATION OF NEGROES COULD BE VAXTLY IMPROVED IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRIES OF NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA.

1/3--WM518PES

WASHINGTON — Are minority groups in the labor force of the Carolinas being fully utilized by the textile industry?

This is the primary question to be answered when the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission conducts a public forum in Charlotte Jan. 12 and 13.

Commissioner Samuel C. Jackson, who is intensely interested in the Charlotte forum, feels that the forum can open up hundreds of jobs for colored workers in the Carolinas if it attains its objective, immediately.

"We hope to persuade business and industry leaders to look to the untapped resources in their own communities to fill job vacancies.

• • •

"WE ARE interested in upgrading employees. We want to hear about the problems employees face in getting promotions. We want industrial leaders to explain why only one per cent of colored textile workers are in skilled or white collar jobs. Our reporting forms show 99 per cent hold menial jobs."

Commissioner Jackson explained that this is the Commission's first public hearing outside Washington.

"We decided to examine the textile industry after reading a report by Dr. Donald D. Osburn of the University of Missouri and formerly of the North Carolina State University in Raleigh.

"The report shows that textile employers provide about 45 per cent of the manufacturing jobs in the Carolinas.

• • •

"OF INTEREST, particularly to me, is the fact that only 8.4 per cent of the textile workers are colored, although non - whites are 22.3 per cent of the North Carolina population, and 30.5 per cent in South Carolina.

"The Commission is seeking to encourage industries in the U.S. to utilize the labor pool to the maximum. We hope, through forums like the one in North Carolina, to do this on an industry - by - industry basis.

"We are not holding them up to ridicule or verbally spanking an industry. We are attempting to develop better communication between the colored community and textile industry on the kinds of jobs available.

• • •

"WE WANT to encourage development of recruiting techniques such as employment councils and job fairs to reach minority groups and increase training programs for growing industries.

"However, let me repeat, our principal purpose is to encourage industry to open jobs and promotions to minority groups."

Commissioner Jackson is a former member of the national board of directors of the NAACP. He was an attorney in Topeka, Kansas, when appointed to the commission.

TO HEAR CASE — Samuel C. Jackson, commissioner of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, will hear testimony on the employment of minority workers in the textile industry in Charlotte, North Carolina, on Jan. 12 and 13.

12-29 WASH. POST,

Textile Jobs

Negroes have made significant gains during the past five years in employment in the once all-white textile mills of the Carolinas, the Equal Opportunity Employment Commission reported.

Most of the gains were made because white workers moved out of textile jobs into higher-paying jobs in the burgeoning machinery and chemicals industries, according to a Commission report.

The report said the textile industry is still among the lowest-paying in the Nation, because of an abundant labor supply due largely to use of women, a lack of unionization and the fact that the industry can't afford to raise wages and remain competitive.

GREENSBORO, N.C.
NEWS
D. 93,587 — S. 106,438
GREENSBORO METROPOLITAN AREA
DEC 30 1966

Textile Employment Forum Due In Charlotte Jan. 12-13

BY ROY PARKER JR.
Daily News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Nearly 100 organizations will be represented in a two-day public forum on employment in the textile industry in Charlotte Jan. 12-13.

The forum is sponsored by the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in cooperation with the N.C. Good Neighbor Council to promote an industry-wide effort aimed at providing more jobs for Negroes.

• • •

THE LIST of participants includes representatives from the industry, human relations groups, civil rights groups, state and local goevrnments, educational institutions, church groups and legal organizations.

Chairman Stephen Shulman of the EEOC will preside at the forum, and he will be accompanied by key staff members of the agency which receives complaints of racial discrimination in private industry.

The agency cannot publicize specific complaints, but said that persons with individual complaints who come to the Charlotte forum will be interviewed in private by staff members.

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IN ITS FILES the commission has several hundred complaints about racial discrimination in North Carolina business and industry, provoked by an NAACP drive in 1965.

While many of the complaints pertain to the textile industry, the EEOC and the industry hope that the forum can develop an industrywide approach to equal job opportunities that will preclude individual hearing of all the cases.

The forum will open with a report which cites "significant employment gains for Negroes in the textiles industry," the EEOC said.

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THE REPORT, prepared by former N.C. State Prof. Donald Osburn, shows that employment of Negroes in the industry has doubled in the last five years. However, Negroes still constitute less than nine per cent of total textile employment, compared to 30 per cent of total employment in the state.

Many Hired, However

Negroes Not Yet In Top Textile Jobs

DURHAM SUN 1-4-67

WASHINGTON (AP) — The door is opening to Negroes in Southern textile mills, but not the one leading to the executive suite.

Many are being hired, but few advance to jobs near the top, according to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which said Tuesday that the 406 textile establishments which reported to it "revealed gross under-utilization of Negroes in the skilled crafts and white collar occupations." The reports covered the 1964-65 period.

The commission based its statement on figures gathered from forms which employers are required to submit under the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The commission reported that Negroes have made substantial gains in textile mill employment. This was a conclusion also reached in a report two weeks ago in a report on the textile industry in North Carolina and South Carolina by Donald D. Osborne, an economics professor. He was formerly at North Carolina State and now is at the University of Missouri.

The commission reported that in 103 establishments in North Carolina, three-fifths of the 3,043 employes added to the payroll were Negroes. Employment increased by 54.8 per cent for Negro men and 312 per cent for Negro women.

The commission reported:

Of 10,211 persons employed as officials or managers of textile mills in North Carolina and South Carolina, 11 were Negroes.

Of 2,333 workers labeled professionals, three were Negroes.

Of 2,104 technicians, 13 were Negroes.

The largest Negro representation in white collar occupations was among office and clerical workers—149 of 11,784.

Among 29,845 craftsmen, 690 were Negroes.

Among machine operators, there were 8,475 Negroes of the 114,075 employed.

Among 19,143 laborers, 5,752 were Negroes.

And among 4,021 service workers, 1,626 were Negroes.

in receiving criticism. Kelly Alexander of Charlotte, state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said that unions and the N. C. Employment Security Commission discriminate against Negroes. The ESC fails to refer Negroes to textile mill jobs, he said.

Alexander and other Negro civil rights spokesmen, including Charles McLean of Winston-Salem, a full - time NAACP employe, urged the commission to find ways to cut off federal programs to the textile industry. They referred to tariff and quota agreements that restrict imports to protect the domestic industry, and to defense contracts.

A speaker from the U. S. Department of Commerce, also a Negro, said that the textile industry is at a serious disadvantage in competition with foreign firms, and that widespread imports would hurt the chances for increased Negro employment in the industry.

Paul Swaity, a vice president of the Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, castigated the textile industry for manufacturing poverty as well as textiles.

He said his union welcomes any employe regardless of race and that because of this, management appeals to racial prejudice in campaigns against union organization.

Commission chairman Stephen N. Shulman asked Swaity whether Negroes are generally more apt than whites to support unions in the southern textile industry.

Swaity said successful civil rights drives have made Negroes more sympathetic to unions than they used to be. He added that 10 years ago hardly any Negroes were employed at textile mills.

In an interview later, Swaity said the Negroes' inclination to join unions probably makes companies more reluctant to hire them.

Shulman, asked whether this observation by Swaity is true, said, "I hope not."

Shulman said he has to assume that companies willingly obey laws that prohibit discrimination against Negroes and against people sympathetic to unions. He also said he would hate to think that prounion sympathies by Negroes would hurt their chances for employment in textile mills.

Henderson, Alexander and others said the textile industry needs to make more use of federal manpower training programs, in which the government pays part of the cost of on-the-job training. A labor Department speaker said the textile industry uses very little of these funds.

At the beginning of the program, several commission staff members reviewed the studies that prompted the commission to schedule the "forum."

Commission speakers alternated between a "hard sell," when the head of the compliance division reminded the audience of the commission's responsibilities under the law, and a "soft sell," when the regional director from Atlanta outlined various plans some companies have voluntarily used to recruit and employ more Negroes.

Generally, the commission spokesmen sought to emphasize that progress has been made in the textile industry, but that more is needed.

ROCK HILL, S. C.
HERALD
D. 13,321
JAN 4 1967

Mill executive doors still closed to Negro

WASHINGTON (AP) — The door is opening to Negroes in Southern textile mills, but not the one leading to the executive suite.

Many are being hired, but few advance to jobs near the top, according to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which said Tuesday that the 406 textile establishments which reported to it "revealed gross under-utilization of Negroes in the skilled crafts and white collar occupations." The reports covered the 1964-65 period.

The commission based its statement on figures gathered from forms which employers are required to submit under the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The commission reported that Negroes have made substantial gains in textile mill employment. This was a conclusion also reached in a report two weeks ago in a report on the textile industry in North Carolina and South Carolina by Donald D. Osborne, an economics professor. He was formerly at North Carolina State and now is at the University of Missouri.

The commission reported that in 103 establishments in North Carolina, three-fifths of the 3,043 employes added to the payroll were Negroes. Employment increased by 54.8 per cent for Negro men and 312 per cent for Negro women.

In South Carolina textile mills, employment was up 58.6 per cent for 1965—47.6 per cent for men and 311.3 per cent for women.

The commission also reported these figures:

Of 10,211 persons employed as officials or managers of textile mills in North Carolina and South Carolina, 11 were Negroes.

Of 2,338 workers labeled professionals, three were Negroes.

Of 2,104 technicians, 13 were Negroes.

The largest Negro representation in white collar occupations was among office and clerical workers — 149 of 11,784.

Among 29,845 craftsmen, 690 were Negro.

Among machine operators, there were 8,475 Negroes of the 114,075 employed.

Among 19,143 laborers, 5,752 were Negroes.

And among 4021 service workers, 1,626 were Negroes.

6.

CHARLOTTE, N. C.
OBSERVER
D. 170,918 — S. 194,304
CHARLOTTE METROPOLITAN AREA

JAN 4 1967

Mills Hiring More Negroes But Mostly For Menial Jobs

WASHINGTON — (AP) — The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission reported Tuesday that more Negroes are being hired by Carolinas textile mills, but few are promoted to other than menial jobs.

The report, covering 1965, was the second within two weeks dealing with the textile industry in North and South Carolina. The earlier report was by Donald D. Osborne, an economics professor formerly at N.C. State University and now at the University of Missouri.

The new report is the first the commission has prepared on figures gathered from forms employers submit under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The report said, "the 406 textile establishments which reported revealed gross underutilization of Negroes in the skilled crafts and white-collar occupations.

Charts showed that of 10,211 employed as officials or managers of Textile mills in the Carolinas, 11 were Negroes. Of 2,338 workers labeled professionals, three were Negroes. Of 2,104 technicians, 13 were Negroes. The largest Negro representation in white-collar occupations was among office and clerical workers where Negroes represented 149 of 11,784.

There were 690 Negro craftsmen among a total 29,845.

Among machine operators there were 8,475 Negroes of 114,075 still employed. There were 5,752 Negro laborers of 19,143 and 1,626 service workers among 4,021.

At the same time their report noted that Negroes have made substantial gains in textile mill employment, a conclusion that Osborne also reached. The report noted that in 103 establishments in North Carolina, three fifths of the 3,043 employes added to the payroll were Negroes. Employment increased by 54.8 per cent for Negro men and 312 per cent for Negro women.

In South Carolina Negro (male) employment was up 58.6 per cent in 1965 and 311 per cent for women.

CHARLOTTE, N. C.
OBSERVER
D. 170,918 — S. 194,304
CHARLOTTE METROPOLITAN AREA
JAN 9 1967

INVITATION DECLINED

Textile Institute Will Boycott U.S. Hearings

Had Asked For Private Meeting

The American Textile Manufacturers Institute (ATMI) will not participate in hearings in Charlotte this week concerning alleged employment discrimination in the textile industry.

Th efeleral Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will meet here Thursday and Friday to hear businessmen, elected officials and representatives of civil rights groups discuss Negro employment by textile firms.

The ATMI said today that it had declined the commission's invitation to submit a statement.

"Such 'town hall' sessions can encourage unfounded and irresponsible accusations which might do serious damage to the harmonious relationships which now exist in the industry," the ATMI said.

Describing istelf as "the central trade organization for the cotton, man-made and silk components of the industry," the ATMI said "there are other and better ways to help textile companies find qualified personnel to alleviate the present labor shortage."

"One such way has already been presented to EEOC representatives in the form of a suggestion that members of the commission and the industry meet privately to explore means to facilitate the full utilization of available manpower."

The ATMI said the announcement of the public hearings "implied a punitive approach and later events have done little to dispel this impression . . ."

The textile industry has a good record of cooperation with the government, the ATMI's statement said.

"Because of this history of mutual cooperation between the industry and government, we were surpised by the decision of the EEOC to hold a public meeting, and thus, in effect, bypass normal and reasonable channels of enlisting industry support," said the statement.

The textile industry will have some representation at the hearings.

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.
JOURNAL
D. 72,578 — S. 86,198
WINSTON-SALEM METROPOLITAN AREA
JAN 5 1967

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.
SENTINEL
— D. 42,769 —
WINSTON METROPOLITAN AREA
JAN 6 1967

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Beneficiaries of Prosperity

NO ONE, we are reminded just now, should have more cause than the Negro citizen to rejoice that the industrial growth of North Carolina has been as great as it has been during the past year. For he still has long strides to make if he is to close the gap between himself and the white wage-earner.

The federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has provided a necessary and provocative footnote to the recent news that Negroes are finding new opportunities in the textile industry. Though the gains in Negro job opportunities are real, says the commission, Negroes are still in relatively few positions and in still fewer good-paying jobs.

In Forsyth County, for instance, where the textile mills account for 9,393 jobs, Negroes fill only 4.3 per cent of them. This is a reminder to both the mill managers, who should be alert to every reasonable opportunity to give jobs to qualified Negroes, and to Negroes themselves, who must qualify themselves for good jobs.

The need for widened job opportunities for Negroes should serve as a goad for us, moreover, to try to sustain the general economic growth of the past year. During the calendar year just ended, the State Department of Conservation and Development reports, industrial investments of $613 million led to the creation of 37,000 new jobs. Moreover, this record showing produced better-paying jobs than in the past. The growth in the annual payroll outran the growth in jobs.

Only if the state can sustain the remarkable growth now being recorded is there likely to be dramatic improvement in Negro job opportunities. It would be no more than robbing Peter to pay Paul if qualified whites were pushed aside to provide jobs for newly qualified Negroes. Economic growth is essential if we are to provide the opportunities that Negroes have so long been systematically denied. Under prosperous conditions, goaded by a public policy that insists that men be employed on their merits rather than their race, the textile industry and other industries can provide Negroes a chance to be self-sufficient and therefore self-respecting.

It is through the creation and the opening up of jobs to all who qualify themselves that the nation can ultimately win the war on poverty. And it is profoundly encouraging that the record of economic growth for this year in North Carolina is enough to permit progress toward that end.

Challenge to Employers

GOVERNMENT statistics show that the textile mills of this county have not done as well as some others at providing jobs for Negroes.

Only 4.3 per cent of Forsyth County's 9,393 textile industry jobs are filled by Negroes. By comparison about 10 per cent of the Gaston County textile payroll is Negro.

Comparisons are sometimes invidious, but the report of the U. S. Equal Employment Opportunities Commission should encourage employers here and elsewhere to hire more qualified Negroes whenever they can find them.

With 24.1 per cent of its population Negro, Forsyth County has a large role to play in deciding whether North Carolina provides Negroes a chance to be self-sufficient.

Roy Covington

Charlotte Observer 1/8/67

Observer Business Editor

The EEOC comes to Charlotte this week to hold what it calls a "public forum" on Negro employment in the textile industry. And the industry is looking forward to it with all the enthusiasm of a doffer in the doldrums.

Covington

What bothers the industry is that it doesn't know whether it's to be the invited guest or the goat. It suspects the latter.

There was a definite feeling when the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission announced its plans, that textiles had been selected for an object lesson to all industry. Concerted efforts by the EEOC to paint the two-day conference as a "forum" for publicizing the employment opportunities in the industry have done little to assure some industry leaders that textiles are not to be used as a whipping boy.

There has been divided sentiment among leaders in the industry as to what position it should take. Should industry representatives come, sit, listen and go away, or should they come prepared to match statistics with statistics and balance charges with answers?

Traditionally, textiles have been all-white with non-whites holding only the most menial of jobs. In the last couple of years, the Negro have moved onto production lines in increasing numbers. Negroes have taken places along side whites in many mills. Not many Negroes are in supervisory positions, and industry spokesmen will tell you privately that "we have to walk before we can run."

Integration of the Negro worker into a production line is still a touchy point in some mills. Some mills feel they can't afford to hire Negroes; if they do, their white employes will leave and go to another mill where only whites are working.

Yet in other mills, the percentage of Negroes is reportedly high, comparable to the percentage of Negroes in the community. "I'm afraid we stand to lose in this thing either way," an industry spokesman said recently. "If we don't say anything, the other side will grab the headlines, and no matter how well we answer the charges later, only the first headlines will be remembered.

"If we point out that we would be glad to hire more Negroes, if we could find more who can quality, they'll say we shouldn't use tests, just try them out on the job.

"There are some excellent examples of progress that have been made in the industry, but some of our people don't want to call attention to the extent to which they are employing Negroes because they feel it will cause dissension within their present work force."

In his view and in the view of many others in the industry, the "public forum" is a poor way to stimulate increased employment of Negroes in the industry.

"If they really want to improve the opportunities for Negroes why don't they meet quietly with industry representatives and tell them what they feel should be done. This way nobody benefits."

A Rose By Any Other . . .

What's in a name? Everything, if you ask Mitchell F. Allen Jr., president of the small but ambitious First National Bank of Eastern North Carolina.

Allen and his bank have had their eyes on the name First National Bank of North Carolina for a long time. Organized in 1952 as First National Bank of Jacksonville, the bank has grown from one unit operation in a renovated grocery store to a $50 million-plus bank operating in 14 cities.

Led to believe that it could claim the name of First National of North Carolina when it got big enough, the bank kept trying. In 1965 when it merged with First National Bank of Boone, the bank reapplied to the comptroller of the currency for permission to drop "Eastern". It reapplied again last year.

What has shaken Allen up now is that "great big First Union National Bank" has now applied to drop "Union" from its name and become the First National Bank of North Carolina. This after fighting First National's application in past years.

"It just kills my soul," said Allen. "We're First National and we just can't be called by anything else." First Union, he argues, is know throughout the state as First Union and has spent thousands of dollars in creating its identification.

This is at the heart of matter, a First Union spokesman agrees. "Everybody knows us as First Union but 'Union' has no meaning in banking. National does have some significance."

First Union, now in an image-changing mood, feels it should have the name because of its size. First National and Allen, not convinced that might makes right, are gearing for a fight.

She Reopens Service

Alma Jean Lippard has reopened Lippard Secretarial Service in Suite 207, the Executive Building, on East Trade St.

She first opened the service in 1958, operated for a year, then went back to work as a legal secretary to get experience in that field.

"Now, we're reopening the office and can now offer legal typing, the taking of depositions, direct telephone dictation and bookkeeping. We're set up to take the overload in an office rather than have executive's personal secretary bogged down with it."

Associated with Miss Lippard is Edna Kramer.

Feiertag On The Move

Howard Feiertag, conventions manager for the White House Inn and Barringer Hotel, has resigned to become director of sales for American Motor Inns of Roanoke, Va.

American Motor Inns is the largest franchise holder of Holiday Inn franchises in the U.S., owning 28 properties in 7 states from Maine to North Carolina.

Feigrtag will continue to live in Charlotte but will travel extensively throughout the AMI territory promoting sales and coordinating activities of the various properties. Before joining the White House Inn he had headed convention departments of the Charlotte Chamber of Commerce and of the Orlando, Fla., chamber.

Charlotte News 1/9/67

Textilists Will Ignore Bias Probe

Charlotte Observer 1/9/67

The American Textile Manufacturers Institute (ATMI) will not participate in hearings in Charlotte this week concerning alleged employment discrimination in the textile industry.

The Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will meet here Thursday and Friday to hear businessmen, elected officials and representatives of civil rights groups discuss Negro employment by textile firms.

The ATMI said today that it had declined the commission's invitation to submit a statement.

"Such 'town hall' sessions can encourage unfounded and irresponsible accusations which might do serious damage to the harmonious relationships which now exist in the industry," the ATMI said.

central trade organization for the cotton, man-made and silk components of the industry," the ATMI said "there are other and better ways to help textile companies find qualified personnel to alleviate the present labor shortage."

"One such way has already been presented to EEOC representatives in the form of a suggestion that members of the commission and the industry meet privately to explore means to facilitate the full utilization of available manpower."

The ATMI said the announcement of the public hearings "implied a punitive approach and later events have done little to dispel this impression . . ."

The textile industry has a good record of cooperation with the government, the ATMI's statement said.

"Because of this history of mutual cooperation between the industry and government, we were surpised by the decision of the EEOC to hold a public meeting, and thus, in effect, bypass normal and reasonable channels of enlisting industry support," said the statement.

The textile industry will have some representation at the hearings.

ATMI To Shun Job Bias Hearings

The American Textile Manufacturers Institute (ATMI) has "regretfully declined" to take part in hearings Thursday and Friday concerning alleged employment discrimination in the textile industry.

Such "town hall" sessions as those planned here by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the ATMI said in a 400-word statement, can encourage "unfounded and irresponsible accusations" concerning the way the textile industry operates.

"ATMI doubts that a public forum is the most productive method of encouraging further progress in the textile industry's effort to expand employment opportunities;" the statement said.

THE EQUAL opportunity commission plans to meet with businessmen, representatives of civil rights groups and Southern political leaders to discuss Negro employment by the industry.

"The Dec. 14 announcement of (this) forum implied a punitive approach," the ATMI said, "and later events have done little to dispell this impression."

The textile industry, the statement said, "has already made significant progress in enlarging employment opportunities."

The industry was "surprised by the decision of the EEOC to hold a public meeting and thus, in effect, bypass normal and reasonable channels of enlisting industry support," the statement said.

"We hope that our concern over the possible direction and outcome of the forum will prove to be unfounded.

Representatives of individual mills have indicated that they will attend the hearings, an ATMI spokesman said today. So far, only State Sen. Marshall A. Rauch, representing Gastonia's Pyramid Mills, is on the speaker program.

"We will not participate, but a lot of textile people will be there; you can bet on that," the ATMI spokesman said.

THE CHARLOTTE NEWS—Tues., Jan. 10, 1967—5A

Leaders To Attend Forum On Textile Industry Hiring

A number of Carolina leaders will attend a public forum on employment trends in the textile industry sponsored by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission at the Public Library here Jan. 12-13.

Mayor Stan R. Brookshire is among leaders from industry, civil rights groups and state and local agencies, who will attend the conference.

PARTICIPANTS INCLUDE Richard A. Scheldt, superintendent of personnel of the DuPont Corp.; Marshall Ranch, president of Pyramid Mills; John Cauthen, executive director of the S. C. Textile Manufacturers Association; D. S. Coltrane, chairman of the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council.

Alice Spearman, executive director of the S. C. Human Relations Council; Harry Winner, chairman of the Asheville Human Relations Council of NAACP Branches: Charles Carroll, N. C. Superintendent of Public Instruction; Clifton Craig, N. C. Commissioners of Public Welfare; C. Merrill Hamilton, president of Rowan Textile Institute.

Vivian Henderson, president of Clark College, Atlanta, Ga.; Sarah Herbin, field representative of the North Carolina Fund; Watts Hill Jr., chairman of the N. C. Board of Higher Education; Emanuel Lipscomb, office of Textiles, U.S. Department of Commerce; Neil MacArthur, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor; W. I. Morris, placement officer, A&T College, Greensboro; I. DeQuincy Newman, president S. C. Council of NAACP Branches.

Kenneth Oleson, assistant director of the Vocational and Technical Programs, the N.C. Board of Education; Carl Priestland, consultant for American Apparel Manufacturers Association; Robert S. Rankin, of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

Courtney Siceloff, secretary, S. C. Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, and Roy S. Whitmore, vice president of the United Textile Workers of America.

The forum will be conducted by Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Chairman Stephen N. Shulman, vice chairman Luther Holcomb and commissioner Samuel Jackson.

The News and Observer — Raleigh, N.C.
Business Observer 1/12/67

Hearings Slated On Textile Jobs

CHARLOTTE—Hearings on employment of Negroes and other minorities in the textiles industry will be conducted Thursday and Friday in Charlotte.

Stephen N. Shulman, chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which will hold the hearings, and two other commission members will hear spokesmen from State and local agencies, civil rights groups and individual complaints.

The American Textile Manufacturers Institute has said it will not take part because the announcement of the public hearings "implied a punitive approach and later events have done little to dispel this impression."

The textile industry provides about 45 per cent of the manufacturing jobs in the Carolinas.

10

EEOC Hearing To Probe Textile Hiring Of Negroes

CHARLOTTE (AP) — The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will hold a hearing in Charlotte today and Friday on employment of Negroes and other minorities in the textile industry.

The American Textile Manufacturers Institute (ATMI) has announced it will not participate because the announcement ment of the public hearings "implied a punitive approach, and later events have done little to dispel this impression."

The textile industry provides about 45 per cent of the jobs in manufacturing in North Carolina and South Carolina.

Chairman Stephen N. Shulman and the two other members of the federal commission will hear spokesman from state and local agencies, civil rights groups and individual complaints.

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THE TEXTILE HEARING will be the first of several public hearings on alleged employment discrimination in industry. Textile executives possibly will testify, but as individuals, not as industry spokesmen.

In announcing the Charlotte hearing last Dec. 13, Shulman said the purpose would be to "focus attention on employment trends in the textile industry and on the labor market generally in the Carolinas, with a view to increasing employment opportunities for minority persons."

He also said that a commission tabulation of forms submitted by employes disclosed that although non-whites constitute 22.3 per cent of the population in North Carolina, and 30.5 in South Carolina, only 8.4 per cent of the textile workers in the two states are Negro.

On Jan. 3 the commission released further figures from the reports which employers are required to submit under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The commission said the reports from 406 Southern textile establishments showed that in 1964 and 1965 more Negroes were being hired, but few were advancing to jobs near the top.

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THE COMMISSION SAID that in 103 establishments in North Carolina, three-fifths of the 3,043 employes added to the payroll were Negro. Employment increased by 54.8 per cent for Negro men and 312 per cent for Negro women.

In South Carolina textile mills, the commission reported, employment was up 58.6 per cent for 1965-47.6 per cent for men and 311.3 per cent for women.

But the reports said that of 10,211 persons employed as officials or managers of textile mills in North Carolina and South Carolina, 11 were Negroes.

About two weeks before the Jan. 3 commission report, an economics professor, Donald D. Osborne, also reported that Negroes have made substantial gains in textile mill employment. Osborne, formerly of North Carolina State University now is at the University of Missouri.

THE TEXTILE manufacturers institute, in declining an invitation to submit a statement to the Charlotte hearing, said:

"Such town hall sessions can encourage unfounded and irresponsible accusations which might do serious damage to the harmonious relationships which now exist in the industry.

"There are other and better ways to help textile companies find qualified personnel to alleviate the present labor shortage.

"One such way already has been presented to EEOC (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission) representatives in the form of a suggestion that members of the commission and the industry meet privately to explore means to facilitate the full utilization of available manpower."

The State 1/12/67

Minorities: Employment Study Topic

CHARLOTTE (AP) — The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will hold a hearing in Charlotte Thursday and Friday on employment of Negroes and other minorities in the textile industry.

The American Textile Manufacturers Association (ATMI) has announced it will not participate because the announcement of the public hearings "implied a punitive approach, and later events have done little to dispel this impression."

The textile industry provides about 45 per cent of the jobs in manufacturing in North Carolina and South Carolina.

Chairman Stephen N. Shulman and the two other members of the federal commission will hear spokesman from state and local agencies, civil rights groups, and individual complaints.

The textile hearing will be the first of several public hearings on alleged employment discrimination in industry. Textile executives possibly will testify, but as individuals, not as industry spokesmen.

In announcing the Charlotte hearing last Dec. 13, Shulman said the purpose would be to "focus attention on employment trends in the textile industry and on the labor market generally in the Carolinas, with a view to increasing employment opportunities for minority persons."

EEOC Official Claims Positions Given Negroes In Textile Limited

Durham Sun 1/12/67

CHARLOTTE (AP)—An official of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission said today there is evidence of limited progress in the hiring of Negroes in the textile and other southern industry.

Donald G. Hollowell, Atlanta regional director of the EEOC, told a forum that Negro employment in the textile industry in the South is limited "in terms of significant, affirmative action."

Textile industry officials attended the forum, but refused to enter the discussion, saying earlier the announcement of the hearings "implied a punitive approach" and that such "town hall" meetings "can encourage unfounded and irresponsible accusations."

But, Hollowell said, "Our efforts here today are in behalf of encouraging and assisting in the kinds of affirmative action that will eliminate the cause of complaints."

He said the affirmative action that would be "further evidence of employers' willingness to improve the employment picture in textiles" is the "aggresive recruitment of Negro men and women in the Negro community and placement in all capacities for which they are qualified, or qualifiable through training."

Hollowell added, "While some employers may feel that the commission has concentrated on investigating and conciliating complaints, this is not the case. We have spent considerable time and effort in seeking solutions to the problems of recruitment, training and apprenticeship programs and in testing and up grading to help bring about the changes required" by the civil Rights Act.

Stephen N. Schulman, EEOC chairman, said the forum was called to explore the low ratio of Negro employment.

Although he noted that the EEOC has received more complaints about discrimination in North Carolina than from any other state.

He said in its first 18 months of operation the commission has received 13,404 complaints. He said 869 of these came from North Carolina and 250 from South Carolina.

Schulman said the textile industry provides about 45 per cent of the jobs in manufacturing in North Carolina. He pointed out that forms submitted to the EEOC by employes show that while non-whites constitute 22.3 per cent of the population of North Carolina and 30.5 per cent in South Carolina, only 8.4 per cent of the textile workers in the two states are Negro.

Equal Opportunities Commission Chief 'Disappointed' Charlotte News 1/12/67

11

Textile Industry Boycotts Forum On Negro Employment

The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission opened a two-day forum in Charlotte today on Negro employment by textile firms, but the industry doesn't plan to take part in it.

Stephen N. Schulman, EEOC chairman, said the forum would explore the low ratio of Negro employment, particularly in skilled crafts, in textile mills in North Carolina and South Carolina.

BUT HE SAID the commission would not hear complaints during the sessions, although he noted that the EEOC has received more complaints about discrimination in North Carolina mills than from any other state.

The American Textile Manufacturers Institute (ATMI) said it would not participate in the forum, although some individual textile firms may have representatives present. The ATMI said the EEOC's announcement of the hearings "implied a punitive approach" and that such "town hall" meetings "can encourage unfounded and irresponsible accusations."

Schulman said yesterday he was "surprised" and "disappointed" at the textile industry's refusal to participate and emphasized that the commission would not hear complaints.

The ATMI represents most of the textile mills in the U.S. in matters of public policy.

Six industry spokesmen originally had been scheduled to appear, but as of today only two were still on the program agenda. But Schulman said the textile industry will be well represented as the second largest identifiable group, second only to schools.

Schulman said the textile forum is the first of several being held to explore nonemployment of Negroes. He said the forum was called for Charlotte because it is the center of a booming textile climate.

HE NOTED that the textile industry provides about 45 per cent of the jobs in manufacturing in North and South Carolina. He went on to point out that forms submitted to the EEOC by employes show that while non-whites constitute 22.3 per cent of the population of North Carolina, and 30.5 per cent in South Carolina, only 8.4 per cent of the textile workers in the two states are Negro.

He said employment records show that Negroes hold only 11 posts as officials or managers in North and South Carolina textile mills.

Schulman said the commission will not offer specific suggestions about improving opportunities for non-white workers, but added "We will point out the range of possibilities and discuss programs that have worked in other areas, such as community equal employment councils."

Greenville News S.C. 1/12/67

Negro Hiring By Textile Plants Hearing Subject

CHARLOTTE (AP) — The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will hold a hearing in Charlotte Thursday and Friday on employment of Negroes and other minorities in the textile industry.

The American Textile Manufacturers Association (ATMI) has announced it will not participate because the announcement of the public hearings "implied a punitive approach, and later events have done little to dispel this impression."

The textile industry provides about 45 per cent of the jobs in manufacturing in North Carolina and South Carolina.

SEVERAL MEETS SET

Chairman Stephen N. Shulman and the two other members of the federal commission will hear spokesman from state and local agencies, civil rights groups, and individual complaints.

The textile hearing will be the first of several public hearings on alleged employment discrimination in industry. Textile executives possibly will testify, but as individuals, not as indsutry spokesmen.

In announcing the Charlotte hearing last Dec. 13, Shulman said the purpose would be to "focus attention on employment trends in the textile industry and on the labor market generally in the Carolinas, with a view to increasing employment opportunities for minority persons."

He also said that a commission tabulation of forms submitted by employes disclosed that although non-Whites constitute 22.3 per cent of the population in North Carolina, and 30.5 in South Carolina, only 8.4 per cent of the textile workers in the two states are Negro.

On Jan. 3 the commission released further figures from the reports which employes are required to submit under the Civil Rights act of 1964. The commission said the reports from 406 Southern textile establishments showed that in 1964 and 1965 more Negroes were being hired, but few were advancing to jobs near the top.

The commission said that in 103 establishments in North Carolina, three-fifths of the 3,043 employes added to the payroll were Negro. Employment increased by 54.8 per cent for Negro men and 312 per cent for Negro women.

UP IN S.C.

In South Carolina textile mills, the commission reported, employment was up 58.6 per cent for 1965—47.6 per cent for men and 311.3 per cent for women.

But the reports said that of 10,211 persons employed as officials or managers of textile mills in North Carolina and South Carolina, 11 were Negroes.

About two weeks before the Jan. 3 commission report, an economics professor, Donald D. Osborne, also reported that Negroes have made substantial gains in textile mill employment. Osborne, formerly of North Carolina State University, now is at the University of Missouri.

The Textile Manufacturers Institute, in declining an invitation to submit a statement to the Charlotte hearing, said:

"Such town hall sessions can encourage unfounded and irresponsible accusations which might do serious damage to the harmonious relationships which now exist in the industry.

"There are other and better ways to help textile companies find qualified personnel to alleviate the present labor shortage.

"One such way has already been presented to EEOC (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission) representatives in the form of a suggestion that members of the commission and the industry meet privately to explore the means to facilitate the full utilization of available manpower."

6A—Durham Morning Herald, Thurs., Jan. 12, 1967

Durham Morning Herald 1/12/67

Textile Industry Hiring Practices To Be Aired Today

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Charlotte News 1/12/64

12

Racial Bias Charge Aired Against Mills

By ED FREAKLEY
News Staff Writer

The textile industry came under fire here today for alleged racial discrimination and as a "manufacturer of poverty."

All except two industry representatives refused invitations to speak on the forum sponsored by the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).

The American Textile Manufacturers Institute, the industry trade association, issued a statement earlier this week saying such "town hall" sessions as those planned here by EEOC encourage "unfounded and irresponsible accusations" concerning the way the industry operates.

PAUL SWAITY, A vice president of the AFL-CIO Textile Workers Union of America, told the forum gathering of about 125 people that "the southern textile industry not only manufactures textiles; it also manufactures poverty. And its by-products are injustice and inequality."

Mr. Swaity, speaking from a prepared text during the afternoon session at the public library, said the industry uses the tools of intimidation, coercion and discrimination.

"It uses them not only on a racial basis, but also against white workers who seek a remedy for the substandard conditions that have been saddled upon them by this industry's traditional low-wage policy," Mr. Swaity said.

He added that the "industry is notorious for its lack of a social conscience. It violates the National Labor Relations Act cynically and deliberately."

Mayor Stan R. Brookshire opened the two-day forum with a welcome address to the leaders from industry, civil rights groups and state and local agencies.

"Charlotte is a city intent on making both material and human progress," he said. "We are interested not only in economic opportunities for our poor, but for more and better opportunities for all our citizens," Mayor Brookshire added.

EEOC CHAIRMAN Stephen N. Shulman followed and told the gathering that during the first 18 months of operation of EEOC it had received 13,404 complaints concerning discrimination and that 869 of these came from North Carolina.

Mr. Shulman said the goal of the forum was "realizing employment opportunities that would be developing" and that a "broadly based exchange of information seemed in order."

Dr. Vivian Henderson, president of Clark College in Atlanta, was the only non-EEOC staff member to speak during the morning session.

Dr. Henderson charged that the textile industry "has a vicious history of outright exclusion of Negroes from the work force in various plants."

He added that the industry had an extremely poor record on Negro employment.

"Employment opportunity for Negroes in textiles in the Carolinas and in the South has been and continues to be quite limited. All-white plants are the rule rather than the exception," Dr. Henderson said.

F. SADLER LOVE
. . An Observer

News Staff Photo —Don Hunter
Stephen N. Shulman Chairs Forum

HE SAID most textile plants in the South are located in small towns and cities in rural non-farm areas. "It is important to note that a basic source of labor supply for textiles is rural non-farm persons. Likewise non-farm employment for persons who make up the rural non-farm population is confined to one or two plants in such industries as textiles and apparels," Dr. Henderson said.

He noted that "access to textile employment by Negroes in rural non-farm areas is very limited. Employment of non-farm Negroes is one of the serious aspects of Negro employment problems in the South and particularly in the rural non-farm areas that tend to attract textile plants."

Leighton C. Dunlap, of the industrial relations division of Dupont, and Marshall Rauch, president of Pyramid Mills, are the only two speakers representing industry at the forum.

Mr. Dunlap was to speak later this afternoon and Mr. Rauch is scheduled to appear tomorrow.

Several reports were given at this morning's session which stated that Negro employment in the textile industry is extremely low, particularly among Negro women.

The industry recently released a study which said that employment of Negroes was at an all time high.

F. Sadler Love, secretary-treasurer of the American Textile Manufacturers' Institute, was present at the meeting as an observer. Mr. Love said he had no statement on the charges being leveled at the industry at present, but that a statement may be issued at the conclusion of the forum.

Charlotte Observer
1/12/67

Boycott Of Forum 'Disappointing'

The chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) said Wednesday he was "surprised" and "disappointed" at the textile industry's refusal to participate in a forum on Negro employment by textile firms.

The EEOC will open a two-day "textile employment forum" here Thursday.

Speaking at a press conference at the White House Inn, Chairman Stephen Shulman emphasized that the commission would not hear complaints during the forum.

"Therefore," he said, "it was a particular matter of surprise when the American Textile Manufacturers Institute (ATMI) said it would not participate and spoke of punitive measures by the commission."

The ATMI, a trade organization representing the mills, said Monday it had declined an invitation to submit a statement. It criticized the forum as a "town hall" meeting that "can encourage unfounded and irresponsible accusations."

A representative of the S.C. Textile Manufacturers Association has withdrawn his acceptance of a spot on the speakers' list.

Six industry spokesman originally had agreed to participate. The list has now dwindled to two — Leighton C. Dunlap of the DuPont Corporation industrial relations division, and State Sen. Marshall Rauch of Gastonia, president of Pyramid Mills.

The textile industry will be well represented in the audience, Shulman said.

"The industry will be present as the second largest identifiable group, second only to schools," he said.

The chairman said the textile field was chosen for the first in a series of public forums covering various industries because:

—The textile industry is a major factor in the Carolinas, employing 45 per cent of all manufacturing workers.

—Opportunities for minority groups are "opening up here."

—The Carolinas have a large Negro population.

"People ask, why come here first?" Shulman said. "The answer is, you have to start somewhere, and this seemed an immensely logical beginning."

The commission will not offer specific suggestions about improving opportunities for Negro workers, he indicated.

North Carolina leads all other states in the number of complaints of discrimination filed with the EEOC.

Shulman attributed this partly to actual discrimination and partly to "increased awareness" in the state about the facilities of the EEOC.

"The regional office for this area was the first operational one," he said.

Commissioner Samuel Jackson, who had primary responsibility for organizing the hearings, joined Shulman at the press conference. Vice chairman Luther Holcomb, third member of the commission, was unable to attend because of illness.

Observer Photo by Michael Mauney

Stephen Shulman (Left) Discusses Textile Forum
. . . Seated Beside Him Is Samuel Jackson, EEOC Commisisoner

Director Speech 2d

1/17/67

Textile Balk Is Surprise, Agency Says

Employment Hearing Today

CHARLOTTE (AP) — The chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) said Wednesday he was "surprised" and "disappointed" at the textile industry's refusal to participate in hearings on Negro employment by textile firms.

The commission opens a two-day "textile employment forum" today in Charlotte.

At a news conference, chairman Stephen N. Shulman emphasized that the commission would not hear complaints during the hearings.

"Therefore," he said, "it was a matter of particular surprise when the American Textile Manufacturers Institute (ATMI) said it would not participate and spoke of punitive measures."

The ATMI, a trade organization, said Monday it had declined an invitation to submit a statement at the hearings. It criticized the hearings as a "town hall" meeting that "can encourage unfounded and irresponsible accusations."

Speakers Withdraw

A representative of the South Carolina Textile Manufacturers Association has withdrawn his acceptance as a speaker.

Six industry spokesmen originally had agreed to participate. The list has now dwindled to two—Leighton C. Dunlap of the DuPont Corporation industrial relations division, and Gastonia State Sen. Marshall Rauch, president of Pyramid Mills.

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Start Somewhere

"People ask, why come here first?" Shulman said. "The answer is, you have to start somewhere, and this seemed an immensely logical beginning."

The commission will not offer specific suggestions about improving opportunities for Negro workers, he indicated.

The agency has received more complaints about discrimination in North Carolina than from any other state, Shulman said.

He attributed this partly to actual discrimination and partly to "increased awareness about the complaint facilities of the agency.

"The regional office for this area was the first operational one," he said.

Purpose of Hearing

In announcing the Charlotte hearing last Dec. 13, Shulman said the purpose would be to "focus attention on employment trends in the textile industry and on the labor market generally in the Carolinas, with a view to increasing employment opportunities for minority persons."

The commission said that in 103 establishments in North Carolina, three-fifths of the 3,043 employes added to the payroll were Negro. Employment increased by 54.8 per cent for Negro men and 312 per cent for Negro women.

In South Carolina textile mills, the commission reported, employment was up 58.6 per cent for 1965—47.6 per cent for men and 311.3 per cent for women.

Few Top People

But the reports said that of 10,211 persons employed as officials or managers of textile mills in North Carolina and South Carolina, 11 were Negroes.

About two weeks before the Jan. 3 commission report, an economics professor, Donald D. Osborne, also reported that Negroes have made substantial gains in textile mill employment.

The textile manufacturers institute, in declining an invitation to submit a statement to the Charlotte hearing, said:

"Such town hall sessions can encourage unfounded and irresponsible accusations which might do serious damage to the harmonious relationships which now exist in the industry.

"There are other and better ways to help textile companies find qualified personnel to alleviate the present labor shortage.

"One such way has already been presented to EEOC (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission) representatives in the form of a suggestion that members of the commission and the industry meet privately to explore the means to facilitate the full utilization of available manpower."

NAACP Chief Hits Textiles' Hiring Bias

By BOB ROSENBLATT
Observer Staff Writer

A barrage of speakers accused the southern textile industry of widespread and systematic discrimination against Negroes in Thursday's opening session of the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) forum on employment practices in the industry.

The two-day session at the Charlotte public library is the first in a series of forums the EEOC will conduct on alleged discrimination in various industries.

The EEOC panel conducting the forum consisted of Chairman Stephen N. Shulman and Commissioner Samuel Jackson. The third commissioner, vice-chairman Dr. Luther Holcomb, was unable to attend because of illness.

Representatives of various textile firms were in the audience, but did not participate in the session.

The industry's trade organization, the American Textile Manufacturers' Institute (ATMI) had previously refused to participate in the session, charging that it might lead to "unfounded and irresponsible accusations."

The head of the N.C. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Kelly Alexander of Charlotte, said the Carolinas have a "long, long history of Negroes being excluded from textile employment."

He said the NAACP "will become active in programs to take away the federal protections — such as high tariffs — enjoyed by the textile industry, unless these discriminatory programs stop."

Kelly Alexander
. . . Calls For Probe

Alexander said he would bring the issue up at the next meeting of the national board of the civil rights organization.

He also called for an investigation of the State Employment Security Commission, charging that some of its employes are contributing to the exclusion of Negroes from the textile industry.

"They will refuse to send Negroes to certain jobs," he said during a question period following his prepared statement.

Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, an economist and president of Clark College in Atlanta, said the textile industry has "a vicious history of outright exclusion of Negroes from the work force in the various plants."

Negro women "are virtually excluded" from jobs in an industry where half the work force is female, Henderson said.

Firms will build plants "in all-white areas or near them to avoid the question of Negro employment," he said.

Henderson said the federal government should consider whether a textile operation excludes Negroes and "be more careful in letting contracts."

"Although a quota system is generally out of favor," he said, "I am not opposed to rule-of-thumb guidelines that would lend themselves to percentages of Negro employment in the industry."

One EEOC official said the textile industry has increased its hiring of Negro workers, but said the progress was limited.

The Atlanta regional director of EEOC, Donald G. Hollowell, said there was "limited . . . affirmative action" in areas such as "the aggressive recruitment of Negro men and women."

A representative of the manpower administration of the U.S. Department of Labor revealed under close questioning by Commissioner Jackson that the industry rarely participates in federal training programs.

"Does the textile industry use the Manpower Development Training Act?" the commissioner asked.

"They use it very, very little, just in two or three small areas," said Neil MacArthur of the Labor Department.

"I understand a trade association can sponsor an on-the-job training program," Jackson said. "Is there one for the textile industry?"

"The ATMI does not have one," was the answer.

MacArthur also said the textile industry "doesn't use the federal apprenticeship programs very widely."

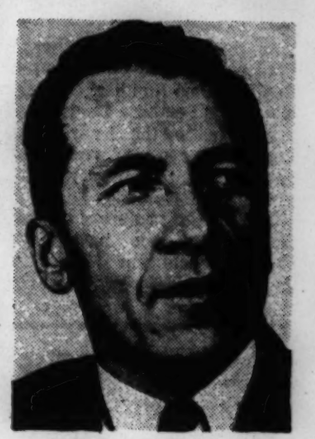
Paul Swaity, a vice president o fthe Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA), said the industry "plays white worker against black worker."

"This industry not only manufactures textiles, it also manufactures poverty," said Swaity.

He charged that employers "appeal to racial prejudice" in an effort to keep unions out of the mills "by implying that a vote for the union is a vote for racial mixing on a social basis."

Chairman Shulman asked Swaity whether there were any differences in the union's ability to organize Negro workers.

"Perhaps because of their experience of collective action to gain their rights, Negro workers have recently become much more prone to organize and participate in unions than perhaps some of the white workers," Swaity said.



Paul Swaity
. . . Attacks Industry

He said the union had been rebuffed by Southern mill owners when it suggested the mills participate in federally-assisted training programs.

The commission was asked to take "more aggressive and affirmative action" to wipe out discrimination. The call came from Mrs. Alice Spearman, executive director of the S.C. Human Relations Council, a private voluntary group.

In his opening statement, Shulman cited a report that "showed a low utilization of Negroes and a concentration in the low-paying pobs."

According to the report, prepared by Dr. Donald D. Osburn of the University of Missouri and released prior to the forum, non-whites represented 21.7 per cent of total employment in North Carolina in 1960. They had only 3.9 per cent of total textile jobs.

In South Carolina, non-whites accounted for 30 per cent of the employed workers, and had 5.2 per cent of the textile jobs.

Shulman made public the latest statistics on complaints of discrimination received by the EEOC, which began operations in July, 1965.

The EEOC has received 13,404 complaints, he said, including 869 from North Carolina and 250 from South Carolina.

The chairman said no specific complaints of discrimination would be discussed at the sessions. He said the purpose of the meeitng was "a broadly based exchange of information."

A representative of the N.C. branch of Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a civil rights organization headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, spoke briefly during the public discussion period.

He said in an interview after the meeting that his group was "annoyed" at not having been invited to the session.

"I want to get on the program tomorrow," he said.

GREENSBORO DAILY NEWS

1/13/67

'Intimidation, Coercion, Discrimination'

Negro And Labor Leaders Vent Wrath On Dixie Mills

CHARLOTTE (UPI) — Charges of "intimidation, coercion and discrimination" were made against Southern textile mills Thursday as the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission opened the first public hearings it has ever held on industrial hiring practices.

About 160 persons were present at the first day of the two-day forum, including many representing mills' management despite an official boycott of the sessions announced earlier by the firms' central trade organization, the American Textile Manufacturers Institute (ATMI).

An ATMI statement had said the forum might "encourage unfounded and irresponsible accusations" and simply holding the hearing "implied a punitive approach" against the mills. Only one industry representative spoke, limiting his remarks to his firm's employment practices.

* * *

KELLY M. ALEXANDER of Charlotte, president of the North Carolina National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, noted during periods of unemployment, "Negroes are the first fired and last hired and added "We reject the notion that Negroes are not qualified" or untrainable." "One is not born a textile worker," he said.

Alexander called for a "comprehensive investigation" of employment practices and establishment of apprentice training programs "beyond tokenism." He placed part of the blame, however, on "the failure of constructive Negro leadership to have rapport with understanding officials."

* * *

PAUL SWAITY, a vice president of the AFL-CIO Textile Workers Union of America, charged the Southern textile industry with manufacturing poverty as well as textiles. "And its by-products are injustice and inequality. The tools it uses are not only looms, spinning frames and other standard textile machinery. It also relies upon intimidation, coercion and discrimination," Swaity said.

"And it uses them not only on a racial basis, but also against white workers who seek a remedy for the substandard conditions that have been saddled upon them by this industry's traditional low wage policy."

Swaity said "subsidized industrialization" had record progress in the South but nowhere else had workers "been accorded so small a share of the prosperity which this industrialization has brought.

"Employers must shoulder the prime responsibility," he said, accusing the industry of being "notorious for its lack of a social conscience" and of violating the national labor relations act "cynically and deliberately.

". . . Equal employment opportunities cannot be built upon quicksand," he told the commission, set up in July, 1965 under the 1964 civil rights act. "There must be a strong foundation based upon industrial democracy."

* * *

VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, an economist who is president of Clark College in Atlanta, attacked the industry's "extremely poor record on Negro employment . . . (and) . . . vicious history of outright exclusion of Negroes . . .

"The only manufacturing industry that parallels the textile industry in terms of Negro exclusion from employment in the South is apparel, an allied industry," Henderson said.

"All-white plants are the rule rather than the exception in East Tennessee, Southwest Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, and this is the case in places where Negroes make up a significant part of the population."

Citing numerous statistics to back up his charges, Henderson said while 56 per cent of southern textile workers come from rural areas, only 3.8 per cent of rural Negroes could find jobs in textiles and 2.2 per cent in apparels. EEOC data showed only 8.6 per cent of textile workers surveyed in 1966 were Negro, he said, with Negro women "virtually excluded from employment."

Many mills "located in all white areas to avoid the question of Negro employment," he added, noting the plight of non-college bound youths who "are too sophisticated to work in a white person's kitchen, and a textile mill in their small town . . . won't have them."

* * *

OTHER SPEAKERS appealing for more equal hiring practices cited figures showing 45 per cent of all industrial jobs in both Carolinas are in textiles and ranking North Carolina 50th among all states in average hourly manufacturing wages with South Carolina 47th.

Commission Chairman Stephen N. Shulman said 13,404 complaints of job discrimination were received in the first 18 months of the EEOC's existence, with more concerning North Carolina mills than from any other state. He said 869 complaints came from North Carolina and 250 from South Carolina.

The hearings followed an EEOC report Jan. 3 that noted Negroes were getting more jobs in Carolinas' textile mills than ever before, although mostly unskilled and concentrated in the lowest occupational categories.

Donald G. Hollowell, Atlanta regional director of the EEOC, urged that industries use "aggressive recruitment" of Negroes as "further evidence of employers' willingness to improve the picture in textiles."

Winston-Salem Journal 1/13/67

Textile Industry Charged With Discrimination

By Thomas Pepper
Staff Reporter

CHARLOTTE — The southern textile industry "has an extremely poor record on Negro employment," a government - sponsored "forum" here was told yesterday.

Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, a Negro economist and president of Clark College at Atlanta, Ga., said, "The industry has a vicious history of discrimination and outright exclusion of Negroes from the work force" in various plants.

Improvement is particularly needed, Henderson said, in the employment of rural Negroes who no longer work on farms. Negroes in larger cities have a variety of job opportunities to choose from, he said, but rural Negroes are especially dependent on textile mill jobs because in many small towns this is the only source of factory employment.

Henderson was one of 14 speakers at a "forum" on Negro employment in the textile industry of North and South Carolina, sponsored by the U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

The word "forum" was chosen because the commission said it simply wanted to gather information from all parties concerned. Under the ground rules, no charges of discrimination against individuals, companies, or unions can be made in public during the two-day session. About 160 people were at the opening meeting.

Ten leading textile firms, their principal trade association, state and local government agencies, civil rights groups and unions were invited to present their views. But most of the firms and the American Textile Manufacturers Institute decided to boycott the session. The institute said it preferred a private meeting.

Although only one industry spokesman, an official of the Du Pont Corp. of Wilmington, Del., spoke yesterday, numerous industry representatives, including men from Cone Mills and Burlington Industries in Greensboro, were in the audience.

Companies were not alone

See Forum, P. 18, Col. 4

Forum Told About Hiring Practices

Continued from Page 1

in receiving criticism. Kelly Alexander of Charlotte, state president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said that unions and the N. C. Employment Security Commission discriminate against Negroes. The ESC fails to refer Negroes to textile mill jobs, he said.

Alexander and other Negro civil rights spokesmen, including Charles McLean of Winston-Salem, a full - time NAACP employe, urged the commission to find ways to cut off federal programs to the textile industry. They referred to tariff and quota agreements that restrict imports to protect the domestic industry, and to defense contracts.

A speaker from the U. S. Department of Commerce, also a Negro, said that the textile industry is at a serious disadvantage in competition with foreign firms, and that widespread imports would hurt the chances for increased Negro employment in the industry.

Paul Swaity, a vice president of the Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, castigated the textile industry for manufacturing poverty as well as textiles.

He said his union welcomes any employe regardless of race and that because of this, management appeals to racial prejudice in campaigns against union organization.

Commission chairman Stephen N. Shulman asked Swaity whether Negroes are generally more apt than whites to support unions in the southern textile industry.

Swaity said successful civil rights drives have made Negroes more sympathetic to unions than they used to be. He added that 10 years ago hardly any Negroes were employed at textile mills.

In an interview later, Swaity said the Negroes' inclination to join unions probably makes companies more reluctant to hire them.

Shulman, asked whether this observation by Swaity is true, said, "I hope not."

Shulman said he has to assume that companies willingly obey laws that prohibit discrimination against Negroes and against people sympathetic to unions. He also said he would hate to think that pro-union sympathies by Negroes would hurt their chances for employment in textile mills.

Henderson, Alexander and others said the textile industry needs to make more use of federal manpower training programs, in which the government pays part of the cost of on-the-job training. A labor Department speaker said the textile industry uses very little of these funds.

At the beginning of the program, several commission staff members reviewed the studies that prompted the commission to schedule the "forum."

Commission speakers alternated between a "hard sell," when the head of the compliance division reminded the audience of the commission's responsibilities under the law, and a "soft sell," when the regional director from Atlanta outlined various plans some companies have voluntarily used to recruit and employ more Negroes.

Generally, the commission spokesmen sought to emphasize that progress has been made in the textile industry, but that more is needed.

The State — Columbia, S.C. 1/13/67

Mills Told Of 250 Bias Complaints

From Wire Reports

CHARLOTTE, N. C. —The chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) said here Thursday the EEOC has received 250 complaints of racial discrimination in the South Carolina textile industry since July, 1965.

A textile union official told the commission chairman during the EEOC-sponsored public forum that the Southern textile industry "manufactures poverty."

The industry itself, however was inclined to bypass the two-day meeting. Only two of six textile spokesmen originally on the program remained on the agenda as the forum began.

Stephen N. Schulman, chairman of the commission, told the gathering that it was thought that "a public forum on minority employment in the industry would be helpful. With the goal of realizing employment opportunities that would be developing, a broadly based exchange of information seemed to be in order.

Schulman said that the EEOC in its first 18 months of operation, beginning in July 1965, received 13,404 complaints of discrimination in hiring practices, with 869 from North Carolina and 250 from South Carolina.

Schulman said a study of the Carolinas textile industry was prepared for the commission by Dr. Donald Osburn, at the time at North Carolina State University, but now at the University of Missouri. Schulman said the Osburn study showed "a low utilization of Negroes and a concentration in the low-paying jobs."

Schulman said the purpose of the forum was to study the low ratio of Negro employment, particularly in skilled crafts in the Carolinas textile industry, not to hear complaints.

Donald G. Hollowell, Atlanta regional director of the commission, said the Negro employment in the South's textile industry is limited "in terms of significant, affirmative action."

He stressed that efforts at the forum "are in behalf of encouraging and assisting in the kinds of affirmative action that will eliminate the cause of the complaints."

Paul Swaity of Charlotte, a vice president of the AFL-CIO Textile Wrkers Union of America, charged that the Southern textile industry "manufactures poverty."

He charged that employers "must shoulder the prime responsibility." Swaity said, "They do the hiring. They exercise the unilateral right to hire in union as well as in non-union plants. They assign new employes to particular departments. And this frequently determines the opportunities for future upgrading. It is their responsibility to adopt hiring procedures which screen applicants on the basis of objective qualifications for the job, rather than extraneous factors such as race."

Dr. Vivian Henderson, president of Clark College in Atlanta, told the group. "The textile industry in the South has an extremely poor record on Negro employment. The industry has a vicious history of outright exclusion of Negroes from the work force in the various plants. The only manufacturing industry that parallels the textile industry in terms of Negro exclusion from employment in the South is apparel, an allied industry.

"Employment opportunities for Negroes in textiles in the Carolinas and the South has been and continues to be quite limited. All-white plants are the rule rather than the exception in east Tennessee, southwest Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi and this is the case in places where Negroes make up a significant part of the population."

He said education and training on the part of Negroes are needed to correct the situation, but "more than anything else, it requires practices by employers which lend themselves to providing the greatest access possible for Negroes to find their way into textile employment. In particular much must be done to open doors for rural non-farm Negro workers in textile plants in such areas."

Fayetteville Observer 1/13/67

Crum Backs Employment Opportunity

CHARLOTTE (AP) — An official of the North Carolina Council of Churches said today "we must cease to be afraid" of the Ku Klux Klan and work for equal employment opportunities for all people without regard to race.

Jack Crum, director of Christian Social Action for the council, told the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission "the fear of many people has been understandable. Preachers, educators, government officials, and industrial leaders have all been afraid to work for equal employment opportunities for all people without regard to race."

Crum said in a prepared talk "we must work for equal opportunities under the flag of American democracy and in the spirit of Jesus Christ."

He spoke at the closing session of two days of hearings into employment standards in southern textile mills. The commission has heard charges the mills practice systematic discrimination against Negroes.

Crum said that after he testified in Washington against the Ku Klux Klan, a sticker was placed on the door of his office which read: "The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is Watching You."

"My secretary, who happened to be a Negro, arrived at the office ahead of me that day," he said. "Being by herself in the office, she became afraid and locked the door on the inside. I laughed when I came and left the sticker in place. We put a note on the door inviting the klan to continue watching and listening to the churches. My secretary, however, continued to be afraid until I finally removed the sticker from the door."

Crum cited figures showing that the average annual wage in the textile industry in North Carolina in 1964 was $3,912, almost $2,000 above the income of the average Negro family.

"Thus," he said, "many Negroes could benefit from the present tight labor market by finding employment in the textile industry . . . the textile industry could also benefit by drawing upon a ready resource for semi-skilled and unskilled employees."

The Charlotte News
1/13/64

Textile Forum Ends

Help For Negro Urged

By ED FREAKLEY
News Staff Writer

Watts Hill Jr., chairman of the state Board of Higher Education, said today that the white community must emphasize speed and support in helping the Negro in North Carolina.

Mr. Hill spoke at the final day of a textile employment forum sponsored by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) meeting here.

Yesterday's opening session in the public library was marked with numerous allegations of racial discrimination hurled at the textile industry.

THIS MORNING'S session was attended by about 80 persons from industry, civil rights groups, education and welfare organizations.

"In the white community, the emphasis must be on more speed and support. In the Negro community, the emphasis must be on more understanding that an education cannot be given overnight," Mr. Hill said.

The Durham insurance man said that people must start accepting the fact that the Negro is going to receive an equal educational opportunity. "He does not have that opportunity today, he has never had it, and at our present pace, equal educational opportunity is decades away for the vast majority of Negroes," Mr. Hill said.

He added that it was impossible to correct the effect of inequities lasting more than 100 year in a few years. "What we must be prepared to do in the next 10 years is spend what we have failed to spend in over 100 years of unequal expenditures," he said.

WATTS HILL JR.
. . . Speaks Here

Dr. Hill said that there must be a realization by Negroes that they are not "even making full use of educational opportunities which already exist."

Earlier, Clifton M. Craig, commissioner of the North Carolina State Department of Public Welfare, reported on the agencies effort to aid the Negro.

Shortly after he began his speech a Negro man in the audience rose and said, "Mr. Chairman, I may be out of order, but would you please ask the speaker to pronounce the word Negro correctly."

THE MAN SAID Mr. Craig was slurring the word. Mr. Craig apologized to the group and said he was not aware that

Continued on Page 14B, Col. 7

N.C. School Chief Asks Speed In Aiding Negro

Continued From Second Front

he was mispronouncing the word.

EEOC Chairman Stephen N. Shulman told the group when Mr. Craig finished his speech, that the following speakers should remember "this experience so that it will not happen again."

Mr. Craig's speech was favorable to the Negro and he said that the Negroes did not want to be on welfare, but were there by circumstance and in many cases, injustice.

The forum was to end this afternoon. Mr. Shulman said he was pleased with the "exchange of ideas" and the success of the meeting.

However, all but two textile industry representatives refused invitations to speak on the forum. Mr. Shulman said 10 were "sounded out" and that he had expected six to appear on the program.

The American Textile Manufacturers Institute, the industry trade association, issued a statement earlier this week saying such "town hall" sessions as the one here encourage "unfounded and irresponsible accusations" concerning the way the industry operates.

An 18-year-old Negro girl appeared before the commission this morning and claimed that two textile mills in her town discriminated against her. MISS MAE McCrimmon, who said she was a high school graduate, charged that in her town Negroes are not hired by the textile industry except in janitorial positions.

At yesterday afternoon's meeting Kelly Alexander of Charlotte, the head of the North Carolina NAACP, said that the Carolinas have a "long, long history of Negroes being excluded from textile employment."

Mr. Alexander said the NAACP "will become active in programs to take away the federal protections — such as high tariffs — enjoyed by the textile industry, unless these discriminatory programs stop."

THE CIVIL RIGHTS leader urged the investigation of the State Employment Security Commission, saying that some of its employes are contributing to the exclusion of Negroes from the textile industry.

Neil MacArthur, a representative of the Manpower Administration of the U. S. Labor Department, told the commission that the textile industry rarely participates in federal training programs which would aid the Negro in his search for better jobs and more pay.

He said the industry uses the Manpower Development Training Act very little.

Industry Bypasses Forum

Textile Employment Of Negroes Explored

CHARLOTTE (AP)—The matter of Negro employment by extile firms in the South was explored Thursday at a public forum sponsored by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).

The industry itself, however, was inclined to bypass the two-day meeting. Only two of six textile spokesmen originally on the program remained on the agenda as the forum began.

Stephen N. Schulman, chairman of the commission, told the gathering that it was thought that "a public forum on minority employment in the industry would be helpful. With the goal of realizing employment opportunities that would be developing, a broadly based exchange of information seemed to be in order."

Schulman said that the EEOC in its first 18 months of operation, beginning in July 1965, received 13,404 complaints of discrimination in hiring practices, with 869 from North Carolina and 250 from South Carolina.

Schulman said a study of the Carolinas textile industry was prepared for the commission by Dr. Donald Osburn, at the time at North Carolina State University, but not at the University of Missouri, Schulman said the Osburn study showed "a low utilization of Negroes and a concentration in the low-paying jobs."

Schulman said the purpose of the forum was to study the low ratio of Negro employment, particularly in skilled crafts in the Carolinas textile industry, not to hear complaints.

Donald G. Hollowell, Atlanta regional director of the commission, said the Negro employment in the South's textile industry is limited "in terms of significant, affirmative action."

He stressed that efforts at the forum "are in behalf of encouraging and assisting in the kinds of affirmative action that will eliminate the cause of the complaints."

Paul Swaity of Charlotte, a vice president of the AFL-CIO Textile Workers Union of America, charged that the Southern textile industry "manufactures poverty."

He charged that employers "must shoulder the prime responsibility." Swaity said, "They do the hiring. They exercise the unilateral right to hire in union as well as in non-union plants. They assign new employes to particular departments. And this frequently determines the opportunities for future upgrading. It is their responsibility to adopt hiring procedures which screen applicants on the basis of objective qualifications for the job, rather than extraneous factors such as race."

Dr. Vivian Henderson, president of Clark College in Atlanta, told the group, "The textile industry in the South has an extremely poor record on Negro employment. The industry has a vicious history of outright exclusion of Negroes from the work force in the various plants.

The only manufacturing industry that parallels the textile industry in terms of Negro exclusion from employment in the South is apparel, an allied industry.

1/13/67 Charlotte Observer

Observer Photo by Philip Morgan

Federal Officials At Textile Employment Forum
. . . From Left, Charles Markham, Samuel Jackson, Stephen Shulman

Winston-Salem Journal 1/14/67

21.

Changes Approach

Textile Industry Defends Hiring

By Thomas Pepper
Staff Reporter

CHARLOTTE — Changing its mind, the American Textile Manufacturers Institute asked yesterday to speak at a government-sponsored "forum" on Negro employment in the textile industry of the Carolinas. The institute said it is willing to discuss programs "for the benefit of all Americans, regardless of race."

F. Sadler Love, secretary-treasurer of the ATMI, the textile industry's principal trade association, spoke near the end of two days of public hearings here before the U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. This is the government body charged with enforcement of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibits racial discrimination in any company with more than 25 employes.

The ATMI had indicated earlier it would boycott the meeting because a public session might encourage "unfounded and irresponsible accusations." The ATMI had said it preferred a private meeting.

Statement Offered

But after a day and a half of public statements, most of them critical of the industry, Love told commission chairman Stephen N. Shulman that he wanted to make a statement, an informed source said.

In planning the "forum," the commission wanted participation from all elements concerned with Negro employment in the textile industry—companies themselves, the trade association, state and local government agencies, civil rights groups, unions and individual Negroes who have sought employment.

The word "forum" was chosen because the commission said it wanted to gather information and not hold a judicial or semi-judicial inquiry.

Employment Increases

In his statement, Love sought to emphasize the high percentage increases in Negro employment in the textile industry since passage of the Civil Rights Act. He quoted figures from the commission's own studies, and called these increases "encouraging." Earlier, commission economists said the percentage increases are high because the industry began with a low number of Negroes employed.

Love also said the education and manpower training systems should educate and train Negroes for textile work. The systems are run and paid for by the government. Implicitly, he was answering those who had called on the textile industry to let more Negroes participate in on-the-job training.

These previous witnesses, called for improved educational programs and acknowledged the Negroes' own need for self-improvement, but they stressed industry's responsibility and said it is willing to train whites on-the-job.

Love emphasized the intense competition facing the textile industry, at home and abroad. The industry trains thousands of people each year, he said, but "it does not have the facilities to train the hundreds of thousands of others who lack adequate employment because they lack adequate training."

Earlier yesterday, Watts Hill Jr., chairman of the State Board of Higher Education and president of Home Security Life Insurance Co. of Durham, said equal employment programs in industry could succeed only if top management actively backs them.

Extraordinary recruitment programs, such as visits to predominately Negro high schools and colleges, are needed to reach the Negro community, he said.

Compensation Needed

On education, Hill said compensations for Negroes are needed today to make up for 100 years of unequal expenditures. "Who can say that there would or would not have been equal achievement had the treatment been equal all along? We do not know and never will," Hill said.

Speaking as an executive, Hill said his own company's experience in integration shows that the "apprehension of what might happen always exceeds the reality." Because of progress the recruitment programs in the last few years, Hill said his company now gets as many Negro as white applicants and about the same percentage of qualified applicants from each race.

Six Negro workers and several ministers told of unsuccessful attempts to get jobs in textile mills or of higher wages going to whites for identical work.

Miss Willie Mae McCrimmon, an 18-year-old high school graduate, said she was refused a job about the time a newspaper in her county advertised 200 openings.

Mrs. Annie Lou Harris, a former business student at Winston-Salem State College, said the company she applied to simply said her application would be kept on file.

Dr. Emory Via, director of labor programs for the Southern Regional Council, a research-oriented civil rights organization in Atlanta, Ga., told the commission that the textile industry, because of its prominence in the economic, social, and cultural life of the Carolinas, can take the lead in integration. Nondiscrimination now is required by law, he said and "fairness can no longer be satisfied with statements of good intentions."

Mrs. Sarah Herbin of the North Carolina fund, an anti-poverty agency at Durham, called for a concrete commission-followup. She deplored public meetings that only increase the frustrations of Negroes and she criticized the industry for wanting "super - Negroes" with higher qualifications for a job than whites.

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Textile Forum Concluded Greensboro Daily News 1/14/67

Lack Of Education Viewed Job Obstacle For Negroes

CHARLOTTE (AP) — Education, church and welfare officials were heard Friday as the two-day forum exploring the matter of Negro employment in Southern Textile Mills concluded.

The textile industry took a limited role in the discussions sponsored by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, although some mill executives attended.

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HILL SAID, "In the white community the emphasis must be on more speed and support. In the Negro community the emphasis must be on more understanding that an education cannot be given overnight."

He added, "There must be a realization by Negroes that they are not even making full use of educational opportunities which already exist."

Fack Crum, director of Christian social action for the North Carolina Council of Churches, called for efforts to gain equal employment opportunities for all people without regard to race.

He said, "We must cease to be afraid of the Ku Klux Klan."

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Clifton M. Craig, commissioner of the North Carolina State Department of Public Welfare reported on the efforts of the agency to aid Negroes.

He said Negroes did not want welfare aid, but were put in that position by curcumstance and, in many cases, injustice.

Willie Mae McCrimmon, 18-year-old Negro girl, said that two textile mills in her home town in an unidentified Piedmont county discriminated against her.

James Pierce, coordinator for the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department stated, "Nowhere except in the textile industry have I seen such frequent reliance upon inflammatory racial propaganda by employers in an industry attempt to maintain control of their employes and the community in which it operates. This was true 10 years ago. It is still true today."

Textile Employment Forum Ends

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Watts Hill Jr. of Durham, chairman of the North Carolina Board of Higher Education, said the white community must emphasize speed and support in helping the Negro in North Carolina.

Hill declared, "In the white community the emphasis must be on more speed and support. In the Negro community the emphasis must be on more understanding that an education cannot be given overnight."

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Charlotte Observer 1/14/67

Negroes Say Bias Deep In Textiles

By BOB ROSENBLATT
Observer Staff Writer

Several Carolinas Negroes told a federal forum on textile industry hiring practices Friday that they were unfairly barred from jobs in Carolinas textile mills.

Appearing at the second day of a forum conducted by the federal Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC), one speaker said she had waited four years for a job after successfully taking an employment test as a mill machine operator.

The three-man commission and a packed auditorium in the Charlotte Public Library also heard a textile industry representative defend the industry's employment record as one "in which all of us can take considerable pride."

The spokesman, F. S. Love, secretary-treasurer of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute (ATMI), ended a two-day silence by the industry, and said the ATMI would discuss with the EEOC any proposals to increase minority group employment.

Love also attacked what he called "malicious and irresponsible accusations concerning the employment practices of the textile industry."

Mrs. Annie Louise Harris, a 21-year-old Negro woman, was one of several previously unannounced speakers who discussed alleged job discrimination.

"In June of 1963," Mrs. Harris said, "I was told I passed a test for a job as a machine operator in a large textile mill.

"I went to the mill in August and asked if there were any vacancies. They said my application was on file and I would be called."

Mrs. Harris said she was not contacted by the mill from January of 1964 until June of 1966, whle she attended Winston Salem State College.

She inquired about a job again in August of last year.

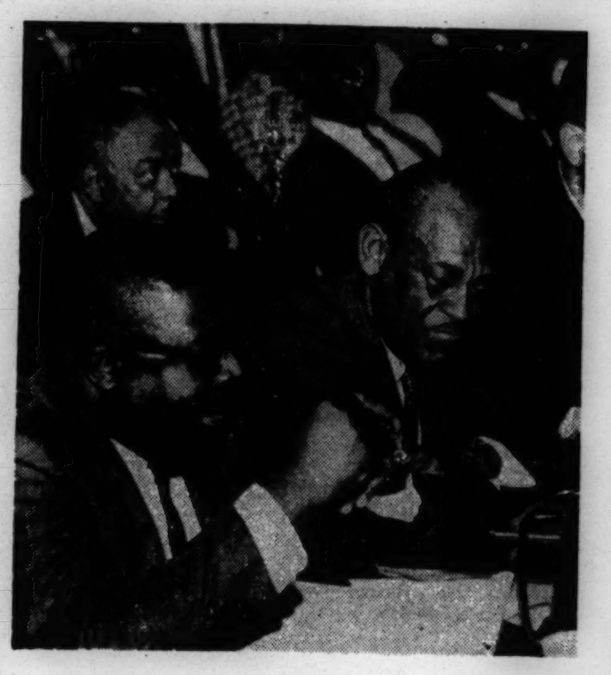
"I went to the same mill and asked about the job. I had to file another application and have had no communication from the mill since."

Mrs. Harris said she is currently unemployed.

Commissioner Samuel Jackson of the EEOC suggested that Mrs. Harris talk to a commission representative "since this matter may be a basis for more specific action." the EEOC receives complaints of discrimination in employment in violation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

A speech by Clifton M. Craig, North Carolina commissioner of public welfare, was interrupted by a member of the audience who objected to Craig's pronunciation of the word "Negro."

After Craig had read several paragraphs from his speech, a man jumped up, saying "Mr. Chairman, I may be out of order but I think he could pronounce the word Negro a little clearer."



. . . Rev. Holman (Left), And Rev. Dequincy Newman

"It's hard on the ear the way he says it," another member of the audience shouted.

"I'm sorry if I slur my words," said Craig and continued with his speech.

An official of the N.C. Council of Churches told the audience "we must cease to be afraid" of the Ku Klux Klan.

Rev. Jack Crum, director of Christian Social Action for the council, said "Preachers, educators, government officials and industrial leaders have all been afraid to work for equal employment opportunities for all people without regard to race.

"We must work for equal opportunities under the flag of American democracy and in the spirit of Jesus Christ."

Watts Hill Jr. chairman of the N.C. Board of Higher Education, called on the white community to stress "more speed and support" in the effort to improve education and end discrimination.

"In the Negro community, the emphasis must be more on understanding that an education cannot be given overnight."

Commissioner Stephen N. Shulman, chairman of the EEOC, said in the closing statement that the forum would be a success only "if programs come out of it that mean opportunities for minorities are enhanced."

Wash. Post 1/14/67

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Textile Firms Scored For Shunning Negroes

CHARLOTTE, N.C., Jan. 13 (AP)—Two days of hearings into employment standards in Southern textile mills ended today following charges the textile mills practice systematic discrimination against Negroes.

The textile industry and its trade organization, the American Textile Manufacturers Institute (ATMI) did not participate in the hearings, conducted by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, but a number of mill executives were in the audience both days.

[F. S. Love, Secretary Treasurer of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute, said late today his organization would discuss with the Commission suggestions to increase minority group employment. He also attacked what he called "malicious and irresponsible accusations concerning the employment practices of the textile industry."]

One mill representative, Leighton C. Dunlay of the Du Pont Co., listened to the numerous charges of systematic and widespread racial bars against Negroes yesterday, then spoke briefly. He said his firm has actively sought to employ and train young Negroes, starting with high school age.

Marshall Rauch, president of Pyramid Mills, another large employer, spoke today. He and Dunlap were among six textile executives originally listed as speakers. The others withdrew after the ATMI charged that the sessions might lead to "unfounded and irresponsible accusations."

Jack Crum, an official of the North Carolina Council of Churches, said "we must cease to be afraid of the Ku Klux Klan," and called for efforts to gain equal employment opportunities for all people without regard to race.

At yesterday's session, Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, an economist and president of Clark College in Atlanta, said the textile industry has "a vicious history of outright exclusion of Negroes from the work force in the various plants." He also charged that textile firms" will build plants in all-white areas or near them to avoid the question of Negro employment."

EEOC Chairman Stephen N. Shulman cited a report that indicated "a low utilization of Negroes" and concentration of those that are hired to low-paying jobs.

Shulman said no-whites represent 21.7 per cent of total employment in North Carolina, but only 3.9 per cent of the total are in textile jobs. In South Carolina, Shulman said, nonwhites account for 30 per cent of employed workers, but only 5.2 per cent are in textile jobs.

[In other testimony reported yesterday, NAACP official Kelly Alexander charged that workers at State employment placement offices "contributed to exclusion of Negroes by accepting and filling discriminatory job orders received from the textile industry."

[Shulman announced that the EEOC had received 13,404 complaints since its inception in July 1965. Of these, he said, 869 were filed from North Carolina and 250 from South Carolina. A spokesman for the Textile Workers Union of America said the textile industry, which employs about 45 per cent of all manufacturing workers in the Carolinas, "plays white worker against black worker."]

The News and Courier, Sat., Jan. 14, 1967 7-A
CHARLESTON, S. C.

Hiring Hearings Close In Charlotte

CHARLOTTE (AP)— Education, church and welfare officials were heard Friday as the two-day forum exploring the matter of Negro employment in Southern Textile Mills concluded.

The textile industry took a limited role in the discussions sponsored by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, although some mill executives attended.

Watts Hill Jr. of Durham, chairman of the North Carolina Board of Higher Education, said the white community must emphasize speed and support in helping the Negro in North Carolina.

Hill declared, "In the white community the emphasis must be on more speed and support. In the Negro community the emphasis must be on more understanding that an education cannot be given overnight."

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James Pierce, coordinator for the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department, stated, "Nowhere except in the textile industry have I seen such frequent reliance upon inflammatory racial propaganda by employers in an industry attempt to maintain control of their employes and the community in which it operates. This was true 10 years ago. It is still true today."

N.Y. Times 1-14-67

NEGRO GAINS FOUND IN TEXTILE INDUSTRY

CHARLOTTE, N. C., Jan. 12 (AP)—An official of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission said Thursday that there was evidence of limited prograss in the hiring of Negroes in the textile and other Southern industries.

Donald G. Hollowell, Atlanta regional director of the commission, told a forum that Negro employment in the textile industry in the South was limited "in terms of significant, affirmative action."

Textile industry officials attended the forum but refused to enter the discussion, saying that the announcement of the hearings "implied a punitive approach" and that such "town hall" meetings "can encourage unfounded and irresponsible accusations."

Stephen N. Schulman, chairman of the commission, said the forum had been called to explore the low ratio of Negro employment, particularly in skilled crafts in Carolina textile mills, not to hear complaints.

Mr. Schulman said that while nonwhites constituted 22.3 per cent of the population of North Carolina and 30.5 per cent in South Carolina, only 8.4 per cent of the textile workers in the two states were Negro.

The American Textile Manufacturers Institute said that it would not participate in the forum, although some individual textile firms were represented at the meeting.

CHARLOTTE NEWS 1/14/67

Textilists Hit Charges Of Race Bias

By ED FREAKLEY
News Staff Writer

After listening to two days of continual charges of racial discrimination by manufacturers, the textile industry finally spoke out at a forum held by the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) here.

F. Sadler Love, speaking for the American Textile Manufacturers Institute (ATMI) at the final session of the two-day meeting said forum speakers were issuing "malicious and irresponsible accusations concerning the employment practices of the textile industry."

HE TOLD the packed auditorium at the Public Library that the industry's employment record "is one in which all of us can take considerable pride."

Mr. Love, secretary-treasurer of ATMI, told the commission that ATMI would discuss with it any proposals to increase minority group employment.

Earlier, the commission allowed a speaker to break one of the EEOC rules of the meeting.

Chairman Stephen N. Shulman had told the group that there were to be no individual complaints lodged, and that companies were not to be identified.

A speaker from South Carolina charged that all textile plants in his county practiced systematic discrimination.

The speaker then named the county. Members of the commission did not caution the man or warn him.

Chairman Shulman said in a closing statement for the commission that the forum would be a success only "if programs come out of it that mean opportunities for minorities are enhanced."

MR. SHULMAN told The News that the commission had no follow up plans at this time. He said he hoped that the groups present would start their "own affirmative action programs without urging from us."

The groups present included the industry, union representatives and civil rights groups.

Industry had refused to participate in the program saying earlier this week that such "town hall" programs lead to unfounded and irresponsible accusations.

southern
TEXTILE NEWS
THE NEWSWEEKLY SERVING THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

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Wild Accusations Flare At EEOC Forum

AT CHARLOTTE EEOC FORUM — Shown during the open forum on equal opportunities for Negroes in the textile industry at Charlotte last week are Charles B. Markham, director, Office of Research and Reports, EEOC, (Left) and Samuel Jackson, EEOC representative who had primary responsibility for the forum.

By Dennis Washburn

CHARLOTTE —The highly publicized Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Forum held here last week proved to be little more than a government financed "Turkey-Shoot" with the textile industry playing the unenviable role of "Turkey."

The game seemed to be --Everyone gest a chance at the turkey. The turkey doesn't have a chance.

But at Southern Textile News presstime, the winner still hadn't been determined -- the turkey, or the shooters.

Official tone for the two-day forum was established last Wednesday at a local press conference when EEOC Chairman Stephen Shulman, said he was "surprised" and "disappointed" at the textile industry's refusal to participate in a forum on Negro employment by textile firms.

Mr. Shulman emphasized that the commission would not hear complaints during the forum.

"Therefore," he said, "it was a matter of surprise when the American Textile Manufacturers Institute said it would not participate and spoke of punitive measures by the commission."

(The actual statement by ATMI is printed elsewhere on this page.)

During the opening day of the hearings the textile industry was accused of widespread job discrimmination against Negroes, and as a "manufacturer of poverty."

A civil rights leader, a labor union official and a Negro college president were among the speakers who criticized the industry for allegedly dragging its feet in hiring members of minority groups.

Kelly Alexander of Charlotte, president of the North Carolina conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), said Negroes -- and especially Negro women -- have been "completely blocked out of the textile industry."

The NAACP will work toward the removal of government supports for the textile industry, "such as high tariffs," unless the industry ends "discriminatory practices," he said.

Mr. Alexander said he would bring up the question of government support for textiles at a meeting of the national board of the NAACP. (CONT.)

—EEOC Forum—

(Continued from Page 1)

He also called for investigation of the North Carolina State Employment Security Commission and employment tests.

"We are aware of how employes of state employment offices contributed to exclusion of Negroes by accepting and filling discriminatory job orders received from the textile industry," he said.

Paul Swaity, a vice president of the AFL-CIO Textile Workers Union of America, told the forum gathering of around 185 people that "the southern textile industry not only manufactures textiles; it also manufactures poverty. And it's by products are injustice and inequality. He said the textile industry "plays white worker against black worker."

Speaking from a prepared text, Mr. Swaity said the industry uses the tools of intimidation, coercion and discrimination.

"It uses them not only on a racial basis, but also against white workers who seek a remedy for the substandard conditions that have been saddled upon them by this industry's traditional low-wage policy," Mr. Swaity said.

He said that the "industry is notorious for its lack of a social conscience. It violates the National Labor Relations Act cynically and deliberately."

Mr. Swaity claimed that the union follows a policy of non-discrimination, and noted that Negro workers have recently become "more prone to organize and participate in union than some white workers."

He attributed this partially to recent Negro experience in "joint action in order to gain their rights."

Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, an economist and president of Clark College in Atlanta, said the textile industry "has a vicious history of outright exclusion of Negroes from the work force in the various plants."

He cited a 1966 survey by EEOC which showed that Negroes held only 8.6 per cent of textile jobs in the Carolinas. According to the census of 1960, non-whites represented 21.7 per cent of total employment in North Carolina and 30 per cent in South Carolina.

Mr. Henderson said he would favor "rule - of - thumb guidelines" that would lead to a higher percentage of Negro workers in the textile industry.

"We should start dealing with patterns of employment," he said. "The commission deals just with complaints."

One of the few voices heard during the first day of the session that appeared to favor the industry was that of Leonidas S. James, field representative of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations.

Mr. James pointed with pride to the increased opportunities for Negroes in the textile industry in South Carolina. And the alimination of segregation.

Mr. James said that all textile plants in South Carolina, except two, have training programs to improve workers. To allow them to increase their skill and wages.

He mentioned individual cases where some Negroes are now drawing top pay because of the training programs.

He said, "It seems that the textile industry of South Carolina does not need any urging to seek out employes for training and upgrading as well as providing training courses for prospective employes."

Leighton C. Dunlap, representative of the Industrial Relations Division, duPont Corporation, one of the two industry spokesman at the forum, spoke of his company's efforts to comply with the intentions of the civil rights program.

"Our people have increase minority employment in all job categories," he said.

"We've visited cities, met Negro leaders and developed our own testing procedure to replace high school diplomas," he continued.

He concluded, "Management views this subject of equal employment opportunities as one of long duration on which we are making progress and expect to devote effort for years to come."

At the outset of the session, Commissioner Shulman said the commission would not hear specific complaints of discrimination. He said the session was intended only as "a meaningful dialogue" on the problems of the minority employment.

Mr. Shulman announced that EEOC had received 13,404 complaints since its inception in July, 1965. He said 869 of these were filed from North Carolina, while 250 came from South Carolina.

Joining Mr. Shulman on the EEOC panel was Commissioner Samuel Jackson who had responsibility for setting up the Forum. The third commissioner, vice - chairman Luther Holcomb, was ill and absent.

ATMI Statement On Forum

CHARLOTTE — The American Textile Manufacturers Institute has followed with interest the announced plans of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to conduct a public forum on January 12 and 13 on employment practices in the textile industry.

As the central trade organization for the cotton, man-made, and silk components of the industry, ATMI is anxious to work with qualified agencies, both public and private, which seek to create a better life for all Americans.

However, ATMI doubts that a public forum is the most productive method of encouraging further progress in the textile industry's effort to expand employment opportunities and has regretfully declined EEOC's invitation to present a statement.

Such "town hall" sessions can encourage unfounded and irresponsible accusations which might do serious damage to the harmonious relationships which now exist in the industry. There are other and better ways to help textile companies find qualified personnel to alleviate the present labor shortage. One such way has already been presented to EEOC representatives in the form of a suggestion that members of the Commission and the industry meet privately to explore means to facilitate the full utilization of available manpower.

The December 14 announcement of the forum implied a punitive approach and later events have done little to dispel this impression, although the Commission's figures show that the industry has already made significant progress in enlarging employment opportunities.

Through the years the industry has worked frequently and harmoniously with many agencies of government. For example, when the Council of Economic Advisers asked industry representatives on May 3, 1966, to help hold down inflation, the industry voluntarily reduced its planned spending for new plants and equipment by 12 per cent.

When government requirements for military textiles shot upward with our commitments in Viet Nam, the industry determined that despite unprecedented civilian demand, every pound and yard needed would be made and delivered to the military. Over the past year and one-half, as a result of conferences between ATMI and government representatives and tremendous efforts on the part of individual companies, every military requirement has been met, and met on a voluntary basis, without any mandatory orders.

We have enjoyed similarly harmonious and productive relationships with the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Commerce. Because of this history of mutual cooperation between the industry and government, we were surprised by the decision of the EEOC to hold a public meeting, and thus, in effect, bypass normal and reasonable channels of enlisting industry support.

We hope that our concern over the possible direction and outcome of the forum will prove to be unfounded. Meanwhile, the textile industry will continue its genuine efforts to make a substantial social and economic contribution to all America.

Osborn Study Caused Forum

CHARLOTTE – Staging of the EEOC Forum was suggested in a report titled, "Negro Employment in the Textile Industries of North and South Carolina," drafted by Dr. Donald D. Osburn, formerly on the N.C. State University faculty at Raleigh, N.C.

The report concluded that since 1940 the South has been trying to raise per capita income by industrialization and that by 1964, per capita income was only 77 per cent of the U.S. average.

Also that the Carolinas follow the economic pattern of the South as a whole. It said that the low per capita income is due, in part, to the high concentration of workers in low wage textile employment: 383,000 persons, or about 43.6 per cent of the manufacturing work force, were employed in textile mill production in 1965.

The study claimed that, nationally, the textile industry is a declining one and even in the Carolinas it is employing a declining share of total employment. And that the recent influx of new industry has created a tight labor market which has been forcing the textile mill products industry to raise wages and hire Negroes to meet its labor requriements.

Southern Textile News 1/16/67

AFRO JAN 21 ISSUE 3

Textile Job Policies Hit at EEOC Forum

U.S. unit searches for cures, changes

CHARLOTTE, N. C.—In its first forum on job opportunities, the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission heard evidence documenting biased recruitment in the textile industry last week.

Improvements have been made, witnesses said, but they were very slow in coming.

Stephen N. Shulman, chairman of the three-member commission, said the forum was "fruitful" but it would take time before enough changes might be noticed to warrant its being termed a success.

The most important aspect was the emphasis on concern for the average worker, he said.

Earlier, Mrs. Sarah Herbin, now a field representative for the North Carolina fund, said that in 10 years of work with the American Friends Service Committee talking to 300 employers to urge them to hire workers on merit alone, "the textile industry was one of the last to use the services of our program."

Mrs. Herbin quoted an industry statement that siad "rewarding career opportunities are unparalleled in he textile industry."

• • •

SHE THEN CITED EEOC figures on Carolina mills that showed only 74 employees among 6,693 office and clerical workers, six out of 5,299 in managerial positions, four among 1,021 technicians, three among 1,143 in professional categories and none among 404 salesmen.

Employers want to hire only "the 'super' man," Mrs. Herbin said, and charged that some firms had made "shocking requests for 'light-skinned' workers." Most when employed, she said, were kept in the lowest job categories.

Solutions might come from more such forums if they would "not raise the hopes of people and then let them down flat" and from "some kind of action which gives minorities the steam to obtain jobs on their own," Mrs. Herbin said.

Several workers presented individual complaints, but according to the forum's ground rules, could not mention their hometowns of the mills involved.

• • •

WILLIE MAE McCRIMMON, 18, cited her experience in applying for a machine operator's job in a southern Piedmont mill along with others.

She said their applications were accepted but none hired. Some were told no vacancies existed even though at about the same time, the local newspaper carried advertisements that the same mill had 200 jobs open.

James Pierce, coordinator of the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, said textile mills frequently relied 'upon inflammatory racial propaganda" to central employees and the Mill community including control over editorial policies of the local newspapers.

Vivian W. Henderson, economist president of Clark College in Atlanta, attacked the industry's "extremely poor record on employment...(and) ...vicious history of outright exclusion.

"THE ONLY manufacturing industry that parrells the textile industry in employment exclusion in the South is apparel, an allied industry," Henderson said.

Donald G. Hollowell, Atlanta regional director of the EEOC, urged that industries use "aggressive recruitment" of colored workers as "further evidence of employers' willingness to improve the picture in textiles."

"While some employers may feel that the commission is concentrating on investigating and conciliating complaints, his is not the case," he said.

"We have spent considerable time and effort seeking solutions to the problems of recruitment, training and apprenticeship programs and in testing and upgrading to help bring about the changes required," he added.

INDUSTRY LEADERS came to listen, but a boycott by the American Textile Manufacturers' Institute was broken only twice. One manager described his firm's hiring policies.

At the close of the forum, F. Sadler Love, the trade group's secretary - treasurer, charged is was marked "malicious and irresponsible accusations" against textile hiring policy.

GSA DC 67-11670

DEPT OF ECON OPPORT
ALAN GARTNER
83 E MAIN ST
PATCHOGUE NY 11772

NAL.

[Jan. 15, 1967]

(SP) 10 CENTS

s Bulletin

kground Report in Industry Finance

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Factory-Bias Fight

U.S. Prodding Plants To Merge Negro, White Job Promotion Lists

Move Could Allow Negroes To 'Bump' Whites Out Of Some Desirable Positions

Many Unions, Firms Resist

By JAMES P. GANNON
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

EL DORADO, Ark.—John R. Dykes has worked 17 years at Monsanto Co.'s chemical plant here, loading heavy sacks of nitrogen fertilizer onto rail cars and trucks. Now he wants a shot at one of the easier, better-paying jobs in the plant. But only white workers hold those jobs now, and he is a Negro.

Mr. Dykes and 25 other Negro laborers at Monsanto have filed suit in Federal District Court here seeking an order that would open up traditionally white jobs at the plant to Negroes, who now do only common labor. "I started in 1949 as a laborer and that's what I still am; that's the whole problem," says the husky, 42-year-old Mr. Dykes, a high school graduate.

The problem he complains about is one troubling companies, unions, white and Negro workers in an increasing number of plants and communities, particularly here in the South. It has developed into a growing struggle pitting Negro aspirations for advancement against white employes' determination to hold positions and promotion opportunities secured them by traditional industry practice and by formal labor contracts.

Seniority Practices the Problem

The struggle stems from efforts of the Federal Government and civil rights groups to enforce the equal employment provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The law was intended to root out racial discrimination in every phase of employment, including the little-understood system of worker rank called seniority.

The problem, which experts call much more complex than other employment segregation issues such as discrimination in hiring or segregated plant facilities, is how to unravel the threads of discrimination long intertwined in many seniority systems without destroying the entire fabric of those systems.

Traditional practices in many plants and industries have limited Negroes to certain departments or types of jobs, governed by a seniority list, or line of promotion, separate from the lists used in other departments or from the lists of jobs that whites hold. It's true, of course, that maintenance of numerous seniority lists in one plant may be dictated by entire-

ly legitimate reasons such as skill requirements and experience. But often the two considerations—legitimate and racial—are bound up in one seniority system.

Separate seniority arrangements based on race clearly violate the 1964 law. But in many cases, it's not clear how segregated lines can be merged or connected to give Negroes real opportunity for advancement without washing out or diluting seniority rights earned over many years by whites.

The Touchiest Task

The seniority snarl is probably the most touchy task engaging the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, created by the 1964 law. The EEOC has achieved limited success in winning voluntary changes in some seniority systems it considered discriminatory. But it still is groping for a policy to apply broadly.

"We have no policy on seniority as such," says EEOC Chairman Stephen N. Shulman. The complex problem "doesn't lend itself to a proclamation," he adds.

Still, EEOC conciliators seeking to settle seniority discrimination charges are proposing some solutions that call for extensive, sometimes radical, changes in current practices. In extreme cases, these call for demotion or "bumping" of whites to open jobs for Negro victims of seniority discrimination. In less difficult cases, proposals merely call for Negro equality in future promotions—where expanding business reasonably assures there will be sufficient promotions.

In any case, the EEOC has no power to compel any changes.

But Federal courts do have such power, and some Negro employes are seeking judicial mandates to rearrange seniority systems. Many cases, including the Monsanto suit, are being litigated with the aid of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund (an organization separate from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) which has filed some 35 employment discrimination cases, about half involving seniority.

Among the seniority discrimination suits are charges filed against Avco Corp., P. Lorillard Co., H. K. Porter Co. and the St. Louis-San Francisco Railway. The Frisco denies the charges; Avco, Lorillard and Porter decline to comment on the suits while they are in the courts.

To the Supreme Court?

Though all the seniority court cases are in early stages, the issue is expected to wind up at the U.S. Supreme Court. "There's no end of unanswered legal questions here," says a top labor lawyer.

In attacking segregation in seniority, the EEOC is taking on an uncommon alliance of union chiefs and businessmen. "Management and labor are together on this more than on any other question," says one of the EEOC's five commissioners. "These seniority agreements have been arrived at through the blood of bargaining. They're almost sacred."

To many managers, upsetting traditional seniority practices raises the specter of undermining plant efficiency. They fear that low-skilled workers would be thrust into jobs they are unprepared to do while experienced workers would be bumped down the ladder to menial jobs.

What makes seniority a sacred cow to labor is its all-embracing influence on the worker's job and income. A small difference in seniority rank may determine whether the employe works days or nights, whether he is promoted or demoted, and whether he is laid off early, late or not at all in a slump.

Some of the complexities of the seniority

Please Turn to Page 16, Column 2

and all that other stuff." ..., he said.

Factory-Bias Fight: U.S. Attempts To End Separate Seniority Lists

Continued From First Page

snarl are illustrated here at the Monsanto chemical plant, a four-stacker shrouded in steamy vapors on the rolling, wooded outskirts of this oil-and-timber town of 26,000.

The plant employs 469 hourly workers in three departments. All 80 Negroes work in the labor department at unskilled tasks. All whites work in either the maintenance department or the operating department, running or maintaining the plant machinery. The highest wage now paid to any Negro under the scales established by the company's contract with the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union is $2.94 an hour. The lowest wage now paid to any permanent white employe is $2.96, and white pay ranges up to $3.69.

Promotions are based on a worker's rank on his own department's seniority list, not on plant-wide or company-wide seniority. So a Negro with 20 years in the labor department hasn't any rank enabling him to bid successfully on a vacancy in either white department. The contract permits him to transfer to the lowest rung on the operating department seniority ladder, but if he does, he loses all accumulated seniority and becomes first in line for layoff. That's no idle threat; the work force at the El Dorado plant has been declining, due to automation, for a decade or more.

In their suit against Monsanto and the OCAW, Mr. Dykes and fellow Negro employes are asking the Federal court to order use of one seniority list, based on length of service with the company, for purposes of promotion and layoff.

The EEOC, in attempting to conciliate the case out of court this fall, came up with an even more demanding proposal. "In view of the static employment situation," the written EEOC proposal would permit Negro laborers with 20 or more years of plant seniority "to advance into job classifications presently occupied by operating department employes having 15 years or less" seniority. It added: "If this action requires the demotion of employes permanently assigned to the operating department they will be placed into the jobs vacated by the labor department employes promoted under this section."

"Musical-Chairs" Trades?

One OCAW spokesman characterizes the EEOC plan as "a sort of musical chairs" game in which Negroes and whites would trade jobs, a move with status-smashing social implications for Southern whites.

Comments Mr. Dykes: "Personally, I wouldn't want to displace somebody any more than I'd want to be displaced. But on the other hand, I have been deprived for so long just because I am a black man, that I think the company should consider that. I think the company owes me something."

Monsanto refuses to comment on the case. The OCAW, which has negotiated merger of white and Negro seniority lines with such major companies as Shell Oil Co., Gulf Oil Corp., and Socony Mobil Oil Co., believes it has "no other major contract remaining where this problem exists." Says James Youngdahl, attorney for OCAW Local 5-434 in El Dorado: "Seniority protection for employes has been built up over the years through very hard negotiations and we are anxious to preserve whatever we can as far as the law allows us to."

Some of the problems of merging separate Negro and white seniority lines are illustrated by a case involving U.S. Steel Corp. and the United Steelworkers of America, which are defendants in a seniority discrimination suit filed by Negro employes in Birmingham, Ala.

In the railroad car repair shops of U.S. Steel's Fairfield works, near Birmingham, separate white and Negro seniority lines were merged in 1963. The merger, providing one line of promotion for Negro and white workers, meant Negroes in less-skilled jobs could "bump" or claim jobs of whites with greater skills but fewer years of seniority.

A U.S. Steel spokesman says now that the merger occurred due to an "oversight" on the part of Pittsburgh headquarters. He explains that local union and company officials "agreed to put these lines together and we didn't catch up to it until there was a work-force reduction and people were being bumped."

The employes' suit claims the 1963 agreement to merge seniority lines was "abrogated" and replaced in 1964 by a new three-line promotion system which returned traditionally Negro jobs to one line. The suit charges that under the three-line system, Negroes are given the right to enter a "white" line, but only at the bottom, without retaining former seniority. It asks the court to reinstate the 1963 agreement.

U.S. Steel and the Steelworkers Union confirm that the present system doesn't permit Negroes to carry over their former seniority to a new line. But they note that this never has been permitted any employe, white or Negro. Comments a U.S. Steel spokesman: "The NAACP is trying to turn back the clock. They want super-rights for Negroes to make up for past discrimination." That, says the corporation, would discriminate against white employes.

Bottom of the White List

U.S. Steel's position is similar to the most important court decision on seniority and race: The so-called "Whitfield case" involving Armco Steel Corp. and the Steelworkers Union. In that 1959 decision, a U.S. Appeals Court ruled that in a merger of formerly segregated seniority lines, it was legally sufficient to tie the Negro seniority list to the bottom of the white seniority list.

Many unions and companies are willing to accept the Whitfield formula, Government and industry sources say. Indeed, some voluntary settlements have been achieved by the EEOC on that basis. But in plants or industries with static or declining employment, and thus few job promotion opportunities, the Whitfield formula provides little real chance of advancement. In at least three situations, the EEOC wants some credit given Negroes for seniority built up under the segregated systems.

This is the area of maximum controversy. "Basically the question is whether the Negroes should get some preference to make up for discrimination before the (Civil Rights) Act was passed," comments one labor lawyer. "Unions aren't prepared to concede that Negroes have the right to take their whole seniority over into a new line of progression" in plants where that has never been done before, he adds.

But there are indications the EEOC may be moving in that direction.

In one case settled some months ago, Negro employes with up to five years' seniority in a small Alabama plant were permitted to enter an all-white line of promotion immediately below white workers with about six months' seniority. Openings in the previously all-white production department were created by getting company and union officials to agree to change employes' work schedules from seven days a week to five days. Overworked white employes welcomed that change, which allowed five of the nine men in the all-Negro shipping department to move up to better-paying production jobs.

"That was early in the game, and at that time it was considered a satisfactory solution," says one EEOC official. But he indicates the Commission now seeks more.

"Bump-Back Rights"

In a major case currently before the EEOC, agreement is stalled by EEOC demands for some credit for Negroes' present seniority rights in segregated lines when they move into new merged lines.

In this case, the company and union have agreed to let Negroes join the bottom of the white line—traditional practice in changing seniority lines in this plant—and also to give Negroes "bump-back rights" permitting them to return to their old jobs in the event of layoffs in their new department.

That solution, however, doesn't satisfy the Negro employes and the EEOC hasn't accepted it as a basis for settlement. Just what the EEOC would settle for isn't clear. "We're still debating what is enough," says the EEOC official. "We have only decided what isn't enough."

But what isn't enough for Negroes and the EEOC appears to be too much for unions and employers in some cases, and these are expected to be settled by the courts rather than the Commission.

JAN 6 1967

From the desk of.....

Alan Gartner
Executive Director

Floyd

I thought this might be of interest to you, especially in light of your work with the tobacco workers.

Best regards,

AL
(Gartner)

MAR 24 1967

March 16, 1967

Dear Mr. McKissick;

Why is it that no new people from Harlem are being accepted for training in the Manpower Training Program at the Harlem Adult Training Center?

We know the country has plenty of money for space travel, wars, and a new stable and bridle path in Central Park, but what's happening to people right here in our own community who need training to find jobs?

Why do politicians play with people's lives--people who are asking only for a little help so they can help themselves?

Time is running out.

Sincerely,

Concerned Citizens of Harlem

cc The New York Times
The New York Post
The Amsterdam News
Herman Kressel (MDTP)
Senator Robert Kennedy
Senator Basil Patterson
Governor Nelson Rockefeller

PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, INC. ■ 381 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 ■ 212 MU 3-4331
PUBLISHER OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAMPHLETS

MAR 22 1967

March 20, 1967

Dr. Floyd B. McKissick, Exec. Dir.
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y. 10038

Dear Dr. McKissick:

A federal Civil Rights Act, 35 state laws, and 50 city laws aimed at curbing racial discrimination in employment are now on the books. But I think you will agree that more widespread knowledge about these laws is needed before they can be fully effective. With that in mind, we have just issued JOB DISCRIMINATION IS ILLEGAL -- A Guide to Legal Action, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 400. We are pleased to enclose a complimentary copy.

Based on a Twentieth Century Fund report, this booklet has been prepared for the layman. It summarizes the provisions of the laws against discrimination, describes the complaint procedures of state and federal fair employment practices commissions, and shows through actual cases what can be done to eliminate discriminatory hiring practices of employers, employment agencies, and unions.

JOB DISCRIMINATION IS ILLEGAL can be an effective tool in the many efforts to assure equal standards for employment and training, which is of major concern to you. We hope you will consider how the pamphlet can help in your own related activities. Low quantity rates make wide distribution feasible; a schedule is enclosed.

Cordially,

Adele Braude

Adele Braude (Mrs.)
Director of Education

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43-10 Kissena Boulevard
Flushing, New York 11355
April 12, 1967

APR 14 1967

10.00

Floyd B. McKissick, Esq.
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
200 W. 135th Street
New York, New York

Re: Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Regulations

Dear Mr. McKissick:

In reliance on your organization's letter of October 20, 1965, which indicated it was interested in combating racial discrimination in Federal employment including the participation in direct action projects, Thomas Weddington, Celestine Bailey and the undersigned filed a Complaint of racial discrimination against the National Labor Relations Board.

By letter dated February 4, 1967, we requested your help in our fight (really a fight to be waged by the civil rights organizations) to achieve economic equality for the Negro in Federal employment. In view of your numerous remarks with regard to the damage done to the Negro movement by "Uncle Toms" it is difficult for us to believe that our letter remains unanswered because the Complaint happens to involve a Negro supervisor. If so, such failure to act most likely leads the National Labor Relations Board and the Federal establishment to believe that you do not care and that they therefore are free to deal with Negroes as they please as long as they have a "Good Negro" as a front or buffer. Your inaction makes the "black gimmick" tactic a success.

As President Johnson well knows, the most important element in building the Negro family is economic - a job with an equal opportunity for advancement. Despite the President's awareness of this; his speech at Howard University about twenty months ago during which he committed his Administration to equal opportunity for Negroes; his statement to Federal officials that equal employment is "very close to my heart" and his warning that he would be watching to see that all of the officials developed programs to make Government "a showcase for all employers;" and his return to Howard University a few weeks ago during which he recommitted his Administration to equal opportunity for Negroes, he deliberately established an Equal Employment Opportunity Program for Federal employees which is unfair, ineffective, inherently lacking in due process and a mockery of justice in that it provides for the oppressor to sit in judgment of the oppressed.

The enclosed articles make it crystal clear that the present procedure for processing complaints of racial discrimination in Federal employment isinherently lacking in due process. I cannot be made to believe that a leaderof such great wisdom was duped into setting up a procedure so unfair, ineffective and patently lacking in due process. Obviously, this procedure was set up as a deliberate device for keeping the Negro in his place - at the bottom of the ladder.

Not only is this a deliberate device for keeping the Negro in his place but it is a betrayal of the thousands of Negro soldiers sent to die in the Vietnam struggle for freedom and democracy. As stated by Dr. King's Aides in The New York Times on March 31, 1967, the President, Congress and non-Negro Americans fail to understand "the frustration of a people asked to fight with all their life at stake for a nation which grants them only a partial life at home." Negro veterans who have risked their lives for this country in the Vietnam jungles are beginning to come "home" and enter Federal employment. The President must be made to understand that they will demand promotions on the same basis as non-Negroes and will be in no mood for a procedure which places them at a hopeless disadvantage in enforcing their promotion rights. One stroke of the pen of the President of this country (which preaches democracy throughout the World) transferring jurisdiction to hear complaints of racial discrimination in Federal employment to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, an independent agency, would correct this travesty of justice and betrayal of the Negro soldier. This would provide third-party objectivity and expertise.

We are deeply concerned as to why your organization which, according to the statements set forth in the various newspapers, sounds so militant has not, to our knowledge, voiced any objection to the obvious unfairness of the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Program. Is the statement by the new Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in the April 12, 1967, issue of The Wall Street Journal that civil rights advocates are often "dedicated more to discussion than action" applicable; or have you been fooled by the "fox"?

In any event, we want your assistance as follows:

1) Support and assistance with regard to our pending Complaint including direct action projects

2) The filing and support of another Complaint - intimidation, threats, reprisals, ect. It was necessary for Weddington to file such a Complaint about two days ago. Most likely, it will be necessary to file such a Complaint on behalf of Bailey and the undersigned.

3) Seek to have legislation introduced providing for the transfer of jurisdiction to hear complaints of racial discrimination in Federal employment to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. We are convinced that there will be no semblance of justice for Negroes victimized by racial discrimination in Federal employment until this change in jurisdiction is effected.

4) Seek to have legislation introduced providing for the incorporation of language in the Equal Employment Opportunity Regulations specifically prohibiting Negro bosses from discriminating against Negroes. The attitude today is that it is alright and, in fact expected, to have Negro bosses to "whip the Negroes in line."

5) And seek to have legislation introduced providing that persons appointed to positions subject to Senate confirmation shall be questioned with regard to their knowledge, understanding and attitude toward the Equal Employment Opportunity Regulations and equal opportunity.

In order to obtain "Black Power" the Negro cannot settle for just being hired but must be able to move up the promotion ladder on the same basis as

non-Negroes. We will appreciate your assistance and support in our fight to obtain economic equality for the Negro in Federal employment.

We will be available to discuss this matter at your convenience. My office number is PLI-5500 and I can be reached at LE9-7849 after 6 P.M.

Very truly yours,

R.E. Harding, Jr.

Enc. Check No. 388 ($10.00)

Exhibit A - "3 NEGROES CHARGE N.L.R.B. WITH BIAS" - The New York Times, October 19, 1966

Exhibit B - "Negro Director Accused of Bias" - Long Island Press, October 19, 1966

Exhibit C - "N.L.R.B. OFFICE CLEARED OF BIAS" - The New York Times, February 2, 1967

Exhibit D - "Appeal" - Long Island Press, March 3, 1967

Exhibit E - "POINT V - COMPLAINANTS' BRIEF IN SUPPORT OF EXCEPTIONS TO HEARING OFFICER'S FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATION, February 25, 1967

Exhibit F - "Adverse Action Procedure" - The Progressive, March 1967

Exhibit G - "Bias Charged to Air Base" - The New York Times, March 16, 1967

Exhibit H - "Delaware Post Office Hit With Bias Charge" - Federal Times, March 22, 1967

Exhibit I - "Discrimination Charges Investigated at Hill AFB" - Federal Times, March 22, 1967

Exhibit J - "NAACP Suit Charges Discrimination in Ohio" - Federal Times, April 12, 1967

MAY 23 1967

43-10 Kissena Boulevard
Flushing, New York 11355
May 20, 1967

Floyd B. McKissick, Esq.
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
200 W. 135th Street
New York, New York

Re: Equal Employment Opportunity
Program for Federal Employees

Dear Mr. McKissick:

As Federal employees we call to your attention a classic example of the Star Chamber and Gestapo like procedure for handling complaints of racial discrimination in Federal employment which procedure the U.S. Civil Service Commission has brazenly labelled "fair and streamlined". On July 8, 1966, the undersigned (a GS-12 attorney, a GS-11 field examiner and a GS-4 clerical) charged the Second Regional Office of the National Labor Relations Board with discrimination regarding job opportunities and promotions based on race. On September 10, 1966, a recently retired employee of the Respondent N.L.R.B. issued an Investigative Report "whitewashing" our Complaint. Thereafter, pursuant to our request, a hearing was held before George J. Bott, a former General Counsel of Respondent N.L.R.B. (Arnold Ordman, General Counsel of Respondent N.L.R.B. designated Bott as Hearing Officer.) The record is replete with evidence which shows vividly that Respondent N.L.R.B deals differently with Negroes by applying a higher standard with a rigid application of Agency standards seldom, if ever, applied to non-Negroes. Notwithstanding, Bott, who is employed as a Trial Examiner by Respondent N.L.R.B., continued the "whitewash" and found "his buddies" not guilty of racial discrimination.

Although Ivan C. McLeod, the Negro Director of Region 2, denied having told Weddington that he must "pass the bar" in order to qualify for promotion to grade GS-12 field examiner, Weddington's supervisor admitted on cross-examination that he always used a GS-12 Attorney's Task Standard Form to rate Weddington who is only a GS-11 field examiner. In addition, Weddington's supervisor admitted requiring him to use judicious language even though there is no such requirement in the job description or NLRB Case Handling Manual. Further, Weddington's supervisor admitted downgrading him because he used "maintains" and "contends" in setting forth the facts in his reports; and because he processed a case "too fast."

As to Bailey, McLeod explained that he thought something was wrong with the request for Bailey as a secretary by the Area Coordinator for the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity in that such request might not comport with Civil Service Rules and Regulations regarding equality of treatment for everyone. The Negro Director vigorously opposed this request for a Negro secretary until it was futile at which time he exclaimed to the President's representative that if he just wanted a Negro he would get him one - - but not Bailey. Although the Hearing Officer found that McLeod was irritated by the request for a Negro and that the job posting later ordered by McLeod for this job was just window dressing he concluded that McLeod's illegal denial of the job to Bailey was not based

on race -- as McLeod eventually hired a Negro for the job.

Decision writing experience is not required for promotion to grade GS-12. Despite this, the Negro Director boasted that he required such of Harding; he also proudly admitted directing a supervisor to "memoralize" an incident about one allegedly overage R decision case involving Harding which he used as a basis for denying his promotion (Harding was not aware of this memo until he received a copy of the Investigative Report 3½ years later) whereas he (McLeod) took no action against non-Negro employees who in fact had overage R decision cases; and although the Hearing Officer concluded that the "discussion" Harding had with a white clerical persuaded or helped persuade the Negro Director to freeze his promotion to grade GS-12 no evidence was presented that white professionals are dealt with so harshly for having a "discussion" or "dispute" with a white clerical.

In this connection, about two weeks ago, the Negro Director approached a Negro secretary in a manner which has been labelled abusive by the secretary and the employees who witnessed the incident (Weddington and about four others). It is our understanding that during this heated exchange the Negro secretary indicated that McLeod felt ill towards her because she is black. McLeod, after berating (having no affidavit by the Negro secretary we hesitate to state more) this Negro secretary who has about twenty-two years of dedicated Government service (N.L.R.B.), threatened to discharge her for insubordination. Two days later, McLeod officially reprimanded this Negro secretary branding her insubordinate and disrespectful. Employees both white and black suggested that the office march on the White House in protest of McLeod's conduct towards this dedicated Negro employee.

During the hearing on our Complaint, the Negro Director in his attempt to justify the drastic and harsh action he took against Harding for having a "discussion" with a white female clerical, emphasized that he would not tolerate any professional abusing a clerical. By McLeod's own edict, all the more, he as head of the office, should not abuse any clerical. Obviously, as set forth in our brief, the Negro Director in "dealing with Harding" meant that he would not tolerate a Negro male "talking back" to a white woman.

Although the Negro Director attempted to paint a portrait of himself as a militant worker in the field of civil rights he expressed no concern about the infinitesimal number of Negro professionals assigned to the Second Regional Office during his nine-year administration; nor about the fact that during this period of the approximately forty professionals promoted to grade GS-13 and above only one was a Negro and that was about seven years ago; nor about the fact that although he has granted no promotion to a Negro professional since November 1963, during the same period he granted in excess of twenty-five promotions to grade GS-12 to non-Negro professionals (since the hearing McLeod has recommended at least eleven non-Negro professionals for promotion).

We have taken upon ourselves the task of exposing the sinister scheme of discriminating against Negroes in the N.L.R.B. It is crystal clear that Respondent N.L.R.B. has made no attempt to provide equal opportunity for Negroes. Notwithstanding, Respondent was able under the President's Executive Order, which provides for nothing more than an internal "whitewash", to proudly find itself not guilty of discrimination and dismiss our Complaint (copy of appeal to U.S.

Civil Service Commission enclosed). Our case makes it unmistakably clear that only injustice flows from a procedure which provides for the oppressor to sit in judgment of the oppressed. Clearly, such a procedure is not only a travesty of justice but also an unconscionable betrayal of the thousands of Negro soldiers sent to die in the Vietnam struggle for freedom and democracy. Obviously, jurisdiction to hear complaints of racial discrimination in Federal employment must be transferred to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission forthwith.

Despite our previous appeals to some of the civil rights groups there has been no visible support. We are again appealing for help as the unmerciful discrimination practiced against Negroes by the N.L.R.B. is symbolic of what is taking place in the Federal Government which should be setting an example for private industry. Obviously and understandably, Federal Agencies are openly disregarding and defying the President's "warning" that they must develop equal opportunity programs which will make Government a "showcase for all employers."

Perhaps, some of you are reluctant to become involved because the Regional Director happens to be a Negro. But the fact remains that our case does indeed have merit. In fact, the Negro Director is so negative toward Negroes that he goes out of his way to make it "hard" for them. As pointed out in our brief, McLeod has leaned over-backwards so far to show the "white folks" that he is impartial toward Negroes that he has tilted the scales against us. In short, the whites are able to "use" the Negro Director to discriminate more effectively against Negroes than they themselves could ever hope to.

To withhold your support in this fight for economic equality because a Negro happens to be involved would be tantamount to telling the Respondent and the Federal Establishment that because of such you do not care and that they therefore are free to "deal with Negroes as they please" as long as they have a Negro as a "front". In short, any inaction on your part would make this deceitful tactic a rousing success. In our opinion, an announcement by civil rights organizations of their support of our case would not only cause the Respondent to consider settlement immediately, but would make it crystal clear to the Federal Establishment that you will now attack Negro bosses as well as white bosses for discriminating against Negroes. Consequently, your support should prove beneficial to the many Negroes in Federal employment who, like us, are being denied promotions by Negro bosses designated purposely to "keep the Negroes in line."

It should be noted that since your support is lacking understandably Respondent has become even more reckless and brazenly engaged in threats, intimidation, surveillance and reprisals. To cite just one incident, Weddington, after fourteen years of employment with Respondent, has just been notified that his work barely meets minimum standards. It is believed that this memorandum has been placed in Weddington's personnel file and will be used as a basis for rating him unsatisfactory next April which would, in turn, make him subject to discharge.

Moreover, not only is McLeod's conduct wrecking the careers of Negro employees (and adversely affecting their children's opportunities for a college education and eventually their careers) but the negative effects of his conduct will probably be cited by the Agency for years to come as the "reason" for not appointing another Negro to such a high position as Regional Director.

The Negro, including Negro veterans (Harding and Weddington are Veterans of World War II) and the Negro soldiers fighting in Vietnam and the survivors of those killed in this and prior wars will be forever grateful for your assistance and support in the fight to obtain economic equality for the Negro employees of a Government whose international theme is DEMOCRACY (including Vietnam).

We look forward to meeting with your representative to discuss whatever assistance your organization may give. Our office number is PLl-5500.

Very truly yours,

Robert E. Harding, Jr.

Thomas H. Weddington

Celestine B. Bailey

Enc. Appeal of Final Agency
Decision and Order

POINT V - DUE PROCESS

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BEFORE THE BOARD OF APPEALS AND REVIEW
UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

ROBERT E. HARDING, JR.,
THOMAS H. WEDDINGTON and
CELESTINE B. BAILEY

Complainants

and

THE SECOND REGIONAL OFFICE
NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

Respondent

TO: BOARD OF APPEALS AND REVIEW
U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

COMPLAINANTS' APPEAL OF THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY OFFICER'S FINAL AGENCY DECISION AND ORDER

W. Eugene Sharpe
Counsel for the Complainants
209 West 125th Street
New York, New York

May 17, 1967

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BEFORE THE BOARD OF APPEALS AND REVIEW
UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

ROBERT E. HARDING, JR.
THOMAS H. WEDDINGTON and
CELESTINE B. BAILEY

Complainants

and

THE SECOND REGIONAL OFFICE
NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

Respondent

COMPLAINANTS' APPEAL OF EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY OFFICER'S FINAL AGENCY DECISION AND ORDER

The National Labor Relations Board's Equal Employment Opportunity Officer, Clarence S. Wright, 1/ issued his Final Agency Decision and Order on May 5, 1967, in which he adopted Hearing Officer George J. Bott's 2/ recommendation and dismissed the complaint in its entirety.

In accordance with the Equal Employment Opportunity Rules and Regulations the undersigned Counsel for Complainants, excepts to and appeals each and every adverse ruling, finding, conclusion and recommendation as set forth in the Investigative Report of Russell R. Miller 3/, the Findings and Recommendation of Hearing Officer George J. Bott and Final Agency Decision and Order of the Equal Employment Opportunity Officer, Clarence Wright, for the reasons set forth in Complainants' Exceptions to Miller's Report, Complainants' Exceptions and Brief 4/ in support thereof to the Hearing Officer's Findings and Recommendation and the reasons set forth hereinbelow.

We submit that Miller's Report, the Hearing Officer's Findings and Recommendation and the Equal Employment Opportunity

1/ Director of NLRB's Division of Administration.
2/ A former General Counsel of the NLRB.
3/ A recently retired employee of the NLRB.
4/ Complainants' Exceptions and Briefs incorporated herein by reference.

Officer's Final Agency Decision and Order are vivid examples of the injustice which flows from the current procedure for processing complaints of racial discrimination in Federal employment under Executive Order 11246. Obviously, the Hearing Officer and the Equal Employment Officer knowing full well the weight accorded a credibility finding based on demeanor in their zeal to cover up for their "buddies" deliberately ignored the inconsistencies, omissions and contradictions of Respondent's witnesses and based their findings and decision mainly on demeanor credibility; whereas just a casual observation of the witnesses and a cursory examination of the record testimony and admitted exhibits by a neutral third party would lead to a conclusion contra to the decision reached by the NLRB Hearing Officer and the NLRB Equal Employment Opportunity Officer, both employees of the NLRB and "buddies" of Respondent.

Moreover, it should be noted that credibility is not really involved. Obviously, credibility was raised by Respondent's Hearing Officer as a "smoke screen" to camouflage the admissions and record evidence which indicate vividly that Respondent does <u>in fact</u> deal differently with Negroes by applying a higher standard with a rigid application of Agency standards seldom, <u>if ever</u>, applied to non-Negroes. McLeod, the "Good Negro" Director, while remaining silent with respect to <u>any</u> demands made on non-Negroes, proudly testified with respect to the Region's rigid and unyielding demands on Negro employees. Further, the "Good Negro" indicated with <u>pride</u> that he was irritated by the request of the Area Coordinator for the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity for a Negro secretary. 5/ In addition, McLeod expressed <u>no concern or remorse</u> about the infinitesimal number of Negro professional employees assigned to the Second

5/ Apparently, McLeod still is of the opinion that Negro women should be left in the kitchen. See "The Black Woman: She Does Exist", <u>The New York Times</u>, May 14, 1967, p. D15.

Regional Office during his nine-year administration; or about the fact that during this period, of the approximately forty professionals promoted to grade GS-13 and above only one was a Negro and that was about seven years ago; or about the fact that although he has granted no promotion to a Negro professional since November 1963, during the same period he granted in excess of twenty-five promotions to grade GS-12 to non-Negro professionals. 6/

On May 4, 1967, Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told the Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower and Poverty of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare that very little progress has been made in the past twenty years towards equal employment for Negroes.

On the same day, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz appeared before the above-mentioned Senate Subcommittee and complained that as to equal employment opportunity for Negroes in private industry "The basement doors have been opened, but the doors on the stairs are still closed." 7/ This is indeed a concise statement of the discriminatory policy which also runs rampant but unnoticed in the Federal Government. Obviously, the Federal Government which preaches democracy throughout the world (including Vietnam) is telling private industry "don't do as I do, do as I say do".

Although the Federal Government under President Johnson's "Great Society" program prides itself on its many projects established and maintained to disperse billions of dollars to train, educate and take "affirmative action" in its effort to compensate

6/ Although the "Good Negro" has not granted a single promotion to a Negro professional employee since 1963, subsequent to the hearing in this matter he has continued his established course of "pleasing the white folks" by recommending promotions for approximately eleven non-Negroes.

7/ Judicial Notice of Congressional records.

the deprived members of minority groups (mainly Puerto Rican and Negro) for the injustices in private industry, Respondent's witnesses proudly exclaimed that not once had they made any consideration or allowance for the fact that Complainants, as Negroes and descendants of slaves, have been systematically cut off from the mainstream of the American way of life. 8/

When a member of a race deemed to be inferior 9/ who has been deprived of an adequate opportunity for an education 10/ and employment experiences and who was not fortunate enough to have enjoyed an enriched environment or home life and who was cut off from the mainstream of American life, accepts employment in a strange environment, competing with members of an alleged superior race who have had an adequate opportunity for education and employment experiences and an enriched environment, he should be promoted if his job performance is reasonably comparable to those of the advantaged group. 11/ To demand that the member of the deprived group perform exactly on the same basis as the advantaged group to qualify for promotion would be discrimination. To go one step further, like Respondent, and demand that such deprived person perform at a higher level than the advantaged group is clearly unmerciful discrimination. 12/

The imposition of such unreasonable and rigid standards against Negroes by a Negro might at first blush appear to be novel and confusing to the naive. To the informed it is just a continuation of the age-old practice by the whites of using a "black gimmick" or "Good Negro" as a "front" or buffer" or "tool"

8/ The "Good Negro" who is Treasurer and a trustee of the National Urban League even failed to recognize the significance and function of the League's Skills Bank.

9/ The Dred Scott decision.

10/ Plessy v. Ferguson which was the "law of the land" from May 18, 1896 to May 17, 1954.

11/ See comments by Chairman Macy - Federal Diary by Mike Causey, week ending November 12, 1965.

12/ See White and Black: Test of a Nation, by Samuel Lubell (1966).

to keep the Negro in his place.

Even William F. Buckley, Jr., who ran unsuccessfully as the Conservative Party candidate for Mayor of New York, unmasked this "black gimmick." He stated onpage fourteen of the October 8, 1965 issue of The New York Herald Tribune, among other things, "The Negroes have especially aggravated problems. These problems are in part our making. Those problems are in part the making of Negro demagogues and the Negroes who tolerate them. We need not only a reformation in the attitude of whites toward Negroes, we need a reformation in the attitude of some Negroes toward Negroes." (Emphasis supplied)

Since John W. Macy, Jr., the Chairman of your Commission, has labelled President Johnson's Equal Employment Opportunity Program a "streamlined procedure" for assuring equal opportunity in Federal employment 13/ we are confident that you, like Buckley, will not be "deceived" by this "black gimmick", but instead will order Respondent National Labor Relations Board to take the appropriate corrective action forthwith.

When Mr. Wilkins appeared before the aforementioned Senate Subcommittee on May 4th, he also requested that jurisdiction to hear complaints of racial discrimination in Federal employment be transferred to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, an independent agency. Obviously, he is desirous of this change as it would provide third-party objectivity, thereby injecting some semblance of the cherished American principle and practice of due process into the Equal Employment Opportunity Program for Federal employees. The Federal Government (Department of Labor) warned unions that it would press for compliance with its anti-discrimination policy in its apprenticeship training program on the mere suspicion that there is widespread discrimination. 14/ Since the credible evidence in the

13/ The New York Times, February 25, 1966.
14/ The New York Times, March 30, 1967, p. 50.

instant case makes it incandescently clear that Respondent NLRB has engaged in both blunt and subtle discrimination based on color, your ability to function effectively and vigorously as the Federal Government's neutral third-party to carry out the President's mandate that Federal officials must develop equal opportunity programs to make Government a "showcase for all employers" 15/ is being put to a severe test. Surely, you understand that Negro veterans who have risked their lives fighting for freedom and democracy in the Vietnam jungles will demand promotions on the same basis as non-Negroes and will be in no mood for any procedure which places them at a hopeless disadvantage in enforcing their promotion rights.

We submit that the conclusions, findings, recommendations and decision and order of Investigator Miller, Hearing Officer Bott and Equal Employment Opportunity Officer Wright are clearly erroneous and not supported by the weight of the credible evidence and applicable rules, regulations, policy, laws and decisions. We respectfully submit that the evidence supports the Complaint and that a finding is warranted that Respondent violated the Equal Employment Opportunity Regulations including all aspects as alleged in the Complaint, as amended. Consequently, it is requested that the aforementioned conclusions, findings, recommendations, and Final Agency Decision and Order be reversed and that an appropriate remedial order be issued requiring Respondent make the reclassification of Robert E. Harding, Jr. to grade GS-12 effective from April 1, 1963, rather than November 24, 1963, and to grade GS-13 effective October 1, 1964, with backpay in an amount not less than $13,000.00 plus six percent interest; reclassify Thomas H. Weddington to grade GS-12 effective May 1, 1960 and to grade GS-13 effective January 18, 1965, with backpay in an amount not less than $19,000.00 plus six percent

15/ The President has made it clear that equal opportunity is "very close to his heart."

interest; and reclassify Celestine B. Bailey to grade GS-5 effective July 13, 1965 with backpay in an amount not less than $4,500.00 plus six percent interest; and further requiring Respondent to cease and desist from its unlawful conduct and to post a notice for a sixty-day period. It is further requested that the order require Respondent to pay the Complainants reasonable attorney's fee in the amount of $6,500.00 and take whatever steps are necessary to make them whole for losses suffered by reason of Respondent's unlawful conduct.

Respectfully submitted,

W. Eugene Sharpe

W. Eugene Sharpe
COUNSEL FOR COMPLAINANTS
209 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dated at New York, New York
this day of May 1967.

CERTIFIED MAIL NO. 333291
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Encs. Investigator Miller's Report and Exhibits
Complainants' Exceptions to Miller's Report
Complainants' Brief to the Hearing Officer
Complainants' Statement of Exceptions to the Hearing Officer's Findings and Recommendation
Complainants' Brief in Support of Exceptions to the Hearing Officer's Findings and Recommendation

Copies of the Complainants' Appeal of the Equal Employment Opportunity Officer's Final Agency Decision and Order were this date duly served by certified mail upon the following parties:

Sidney Danielson, Esq.
National Labor Relations Board
745 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Ivan C. Mc Leod, Esq.
National Labor Relations Board
745 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

William Davis, Esq.
National Labor Relations Board
17000Bankers Security Building
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Clarence S. Wright, Equal Employment Opportunity Officer
National Labor Relations Board
1717 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

POINT V

THE HEARING OFFICER'S DECISION IS FURTHER PROOF THAT THE PROCEDURE FOR PROCESSING COMPLAINTS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT PURSUANT TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY PROGRAM IS COMPLETELY LACKING IN DUE PROCESS AND A DEVICE TO PROTECT THE AGENCIES

Despite the "show" put on by the Hearing Officer to make it appear on the record that he was "fair and impartial" his decision reveals beyond a shadow of doubt that the procedure for processing complaints of racial discrimination by Federal employees whereby the oppressor or discriminator sits in judgment on the oppressed is completely lacking of any semblance of due process. The Hearing Officer went to great pains and in fact just about based his entire decision on the fact that he could not believe that General Counsel Ordman's supervisors and representatives would have been stupid enough to have made such discriminatory remarks to the complainants. Well, perhaps, they were not stupid because if knowing full well that the machinery for enforcing the Equal Employment Opportunity Regulations will be by one hand-picked by General Counsel Ordman and is nothing but a device for allowing an Agency to operate with respect to racial discrimination as arrogantly, ignorantly, illogically, irrationally and as stupidly as it pleases they were free to make any remarks they desired.

Although the Hearing Officer found that Weddington did apprise DeSio of McLeod's "pass the bar" requirement (Fr p. 29, l. 57-58) he later stated that when Weddington protested to "the Washington office of the General Counsel" and sought assistance he did not say anything about the extra hurdle McLeod had raised to block his advance (Fr p. 31, l. 38-40). If the Hearing Officer by the use ofthis somewhat ambiguous language was concluding that Weddington did not tell DeSio about McLeod's "pass the bar" requirement it shows to what length the Hearing Officer apparently would go in order to distort the record in that such a conclusion would have to be based on testimony not a part of the record.

If the Hearing Officer has knowledge Weddington did not tell DeSio about McLeod's "pass the bar" requirement he heard it from DeSio outside the record which is a denial of due process as Complainants were not afforded an opportunity to cross exam DeSio. It would be obvious that the Hearing Officer took testimony outside the record without knowledge of the Complainants as there is no other way to justify this conclusion.

Because of the nature of the issue of racial discrimination the President and the courts in their good wisdom have seen fit to set a standard for finding a violation as a "fair preponderance of evidence" rather than "beyond a reasonable doubt." In order to establish a violation of the Equal Employment Opportunity Regulations it is therefore not necessary to negate all other reasons and prove beyond a shadow of doubt as required by the Hearing Officer in the instant case. The Hearing Officer in his understandable zeal to "serve his master well" changed the burden of proof necessary for Complainants to establish the allegations in their Complaint and thereby committed reversible error.

Despite this procedure having been hailed by the U.S. Civil Service Commission as a "streamlined process" for an aggrieved Federal employee to get complaints before responsible officials quickly and to receive fair consideration, the Hearing Officer's decision shows vividly that it provides for the same old "whitewash" and thereby forces the issue on the "conscience of President Johnson." Just a cursory reading of the decision reflects that the Hearing Officer was unable to tear himself away from his employer (Respondent) and give an honest, objective and impartial appraisal of the evidence. It would be almost impossible for any employee of the National Labor Relations Board to sit as Hearing Officer in a matter like this and conclude impartially and objectively on the basis of the evidence that his employer, the NLRB, was guilty of such a horrible thing as racial discrimination. No NLRB employee should be requested to accept such an assignment.

If the Civil Service Commission and the President still sincerely believe that such "Gestapo like" procedure is, in fact, effective instead of just providing for a "whitewash" of the grievance, it appears that somebody is remiss in not advocating the same procedure for employees in private industry subject to the jurisdiction of the National Labor Relations Board and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Theoretically, should this "streamlined procedure" be adopted by the National Labor Relations Board and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the complaint process for an employee in private industry subject to their jurisdiction would then, as we understand it, work something like this. An aggrieved employee in private industry would file his complaint alleging discrimination by his employer because of union activities or race with his employer. The aggrieved employee would then submit his evidence in support of his complaint against his employer to his employer. The employer charged by the aggrieved employee with discriminating against him because of his union activities or race would, after reviewing the evidence submitted by the aggrieved employee, issue a report as to whether he himself was guilty as charged by the aggrieved employee. If the aggrieved employee should be dissatisfied with his employer's report on his complaint of union or racial discrimination he would then be entitled to a hearing before a hearing officer designated and employed by his employer with the right of appeal to the National Labor Relations Board or the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, respectively.

However, it should be noted that the present procedure for processing complaints of racial discrimination in Federal employment (including the instant complaint) smacks more of Gestapo and Star Chamber tactics than the above described theoretical procedure for employees in private industry because the Complainants immediate appeal is not to an independent agency or to the courts, but instead, to the U.S. Civil Service Commission which for decades has discriminated unmercifully against Negro Federal employees by denying them job and promotional opportunities.

Any justice loving person will readily see that the procedure for processing complaints of racial discrimination in Federal employment is void of any semblance of due process. Consequently, it is our position that the Civil Service Commission, the Federal agencies and President Johnson should be enjoined from using the word "justice" as long as this patently unfair procedure is allowed to exist in this so-called democratic country.

The Hearing Officer went to great pains to get General Counsel Ordman "off the hook" by pointing out and stating that the Complaint is clearly aimed at McLeod and the Second Region, not the Agency, and that is the way the case was litigated from the beginning (Fr p. 36, l. 58-59). The charge in the final analysis is against the General Counsel as he is the top administrative official who exercises general supervision over all attorneys employed by the Board and all the officers and employees in the regional offices. He therefore is responsible for the "mess" in the Second Regional Office.

The General Counsel has known about the original discriminatory remarks by Kaynard and McLeod for almost four years but has failed to take any corrective action. Perhaps, he has been afraid to move against McLeod because he, as a member of the Urban League, might holler race. However, in view of the Hearing Officer's remarks, since the instant Complaint was filed by apparently Negroes, that defense would no longer be available. And since it was necessary for McLeod to go all the way to Washington to import Trial Examiner Christopher to tell about his work as a civil right's advocate, it appears that Whitney Young of the local National Urban League Office was not available as he does not condone McLeod's conduct in deliberately crippling the Government careers of, not one, but three Negro employees.

We submit that the Hearing Officer's findings and recommendations are not supported by the weight of the credible evidence and applicable rules, regulations, policy, laws and decisions. We respectfully submit that the evidence supports the Complaint and that a finding is warranted that Respondent violated the Equal Employment Opportunity Regulations including all aspects as alleged in the Complaint, as amended, and that an appropriate remedial

order should issue requiring Respondent make the reclassification of Robert E. Harding, Jr. to grade GS-12 effective from April 1, 1963, rather than November 24, 1963 and to grade GS-13 effective October 1, 1964, with back-pay in an amount not less than $10,000.00 plus six percent interest; reclassify Thomas H. Weddington to grade GS-12 effective May 1, 1960 and to grade GS-13 effective January 18, 1965, with back-pay in an amount not less than $16,000.00 plus six percent interest; and reclassify Celestine B. Bailey to grade GS-5 effective July 13, 1965 with back-pay in the amount of not less than $3,000.00 plus six percent interest; and further requiring Respondent to cease and desist from its unlawful conduct and to post a notice for a sixty-day period. It is further requested that the order require Respondent to pay the Complainants reasonable attorney's fees in the amount of $6,000.00 and take whatever steps are necessary to make them whole for losses suffered by reason of Respondent's unlawful conduct.

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ W. Eugene Sharpe
W. Eugene Sharpe
COUNSEL FOR THE COMPLAINANTS
209 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dated at New York, New York

this 25th day of February 1967.

Copies of the Complainants' Brief in support of its Exceptions to the Hearing Officer's Findings and Recommendation were this date duly served by certified mail upon the following parties:

Sidney Danielson, Esq.
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Washington, D.C.

Ivan C. McLeod, Esq.
National Labor Relations Board
745 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Thomas J. Cole
29730 Coral Sea Road
Perrine, Fla. 33157

May 25, 1967

Commissioner Richard A. Graham
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Washington, D. C. 20506

Re: UNITED FRUIT COMPANY's policy to exclude Negro American citizens from employment abroad.

Dear Mr. Graham:

Appointment of the Honorable Covey Thomas Oliver as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs is of great significance. Mr. Oliver, in exchange of correspondence with this writer (you have photocopies), indicated his pride in the American public sector by pointing out that the American Vice Consul at Cali, Colombia, was a Negro.

Then Ambassador Oliver, in letter of March 9, 1966, emphasized that of all the American citizens employed by United Fruit Company subsidiary in Colombia

"...American citizen employees of the firm in Colombia none are Negroes..."

You have on file similar information from the United States Embassies of Honduras, Panama, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic.

You indicated, however, that the Personnel Director of UNITED FRUIT COMPANY at Boston, Massachusetts, speaking for the entire company and its subsidiaries, purportedly assured you the Company and its Subsidiaries (or affiliates?) did not and does not discriminate against the American citizen of Negro or Puerto Rican descent.

Albert E. Carpenter, Vice President for Finance, United Fruit Company, in October of 1959 assured me the Company would never promote Negro citizens of its "Tropic" subsidiaries to executive positions, and we exchanged correspondence in re to my trip to Cuba on behalf of the Company. Mr. Carpenter cautioned me against registering at the American Embassy at Havana, Cuba, because "State was full of pinks." To be brief: I confirmed that "Reforma Agraria" would indeed be implemented; I reported further on intelligence work Mr. Carpenter asked me to do outside of State Department purview; and I strongly urged elimination of the Company's policy to promote to supervisory positions only "Anglo-Saxons married to Angle-Saxons."

Have you reason to believe that UNITED FRUIT COMPANY and its subsidiaries have changed its policies since 1966-1967 when the United States Embassies reported there were still no Negro American citizens employed by said private sector?

May I have results of your latest inquiries.

Sincerely,

cc: Asst. Secretary of State Covey Thomas Oliver:
My deepest and sincerest congratulations on your appointment.
Mr. J. de J. Pemberton, Jr., Executive Director, ACLU — NY 10010
Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Atlanta, Ga. 30303
Mr. Floyd McKissick, CORE — NY 10038
Mr. Albert E. Carpenter — UNITED FRUIT CO.

JUN 26 1967

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

File

JUN 22 1967

IN REPLY REFER TO:

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Floyd

Dear Mr. McKissick:

I have noted the dates for your organization's annual conference in San Francisco, California on July 1-4, 1967.

It may be that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission can be of assistance to you relative to your conference plans. Because of critical problems facing Negroes and citizens of other minority groups in the area of employment opportunities, especially among youth between the ages of 16 and 21, the Commission is expanding its activities in order to be of service to these communities. In this regard, you will find enclosed various materials about the activities and responsibilities of the Commission.

If there is an appropriate program opening for this type of informative presentation, please write or call me so that we may explore the possibility of providing a speaker from the Commission or its staff.

Also, you may have some suggestions as to how this Commission can be of help to your organization.

I will look forward to hearing from you within the near future.

Sincerely yours,

Sam

~~Samuel~~ C. Jackson
Commissioner

Enclosure

JUL 11 1967

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GENERAL CO-CHAIRMAN
RALPH HELSTEIN, *Pres.* United Packinghouse, Food & Allied Workers, AFL-CIO

HONORARY CHAIRMEN
I. W. ABEL, *Pres.* United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO
HON. WILLIAM L. DAWSON, *Member of Congress*
MISS EVELYN DUBROW, *Exec. Sec'y* Political Dep't, ILGWU, AFL-CIO
FRANCIS L. GREENFIELD, *Pres.* Laborers' District Council of Washington, D. C. & Vicinity, AFL-CIO
RICHARD HAMME, *Sec'y-Treas.* United Transport Service Employees, AFL-CIO
MRS. BESSIE HILLMAN, *Vice Pres.* Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO
MRS. ERMA LEROY, *Pres.* Harris County, Texas, NAACP
JAMES KEMP, *Chairman* Illinois State Civil Rights Commission

PHILIP WEIGHTMAN RETIREMENT TRIBUTE

1126 16th St., N.W., Room 315
Washington, D.C. 20036

296-8593

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GENERAL CO-CHAIRMAN
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, *Pres.* Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO

HONORARY CHAIRMEN
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L. JOSEPH OVERTON, *Nat'l Sec'y* Negro American Labor Council
HON. ESTHER PETERSON, *U.S. Assistant Secretary of Labor*
ROBERT E. POWELL, *Vice Pres.* Laborers' Int'l Union of North America, AFL-CIO
GEORGE P. SABATTIE, *Pres.* United Transport Service Employees, AFL-CIO
WILLIAM S. SMALLWOOD, *Sec'y-Treas.* Communications Workers of America, AFL-CIO
J. C. TURNER, *Pres.* Greater Washington Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO
HON. CHARLES L. WELTNER, *Deputy Chairman* Democratic Nat'l Committee
ROY WILKINS, *Executive Secretary NAACP*
HON. MADELINE E. WILLIAMS, *Recorder of Deeds*, Essex County, New Jersey

Dear Friend:

Philip M. Weightman, Assistant Director of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, brings to an end his long and constructive career in the labor movement with his retirement as of July 1, 1967.

Throughout his career Phil has worked hard and patiently, and with dedication to build strong bridges between the labor movement and the Negro community, as well as to bring a deeper awareness and involvement in the political field. In state, local, and federal offices throughout the country these bridges stand as a testimony to the work he has done. Long before the Voting Rights Act, Phil was criss-crossing this land with the message "register and vote".

We believe that you and Phil's many other friends want him to know how high is our affection and respect for him. To that end, a dinner is planned in his honor July 21, 1967, at the Washington Hilton Hotel, Washington, D. C.

Phil, in his usual humble way, had only one expressed request--that all proceeds go to the Voter Education Project in which he has a continuing interest. Since this Project came into being out of a discussion between Phil and Roy Reuther in 1961 and, with the help of other dedicated leaders, was set up under the sponsorship of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., we certainly feel this would indeed be a fitting tribute to the service rendered by Philip M. Weightman.

Please join us in making this a successful tribute. Enclosed is a self-addressed envelope and reply card for your convenience.

Fraternally,

Ralph Helstein, Co-Chairman

A. Philip Randolph, Co-Chairman

RH:APR/CC
Enclosures

information
from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
1800 G St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506

FOR RELEASE AMs, WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, 1967 Phone: 343-5621

JUL 14 1967

EEOC ADOPTS NEW GUIDELINES ON RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission today announced new Guidelines concerning the observance of the Sabbath and other religious holidays as they relate to discrimination in employment.

The Guidelines, effective immediately, state:

The duty not to discriminate on religious grounds, required under Title VII, includes an obligation on the part of the employer to make reasonable accommodations to the religious needs of employees when such obligation does not place undue hardship on the employer's business.

To illustrate, the Guidelines say that an undue hardship may exist when the employee's needed work cannot be performed by another employee during the absence of the Sabbath observer.

The Commission recognizes the sensitive nature of discharging or refusing to hire an employee or applicant on account of his religious beliefs. Under the new Guidelines, the employer has the burden of proving that an undue hardship prevents him from making reasonable accommodations to the religious needs of the employee.

In an effort to equitably apply the Guidelines the Commission will review each case on an individual basis since a variety of situations arise out of different religious practices.

The Guidelines apply to cases before the Commission as well as to those filed in the future. They substitute for those issued June 14, 1966.

67-56

(more)

The Commission undertook a review of the 1966 guidelines after several charges were filed raising the question whether it is religious discrimination to discharge or refuse to hire employees who regularly observe a day other than Sunday as the Sabbath and certain religious holidays and do not work on such days.

The new Guidelines were proposed and publicly announced on May 10, 1967.

Text of new Guidelines attached.

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TITLE 29 - LABOR

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

(29 CFR Part 1605)

GUIDELINES ON DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE OF RELIGION

Observance of the Sabbath and other religious holidays

By virtue of its authority under Section 713 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. 2000e-12(b), the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission hereby amends Section 1605.1, Guidelines on Discrimination Because of Religion. This amendment becomes effective immediately and shall be applicable with respect to cases presently before or hereafter filed with the Commission. Section 1605.1 as amended shall read as follows:

§1605.1 Observation of the Sabbath and other religious holidays.

(a) Several complaints filed with the Commission have raised the question whether it is discrimination on account of religion to discharge or refuse to hire employees who regularly observe Friday evening and Saturday, or some other day of the week, as the Sabbath or who observe certain special religious holidays during the year and, as a consequence, do not work on such days.

(b) The Commission believes that the duty not to discriminate on religious grounds, required by Section 703(a)(1) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, includes

an obligation on the part of the employer to make reasonable accommodations to the religious needs of employees and prospective employees where such accommodations can be made without undue hardship on the conduct of the employer's business. Such undue hardship, for example, may exist where the employee's needed work cannot be performed by another employee of substantially similiar qualifications during the period of absence of the Sabbath observer.

(c) Because of the particularly sensitive nature of discharging or refusing to hire an employee or applicant on account of his religious beliefs, the employer has the burden of proving that an undue hardship renders the required accommodations to the religious needs of the employee unreasonable.

(d) The Commission will review each case on an individual basis in an effort to seek an equitable application of these guidelines to the variety of situations which arise due to the varied religious practices of the American people.

Signed at Washington, D. C., this tenth day of July 1967.

Luther Holcomb
Acting Chairman

D. PARKE GIBSON ASSOCIATES, INC.

JUL 13 1967

July 12, 1967

Floyd McKissick, Esq.
Executive Director
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street, Rm 121
New York, New York 10030

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Enclosed is a complimentary copy of the July issue of Race Relations and Industry, our monthly newsletter circulated primarily to executives in business and industry, on "How Minority Leadership Views Employment Progress."

We regret that the subject could not have been extended further, but we do intend to treat this and other subjects in greater detail in the future.

We will undoubtedly be calling on you in the future for your comments on subjects, and any cooperation extended will be deeply appreciated.

Sincerely,

D. Parke Gibson
President

DPG:h
Enc.

475 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 (212) 889-5557

RACE RELATIONS and INDUSTRY

VOLUME 2

July 1967

NUMBER 2

HOW MINORITY LEADERSHIP VIEWS EMPLOYMENT PROGRESS

It is important for business and industrial management to be aware of how employment progress, and "equal employment opportunity" in American business and industry is being considered and measured in leadership organizations in the nonwhite community. The leadership of Negro, interracial, and other groups seeking stepped-up employment of nonwhites includes those who can shape and control opinion within the nonwhite community toward business and industry.

To determine how specific leadership feels toward the rate of progress in nonwhite employment; and, importantly, what their organizations are doing, Race Relations and Industry contacted Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director of the National Urban League; Dr. Benjamin F. Payton, Department of Social Justice, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; and, Rev. Leon H. Sullivan, Chairman and Founder of Opportunities Industrialization Center.

While each of these leaders agree that progress is being made, and are optimistic toward the future, all indicated that a sizeable job still faces American business and industry in the effective utilization and upgrading of nonwhite manpower.

The leadership groups contacted were asked to comment on training programs and others they were either directly operating or supporting, and for their views on the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and Plans for Progress, which embody the Federal and voluntary efforts of business and industry toward the provision of equal employment opportunity.

Programs of groups contacted are answering critics who say the Negro needs to do more to help himself; they are directly or indirectly providing business and industry with qualified persons, which industry has said it would hire. Their general view of the EEOC is that it needs to be strengthened, and that the voluntary efforts of companies in Plans for Progress should show more results.

The NAACP's Wilkins feels that significant progress has been made, and that "new employment opportunities are opening in industry, and more and more Negro colleges are being included in the college recruitment programs." Wilkins does not believe that there has been an "effective beginning" in the training of unskilled workers, "so that they will be able to compete on the labor market."

The Urban League's Young agrees that the "outlook for employment opportunities for Negro citizens is still bad. Unemployment continues at more than double the rate for white workers and the unemployment rates for young people looking for their first jobs is catastrophically high, one out of every three Negro teen-age boys who want jobs cannot find them. Corresponding figures for white workers and white youngsters have been improving at the same time that figures for Negroes have been worsening."

Young goes on to say that, "in the face of an otherwise grim situation, however, some progress is being made." Young cites the high employment rate of college-trained Negroes in professional and managerial jobs long closed to them. He went on to point out, however, that "much of the new hiring has been done by government agencies,

and a lot of the improved job status of many Negro workers is due to upgrading and training on government jobs. Althouth the government's employment policy leaves much to be desired, private industry is still the follower, not the leader, in hiring Negroes for managerial positions and in training and upgrading present employees." Young continues, "And this holds true even with the massive efforts by the National Urban League and with the cooperation of its strong Commerce and Industry Council composed of many of the top business leaders in the nation."

The National Council of Churches' Payton says, "The nation must move much further in the direction of full and equal employment on a massive scale for minority persons. He went on to state, "Although I am, of course, gratified by all signs of progress in the direction of equal opportunity in employment for minority persons - and there are some of these - I am very much discouraged and quite impatient with the slow progress which is being made throughout our American society in this respect.

"All too many cases of gestures in the direction of equal employment opportunity turn out to be mere token gestures," Payton went on, "such as adding a Negro here or there in an organization, oftentimes in some 'show case' position where the public can be impressed. But behind the facade there is no real equality of opportunity."

Opportunities Industrialization Center's Rev. Sullivan, in a speech to luncheon guests at the 55th annual meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, stated that "since the Supreme Court decision of 1954, giant strides have been made in the area of equal opportunities across America. We are a long, long way from our goal of equal opportunity for all. But in these 13 years we have come a long way.

"Industry and business cannot expect to thrive in a community unless there is a skilled work force to keep industry competitive and productive," Sullivan said.

Well aware of the need to qualify Negroes for positions in the labor force, Negro leadership organizations are undertaking programs of training, self-help programs are underway, yet almost every Negro leader is aware that this alone might not be enough, and plans to continue pressure on business and industry to make equal employment opportunity a reality.

The NAACP at the present time is engaged in pre-apprenticeship training programs as well as extensive efforts to eliminate discrinimation in apprecticeship and vocational training along with on-the-job training. The National Urban League, of course, has a number of programs underway. It's Skills Bank, for example, after its first year of operation in 56 Urban League cities, recruited, screened and processed more than 33,000 persons who had marketable skills. Over 7,300 men and women were placed in productive employment through the efforts of local Leagues , the National Office, and the assistance of many individuals from business, industry and government. It is the largest most successful placement program of its kind in the country.

On-the-Job training (OJT) programs pushed by Urban Leagues throughout the country currently involve 41 affiliates. The Leagues have responsibility to secure training positions for 15,800 persons, and to date, more than 8,000 trainees have been placed with more than 4,500 employers. Among other programs of the League are the Broadcast Skills Bank, designed to place minority group members in all job categories, and its Labor Education Achievement Program (LEAP) through which it seeks to increase the participation of nonwhites in local union affairs and to involve the unions themselves in community projects. LEAP is also working to help motivate Negro youth to make early vocational choices, and to induce labor to open its doors to them.

The National Council of Churches does not itself sponsor training programs for minority groups, but it is related through some of its constituent denominations and through state and local councils of churches with a good many manpower training and development programs and other job-training projects in various parts of the country.

In addition, the Department of Social Justice of the National Council of Churches gives its very strongest support to all legitimate programs of manpower training carried on both by private groups and under governmental auspices. "We would like to see the number and effectiveness of all these greatly increased," Dr. Payton added.

The Opportunities Industrialization Center founded by Rev. Sullivan has been hailed as one of the most successful grass-roots, self-help training programs in the U.S. President Lyndon B. Johnson visited OIC in Philadelphia recently, where he signed the Teacher Corps bill, and importantly drew attention to OIC whose three-year success has been phenomenal. Since its beginning, more than 3,000 men and women, most of whom were unemployed, and all of whom were under-employed, have been placed in new productive jobs in Philadelphia industries. And today, more than 1,600 additional men and women in Philadelphia alone, are training in 30 different kinds of skills, from electronics, drafting, sheet metal, machine shop, and IBM, teletype work to power machine operating and employment as waitresses.

By December, 1967, 4,000 students will have been enrolled in training courses in OIC Feeder Schools (in the Feeder Center, enrollees are taught that "Genius is color blind, and that, like a balloon, it is not the color of a man that determines how high he can rise, but what he has inside of him."); and, in OIC's Technical Training Centers in Philadelphia. The unique experiences of OIC are a result of the cooperation of industry, philanthropy and the support of government.

The increase in higher education for Negroes, the training programs, and the self-help efforts are expected to increase Negro participation in the labor force. It is highly doubtful if any efforts will be relaxed to encourage business and industry to meet the challenges or problems that will result from these programs.

There are those, of course, who would prefer to see business and industry voluntarily set up efforts, and believe the cooperative participation of business and industry in Plans for Progress, the voluntary commitment on the part of the more than 350 corporations which have pledged equal employment opportunity, is a way to do it. However, there is some criticism of Plans for Progress.

Roy Wilkins believes the concept of Plans for Progress "is a promising one. However, much remains to be done, because the average results to date of all the participating Plans for Progress corporations have been disappointing." Dr. Payton adds, "We are appreciative of the expressions of good intentions which have been made through this organization by a large number of leading corporations of this country. We would, frankly, be more impressed if we saw more of the same corporations employing some additional thousands of minority group persons."

Most Negro leadership agrees that voluntary efforts, such as those of Plans for Progress, and local organizations geared to create job opportunities through cooperative efforts, offer promise and benefits to business and industry as a whole. Yet, it does not intend, it would seem, to stand by and do nothing.

Following an unaccustomed display of unity, leaders of nine major civil rights groups met in New York State recently, and planned a joint effort in Cleveland, with the prospect of other U.S. cities being added. The targets of the group are discrimination in housing, employment and education. Participating groups in the conference included NAACP, Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Metropolitan Research Center, Congress of Racial Equality, A. Philip Randolph Institute, NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, National Council of Negro Women, and SNCC. Of interest to business and industrial management should be the fact that the development of an "umbrella structure" in Cleveland and other cities could result in programs directed against companies, including "boycotts" and other activity that could prove disruptive.

How minority leadership views employment progress will bear on much of the current and planned activity of business and industry, and management would do well to keep informed on what Negro leadership thinks of management's efforts in the area of equal employment opportunity. In its analysis of what most major U.S. corporations faced from the Negro civil rights drive, D. Parke Gibson Associates said in a report circulated to clients and chief executives of some 500 companies, "Cooperation but not unity among civil rights groups. Highly unlikely single organization will emerge. Each group will concentrate on own areas of special interest. Don't expect single organization you can deal with." That report was issued in 1965 and this new spirit of cooperation of leadership organizations still will not result in a single organization, but its structure with unified forces could present problems to business and industrial management in the months ahead.

Federal help is expected in the continuing drive to open up employment opportunities for nonwhite workers, and support for strengthening of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The Department of Social Justice of the National Council of Churches passed a resolution calling upon Congress to "enact legislation which will confer on the EEOC the power to issue 'cease and desist' orders with respect to practices which it finds to be in violation of Title VII, and where necessary to bring civil action in the courts to enforce such orders." Dr. Payton feels that the EEOC is doing "a reasonably good job within the limitations which are imposed upon them."

Roy Wilkins shares Payton's views on the EEOC, and indicated that concilation and persuasion upon which the Commission must rely, "are not too effective in altering broad cultural patterns which result in discrimination in employment". The NAACP has filed 1,600 complaints with the EEOC, many of which the Commission has found reasonable cause to credit the allegations made. "We are engaged in litigation as a result of some of the complaints," Wilkins added.

Negro leadership believes that many managements of business and industrial firms in the United States are making sincere efforts to provide equality of opportunity. According to Whitney Young, "Fortunately, an increasing number of businessmen are beginning to see the need. Some firms are already instituting programs to help the disadvantaged. Many businessmen have learned that, to survive, they must be as color blind when it comes to employment as they are when it comes to taking the green dollar bills which pay for their products or services. Those who discriminate in hiring may find, if they haven't already, that their customers are also becoming more discriminating -- in their buying habits." Young concludes, "Slowly but surely, however, more and more businessmen are seeing the need to play roles of filling not only material needs but human needs as well. The thorny problem remains, meantime, because not enough of them are realizing the problem and reckoning with it fast enough."

There are many opportunities open to management to develop relations with Negro leadership, and in turn communicate the positive steps that are being taken in providing equal employment opportunity. Sometimes simple, honest efforts are all that's needed. Plus sensitivity. Companies frequently offend without meaning to. Top management's non-discriminatory policies not implemented down the line; Negroes know it but frequently top management does not. Need exists to communicate to Negro leadership what is being done. Business and industrial management often thrown on the defensive when reasonable positive steps would frequently solve the problem.

*

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New Careers

Employment

August, 1967

TRENDS TO NOTE:

1. Rapid increase in employment of nonprofessionals. A recent report from the OEO announces that by the end of this year 131,909 nonprofessionals will be employed in the Community Action Program.

2. Consideration of the New Careers concept by private industry is increasing as a possible solution to high turnover and shortage of skilled manpower.

3. More colleges are involved in developing credited courses, curricula and on-site educational programs to provide non-professional Aides with the skills and learning necessary for advancement toward professional standing.

4. Unions are becoming involved in working out New Career opportunities for the employed poor.

5. Civil rights groups are interested in developing New Careers concepts to open up real opportunities for minorities.

6. Law enforcement agencies are turning to nonprofessionals as a link to improve their relations with the communities they serve and to ease tension.

NEW CAREERS LINKED TO WELFARE SERVICE REORGANIZATION

By Patricia Elston, Research Consultant

New York City - The Dept. of Welfare and the Social Service Employees Union agreed to include in their new contract two innovative job classifications: Social Service Assistant, a subprofessional (with 800 openings), and Senior Social Service Worker (with 800 openings).

The two new positions represent a potential step in the strategy for implementing the New Careers concept. While negotiations have been underway, both the Departmentand the Union have worked independently to design career ladders which would provide escalated opportunities for advancement at each level of employment, from Aide to Professional.

The career ladder has implications for the entire welfare system. The Department's model links a career ladder to a major system reorganization

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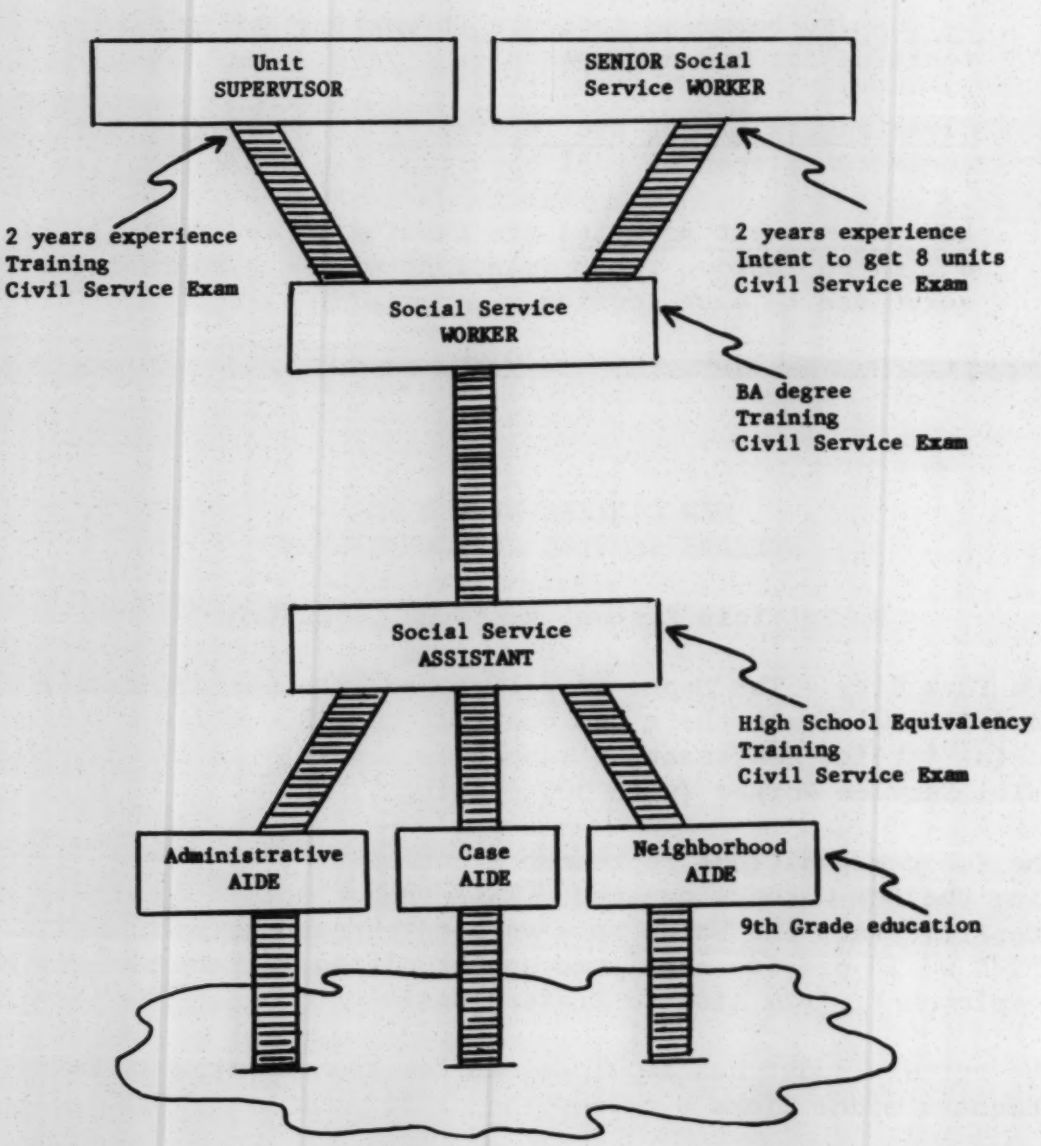
Editors: Nadine Felton, Lita Paniagua

involving not only new jobs, new kinds of relationships among personnel, and new opportunities for career advancement, but also new policies. The New career approach is coordinated with proposals to change the whole character of welfare delivered; provide new, integrated, and expanded services and make possible a more resourceful use of personnel.

The Department plan is to hire and train nonprofessionals under the Scheuer Program as Neighborhood, Case and Administrative Aides to work in teams with the professional staffs at local Neighborhood Service Centers. As the Aides gain education and expertise, they will become eligible for upgrading to Social Service Assistant with full Civil Service status.

The Department is discussing high school equivalency preparation and a curriculum toward an AA degree with the City University of New York. Educational arrangements for progressing from the AA to the BA degree have yet to be explored.

The model below is an adaptation of designs under consideration by the Union and the Department. Movement up the ladder would depend on fulfillment of the qualifications indicated alongside the arrows.



UNION, INDUSTRY & GOVT.
JOIN IN
NEW CAREER EFFORT

New York City - The Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union Local 67 is training 500 unemployed youths and 650 low-skilled workers under a $693,000 grant from the city's Human Resources Administration. Fourteen private companies have guaranteed to hire the trainees. The unemployed young men with no skills will earn $40 weekly while preparing for jobs which will pay starting salaries of between $70 and $80. A group of 500 workers will be upgraded to high skill positions, and another group of 150 will train for high-paying sales, administrative, technical and supervisory careers.

UNION ADOPTS NEW CAREERS

Charleston, W. Va. - West Virginia Labor Federation, AFL-CIO has adopted new careers as a part of its program. President Miles Stanley stated in a June 29th speech that "New training programs are needed to assist blue collar workers and the present poor to assimilate into the professions. We must consider developing industrial and professional partnerships in some kind of organization for effective training of all employees within an institution."

NEW CAREERS AND THE EMPLOYED POOR

Washington - Better opportunities for the employed poor were called for by Victor H. Gotbaum, Executive Director of District Council 37, AFSCME in his testimony on New Careers before the House Committee on Education & Labor. He said, "There is a widely held assumption that the major cause of poverty is unemployment. Yet ... a majority of the poor in this country are employed. Their poverty arises from their being employed at a low level of skill, without the opportunity to move to better jobs or even to qualify for them." Career incentive programs, he said, would benefit the entire work force by creating opportunities for advancement at all levels, from the trainee to the professional. Such career programs, Gotbaum explained, should be developed jointly by labor and management and become "an integral part of the labor-management relationship."

In line with this position District Council 37, whose membership includes 16,500 hospital aides , and the New York City municipal hospital system agreed on a program to train 450 nurses aides to become licensed practical nurses. Retaining their full salary rights during training, the aides will work half time and study 25 hours per week. On passing the State licensing exam, they will be employed by the City. Response to this opportunity for training to begin in October has been very positive, Gotbaum said, with more than 1600 applications received from among the 8000 nurses aides in the city.

A similar plan is possible for helping LPNs to prepare for RN positions. (The National League of Nursing estimates a deficit of 344,000 Registered Nurses by 1970).

The "bumping up" strategy for the employed poor advocated by Gotbaum signifies gains for the multiple groups involved. Such a program would provide New Careers for workers all along the personnel structures of the human service agencies.

LOCAL 372 ISSUES LEAFLET ON
NEW CAREER OPPORTUNITIES FOR
ITS MEMBERS

The leaflet reproduced below was issued by Local 372 of AFSCME to its members, announcing an agreement with the Board of Education to provide career upgrading:

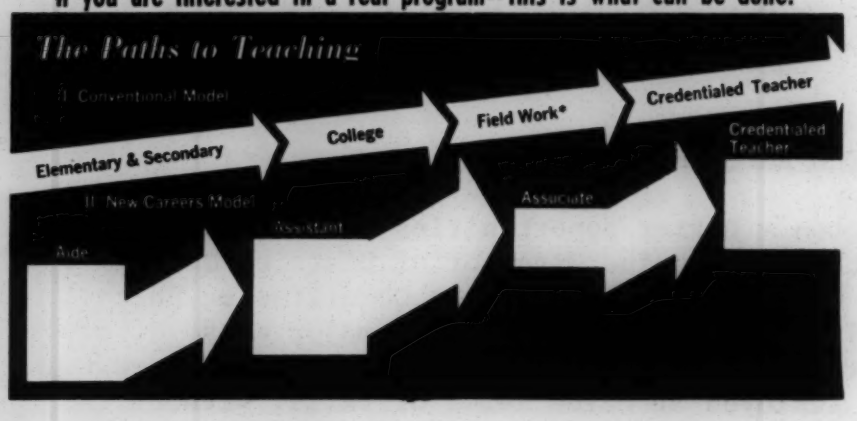
To All Members Of Local 372--

Your Union Brings To You--For The First Time...

REAL Career Opportunities

For School Aides
&
School Lunch Workers

If you are interested in a real program--This is what can be done:



Your Union and the Board of Education have agreed that new training and promotional opportunities should be provided for present employees of the Board.

To make this work, we must have information from you about the things you are interested in, as well as your educational background. Therefore, please fill in the form attached, and mail it to the Union as soon as possible.

These new opportunities will make it possible for School Aides to qualify for positions as Teacher Aide or Teacher Assistant, depending on the level of educational achievement.

Those who do not have the necessary education will be given help in getting it, including high school equivalency and college credits.

In addition, we plan to work out a system that will enable School Lunch workers to apply for a transfer to School Aide, so that they can take their place on the new career ladder.

These new programs will be made possible by Federal funds, as well as new funds in the regular budget of the Board. You will be hearing more from the Union as the plans develop.

Be sure to watch your Union bulletins during the month of September.

Please fill out the attached form completely. THE ATTACHED QUESTIONNAIRE MUST BE RETURNED WITHIN ONE WEEK!

*Field work comes so late students often don't discover whether they like teaching or have competence until last year.
This diagram shows the process of New Career development. The actual career "stages" with the specific tasks for each would be defined by the employing institution.

Call for Unity

Washington, D.C. - "Black and white poor and New Careerists must unite and develop thousands of indigenous advocate groups to move the nation's policy makers into accepting New Careers", testified Wilbert Ussery, National Chariman of CORE, before the House Committee on Education and Labor (July 17). He went on to say that these groups should organize around specific issues, using their combined political and local strength to demand quality education and ensure improvements in other human services. He recommended also the creation of a National New Careers Planning Board to advise the Committee on ways to develop new careers in all social agencies and to involve the disadvantaged in all programs.

Youth Corpsmen Praised

Neighborhood Youth Corpsmen won high praise from Newark and Detroit officials for their work during the recent disturbances. Newark Police Director Dominick A. Spina said of them, "They were magnificent." Corpsmen manned telephones, freed regular officers for duty, and helped keep the communication channels open between the police and the community.

Positive Action

New York City - The deployment of Youth Corps workers to help community youth translate their grievances into positive action is a new project announced by Robert Schrank, head of the Neighborhood Youth Corps of this city. The New Careers Development Center proposes that a similar program be set up to involve adults in contributing their experience and wisdom to the solution of their communities problems.

Earn & Learn Centers

Washington - An Urban Coalition panel of urban leaders which discussed ways of solving the problems of civil unrest called for an Emergency Work and Reconstruction Program which would include the prompt creation of "Earn and Learn" centers to provide job training programs and placement for the unemployed. Such a program would be a major opportunity for massive-scale application of the New Careers approach.

Police Partners

New Rochelle - The local Police Department has a program to train civilians as working "partners" of its police officers. Richmond, Calif., Phoenix Ariz., and New York City also have police cadet-aide programs in which trainees serve to bridge the communications gap between the police force and the community.

Workers "Cool" Capital

Washington, D.C. - The Community Alert Project of the Washington Urban League employs Negro youths as field workers in police precincts here to rush emergency mediation assistance to foci of unrest. The workers, who earn $500 monthly under a grant from the Labor and Justice Depts., can be called to a telephone from the group's headquarters via an electronic device carried in the pocket.

Eases Tension

Grand Rapids, Mich. - Human Resources Consultant, Jim Knox (a former delinquent now employed by Scientific Resources, Inc.), played a decisive role in bringing together the Mayor and a group of people involved in the recent turmoil for a highly successful direct confrontation which helped alleviate tension.

Urban League Task Force

New York City - Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director, National Urban League, discussed with the New Careers Development Center staff the creation of a task force to develop New Careers programs for the League's projects.

PRIVATE INDUSTRY

Private Industry-New Careers Study Projected

Durham, N.C. - The North Carolina Manpower Corp. received a $100,000 grant from OEO to study how New Careers for low income people can be developed in private industry. The project will involve joint planning and coordination between the No. Carolina Fund, private industry, local agencies and CAP's. One component will set up a New Careers demonstration program involving an agency and business.

Legislative Proposals Considered

Washington, D.C. - Legislative proposals that would apply the Scheuer public service employment concept to private industry are now under consideration. Private employers willing to set up career lines would receive support to hire and train unemployed persons for apprentice positions. This would fill jobs now vacant due to the skilled manpower shortage and cut down high turnover. The supermarket industry, which has a high turnover rate, might be particularly receptive to such a program.

Banker Presents Paper

Cleveland - Addison Cutler, Asst. V.P. of the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, presented a paper on the New Careers approach to private industry at the Fisk University Institute of Race Relations, held June 26 - July 8.

INTERNATIONAL

New Careers in Developing Countries

The applicability of New Careers training and job upgrading techniques to the problems of developing nations is receiving attention. The strategy is seen as a means for quickly preparing large numbers of workers to fill highly skilled positions. On July 27 a group of family planning specialists from Indonesia discussed with a member of the New Careers Development Center staff how the New Careers approach can be useful to their projects.

The Center staff has also met with representatives from AID who, along with other US government international experts are looking into innovative training methods.

Congressman James Scheuer is travelling to the Middle East to confer with Arabian and Israeli officials about possible development of New Careers programs there.

MOVEMENT

Task Forces in California

Sacramento - The California State Dept. of Public Health and the State OEO have developed Task Forces made up of representatives from their agencies and other community groups to explain the New Careers Program to the public. The groups' activities include evaluating current programs, establishing guidelines, and organizing conferences to inform the community about New Careers. One such county-wide conference was held in Los Angeles, March 30-April 1. The Proceedings are now available from the Los Angeles County Bd. of Supervisors, Dept. of Community Services.

Teacher Aides to be NEA Affiliates

Washington - The utilization of nonprofessional Aides is making an impact on organizations formerly limited to professional membership. One such major organization, the National Education Assn., has budgeted funds to develop a national affiliate association of Teacher Aides.

Dr. Donald Davies, director of NCTEPS (Natl. Commission on Teacher Education & Professional Standards), says: "We see this organization as a positive way to involve teachers and Aides as teams in designing educational programs for the disadvantaged".

Six regional conferences coordinated by NCTEPS to initiate the new association are under consideration. Teacher auxiliaries will help plan the conferences which will aim at involving as many Aides as possible to design the strategy and goals of the Association. The Assn. of Classroom Teachers (92% of NEA membership) will play a major role in helping to develop the new association.

Career Lines for NYC Teachers

New York, N. Y. - Career lines for New York City school teachers are being developed by the Board of Education in cooperation with five agencies: Human Resources Admin., City University of N.Y., New York University, District Council 37 of AFSCME, and the United Federation of Teachers. With a program of advanced training and education, entry-level Teacher Aides will be able to advance to Assistant Teacher, Teacher Intern and Certified Teacher, with more responsibilities and higher salaries at each level.

New Careers and Model Cities

New York, N.Y.- Representatives from Federal agencies and more than 50 cities attended a conference on Manpower Programs in Model Cities sponsored by the New Careers Development Center on June 15. The primary purpose of the meeting was to familiarize participants with new approaches to employment programs for possible incorporation into their Model Cities projects. Dr. Sidney Fine of Upjohn Institute for Employment Research made a presentation on job design and analysis. As a result of the Conference, the Center has proposed a five-step career ladder in urban planning: "An Illustration of the Functional Approach in Designing Jobs and Careers" by Wretha Wiley.

Conference Planned

Lincoln Hospital Mental Health Services and the New Careers Development Center will sponsor a conference of nonprofessionals on December 14-15 at the Carnegie Endowment International Center, New York. Nonprofessionals will help plan the meeting at which they will present their ideas on New Careers, based on their work experience. Professionals will be invited to attend, listen and participate.

EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING

Job Coaches Reduce Turnover

Chicago - The utilization of nonprofessionals as coaches to help reduce employee turnover is a new technique of this city's Jobs Now Program which trains "hardcore" youngsters and places them in private industry. The program is administered by the Chicago YMCA under a grant from the U.S. Employment Service.

The coach accompanies the job candidate to the new job, meets periodically with both the employer and employee at the work site, maintains after-hours contact with the employee, and reports to Jobs Now on his progress. A six-month study showed that turnover for employees with coaches was 18%, as compared to 72% for employees without coaches.

Samuel Burt, Special Assistant to the Director, USES, says: "The use of neighborhood people as coaches is a major step forward in building permanent jobs and careers for disadvantaged youngsters. The coach smooths over that often rough period of adjustment for both employer and employee."

USES is exploring possibilities for incorporating the coach position into its job structure and upgrading the coaches via a career ladder from entry level Employment Service Aide to professional standing as Employment Relations Representative or Employment Interviewer.

Job Corps

Clearfield, Utah - The Advanced Corpsmen's Institute of this locality is a unique project for preparing Job Corps members as Teacher, Counselor and Recreation Aides. A six-month intensive on-the-job training program qualifies Corpsmen for entry-level positions. The first group of 50 Corpsmen were graduated this June and placed on jobs. With additional training cycles, 400 more youths will be graduated yearly.

This new resource of trained personnel will be available for placement throughout the nation with the help of the Office of Education and O.E.O. Agencies interested in hiring Corpsmen may contact: Donald Morse, Supervisor, Advanced Corpsmen's Institute, Clearfield Job Corps, Clearfield, Utah.

Health Careers Program Funded

New York - Albert Einstein College of Medicine - Lincoln Hospital Health Careers Program received a grant from the Commonwealth Fund to train health aides for careers in the medical and nursing fields.

6,000 New Careerists in Health

Washington, D.C. - Six thousand non-professionals in public health will be trained in 20 U.S. cities via projects to be developed by the Social Development Corp. with a $2 million dollar grant from the Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Apprenticeship & Training. New job classifications and career upgrading systems will be set up in cooperation with the hospital administrators and unions of the cities involved. Three thousand trainees will be prepared for entry-level positions in 36 occupations, and 3000 persons will be upgraded to such jobs as Obstretrics, X-Ray, Dental and Medical Records Technicians.

COMMUNITY ACTION

More Training Urged by O.E.O.

Washington, D.C. - A recent report by O.E.O. points out the need for pre-training and in-service training of personnel in its community action programs. The report says that as of Sept. 30, 1966, of the 131,909 non-professional positions authorized for CAPs, 25,401 had not been filled; while of the 112,202 professional positions, 25,854 remained unfilled.

In order to provide training, O.E.O. will allocate in FY'68 $8million to expand and continue the operation of 10 Multi-Purpose Training Centers and 6 Urban Training Centers; $3 million for training CAP boards; and one million to train the trainers of non-professional and professional personnel.

Scheuer Programs Funded

Scheuer (New Careers) programs have been approved by O.E.O. for 2,936 low income adults in 19 states.

Atlanta, Ga. - 550 of the 2,500 persons enrolled in the $4.5 million Concentrated Employment Program (U.S. Dept. of Labor grant) will be New Careerists.

New York City - 2,000 South Bronx residents will take part in the $3.6 million CEP program there.

Technical Assistance for Scheuer and CEP

The Center for the Study of Unemployed Youth of New York University, Graduate School of Social Work has received two technical assistance grants: one from the Dept. of Labor to help community action agencies develop new careers (Scheuer) programs; one from O.E.O. to assist the CAAs with the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP).

Debate

Alinsky vs. New Careers - Saul Alinsky, Director of the Industrial Areas Foundation, will contend with Frank Riessman, Director, New Careers Development Center, at a debate sponsored by the League for Industrial Democracy in New York on November 17th.

FUNDS AVAILABLE FOR NEW CAREERS

Limited funding support for innovative research and experimental New Careers projects in education, health, welfare, and related fields is available from U.S. Office of Education, Bureau of Research, Div. of Comprehensive & Vocational Education Research, 400 Maryland Ave., S.W., Washington, D.C. If interested, write to Dr. Bernard Yabroff, Director, Career Opportunities Branch, at above address, outlining briefly the objectives of the proposed research and its significance for general educational improvement.

Legislation - Washington, D.C.

The Senate Committee on Labor & Public Welfare will begin hearings on Sen. Gaylord Nelson's Teacher Aide Bill. The Committee is now reviewing the 1967 Amendments To ESEA, authorizing $3.4 billion for FY '69, and calling for training of Aides and their supervisors, which passed the House.

HIGHER EDUCATION

College for Human Services

New York City - 120 women are being trained for human service jobs by the Women's Talent Corps (funded by O.E.O.) The first group of 50, many of whom had previously been welfare recipients, were graduated this June and placed as Teacher and Guidance Assistants.

"The Corps proposes to set up a College for Human Services for the many women who want and have the potential to achieve professional standing," says Mrs. Audrey Cohen, director of the program. The college will offer a core curriculum based on the needs of the profession and the population to be served. The students will receive an Associate of Arts degree and will be able to transfer to a 4-year college for further education.

Mental Health

Chicago - The YMCA Community College and the Illinois Dept. of Mental Health are developing a 2-year college program for Mental Health personnel, which includes time off from work so that the trainees can spend two half days per week in class at the campus. One half of class time will focus on academic subjects, with the rest spent on issues related to work experience.

Other College Programs

George Warren Brown School of Social Work, St. Louis, offers a one-year certificate to aides in community development. Essex Community College, Baltimore, Md., awards an Associate of Arts degree to aides completing its 2-year program for social service assistants.

Urban Service

Washington, D.C. - Georgetown University is setting up a one-year program, Institute for Urban Service Aides under Title I of the Higher Education Act. Aides will study four hours a week at the Institute to broaden their understanding of service work and to increase their effectiveness on the job. An aim of the program is to demonstrate inter-agency and university cooperation and to increase the agencies' awareness of the valuable contribution non-professionals can make. Contact: Mrs. Sara Kestenbaum, Coordinator of the Institute for information.

On-Site College Programs

Scheuer Programs: Newark, N.J. - The Scheuer project to train 250 human service aides has contracted with Farleigh Dickinson University for college courses taught at the job site, on job time, which will give credit toward a degree at the University.

New York City - A similar arrangement is being made between the Human Resources Administration, running the $3.8 million Public Service Career Project, and the City University of New York to provide advanced education for many of the 1000 trainees in health and welfare.

The NEW CAREERS TRAINING LABORATORY, New York University, located at 184 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., will train the Scheuer staff and trainers for both the New York and Newark programs.

Teacher Aides: Oakland, Calif. - San Francisco Community College in cooperation with this city's Board of Education offers a work-study program for Teacher Aides, which includes two credits per semester for night courses at the college and three credits per semester for work experience. The program will be expanded to include Teacher Aides employed under a combined ESEA and Scheuer program at a local junior high school. The College is working with the Board to develop a career line from Teacher Aide to Assistant Teacher with an Associate of Arts degree. Also, the College is discussing with a local 4-year institution a program to enable Teacher Assistants to continue studying for a B.A. and certification as teachers.

Head Start Aides: New Jersey - Farleigh Dickinson University in its Early Childhood program for Operation Head Start aides permitted aides to take as many as 15 credits per term. College courses were taught at the job site and credit was given to aides' on-the-job training and work experience.

Aides Teach Graduate Students: Berkeley, Calif. - Field training aides are teaching students at the University of Calif. Graduate School of Social Welfare about disadvantaged communities. The aides participate in graduate seminars and field training. Career lines are being developed for the aides to become professionals in field training or in community research, and the University is working to incorporate these new job categories into its training grants from the Bureau of Child Welfare (HEW) and the National Institute of Mental Health.

CIVIL SERVICE

Entry Level Classification

San Francisco - This city's Civil Service Commission has created new entry-level classifications for employees in health, libraries, parks and recreation. In addition, aides will be hired by the State Parole Office as community relations workers, also a Civil Service classification. Under the $2.1 million New Careers program, combining Scheuer and Neighborhood Youth Corps funds for 147 adults and 126 youths, those aides employed at the above agencies will be on the Civil Service payroll while training and will have Civil Service status.

Staff Attendant Position Created

Boston - A new position of staff attendant for all state human service agencies is being developed by the Mass. Civil Service Commission in cooperation with the State Dept. of Mental Health, the State Dept. of Personnel, and Self-Help, Inc., an anti-poverty agency of Brockton, which over the last 10 months has trained 40 low-income residents to qualify for the new position. Staff attendants will earn $100 weekly in their category which is four levels above the entry aide position and two levels below professional social worker (B.A.).

The training method followed at Self Help for staff attendant positions is a significant innovation. Aides who receive core training in human services may now qualify for all social service departments in state agencies, as the core course opens up a greater range of career choices and inter-agency mobility. Training efficiency is increased because personnel of different agencies can be trained as a group.

PAPERS AVAILABLE FROM THE NEW CAREERS DEVELOPMENT CENTER

1. "Civil Service and the Poor: Some New Developments", Judith G. Benjamin;
2. "New Careers and Model Cities", Lisa Liebert;
3. "Career Oriented Training: The Next Logical Step Beyond Job-Oriented Training", Adele Brody;
4. "Curriculum Design for Training the Trainers of Non-Professionals", New Careers Training Laboratory;
5. "Two Anti-Poverty Strategies; New Careers vs. The Guaranteed Annual Income", Dr. Frank Riessman;
6. "A Career Incentive Plan for Higher Education of Teacher Aides", Nadine Felton;
7. "New Careers in the Welfare System", Patricia Elston;
8. "An Illustration of the Functional Approach in Designing Jobs and Careers", Wretha Wiley.

CONTROVERSY MAILBOX

We welcome your observations, opinions, and criticims on any aspect of New Careers and its implications. Following are some questions raised by Prof. Marvin Bloom, of the University of Buffalo School of Social Work, in a recent letter to us:

> "I suspect that the kinds of things you are calling a 'career' may be a euphemism for the dull, boring and at times dirty job. Is, for example, tying shoes, tucking in pants, etc. really work, and if so, how would you provide job satisfaction at entry level?
>
> "Might not one argue that..with the normal economic growth anticipated, our economy will provide jobs and/or income for almost all, in any case without getting into a questionable conceptual design regarding a 'career'?
>
> "Can one assume that any activity producing revenue for the one doing it will have the psychological impact you impute to it?
>
> "Is Poverty primarily related to the matter of work? Is it nor related, rather, to the question of distributiǫn of wealth and power, or ultimately how society determines to allocate its resrouces, neither of which may necessarily be affected by full employment, even if we achieve it?"

.....

Other questions readers have raised:

1. Are true career possibilities being developed, or is there merely an increase of subprofessional jobs without a link to professional upgrading?
2. Does New Careers signify a co-opting vehicle for low-income people?
3. Does New Careers necessarily change the human service structure and improve services offered?
4. Is there a need for a New Careers movement? If so, what should its purpose be, and what are the dangers if there is no such movement?
5. How is New Careers related to fundamental social change?
6. How can the effectiveness of the New Careers nonprofessional be measured in cost benefit terms?

NEW PUBLICATIONS

New Partners in the Educational Enterprise, Bank St. College of Education, 103 E. 125th St., New York, N.Y., Study of Auxiliary School personnel in Education.

Workshop Proceedings on Non-Professional Careers for Disadvantaged Youth, Center for the Study of Unemployed Youth, New York University, 853 Broadway, N.Y., NY

Position Descriptions for New Careers, University Researcy Corp., Information Clearing House, 1424 16th St., N.W., Washington D.C. 20036.

New Careers, A Basic Strategy Against Poverty, A. Philip Randolph Educational Fund, 217 W. 125th St., N.Y., N.Y. (Introduction by Michael Harrington).

SECY. WIRTZ CALLS FOR NEW CAREERS

Washington, D.C. - "The Administration's intent is to expand the New Careers concept under the Community Employment and Training Program", Labor Secy. W. Willard Wirtz told the House Committee on Education and Labor, testifying on the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1967. Answering questions by Congressman James Scheuer, Wirtz said:

"An additional $12 million is being requested especially for New Careers, and the principle of building career ladders in social service for the unemployed will be extended to rural areas as well, and will include persons between 16 and 22 years of age and adults."

"The concept will also be applied to private, non-profit concerns", the Secretary added.

Career Ladders & Training

"Efforts will be made to restructure jobs within public and private organizations, design career ladders, and develop training and remedial education to supplement the work experience", he continued.

He explained that within such career ladder programs, persons would start work as Technical, Medical, Social Service, or Nurses Aides, for example; then progress to such jobs as Medical Laboratory Assistants, Medical Assistants, Social Work Technicians and Senior Nurses Aides.

17 More Projects to be Funded

"It is expected that 17 more projects will be funded under CEP with approximately 4,500 - 5,000 New Career opportunities. In addition, 30 independent New Careers projects are being developed by the Bureau of Work Programs, which are expected to involve another 3,000 - 4,000 New Careers positions," Wirtz said.

Successful Project

An example of a successful New Careers Project under OEO, according to Wirtz, is Operation Head Start which is developing positions at intermediate and supervisory levels for about one-third of Head Start aides in an eight-state region. Head Start will attempt to initiate a 2-year Associate of Arts degree program to certify the subprofessionals.

The Dept. of Labor is also planning to provide grants for research to evaluate the effectiveness of New Careers programs.

EMPLOYMENT

August 21, 1967

Mr. Herman M. Kroll
28 Arrandale Avenue
Great Neck, New York

Dear Mr. Kroll:

Thank you for your letter of July 21, 1967. Please forgive the long delay in reply.

Mr. McKissick has just returned from a trip to Africa and is just now attending to correspondence. Mr. McKissick has expressed a keen interest in your ideas and would greatly appreciate receiving any further material you feel might be of interest.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH

JUL 24 1967

JUly 21, 1967

Mr. Floyd McKissick
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. McKissick:

As an interested observer of your efforts to formulate a program of effective action for your people, I find your approach admirable.

You have probably given consideration to the following ideas, but if you have not, they may be worthy of your attention:

1. Although racism has its more spectacular symptoms in things like the KKK and various expressions of violence, its underlying, and far more profound, assault on Negroes occurs in the sphere of economics, e.g., job discrimination, wage level inequities, etc.

2. It seems to me that the complete elimination of male Negro unemployment should be a prime goal of your program. And this goal, obviously, should not be a distant one, but one whose realization should be sought for in, say, months, not years.

Undoubtedly this will require a radical approach. Yet I doubt whether riots can achieve it or, alone, adult educational programs.

(a) The basis for the immediate employment of all employable Negro males must be, as with every crusade, a moral one. Americans must be made to acknowledge the immense challenge of total Negro male employment as nothing less than a moral imperative. To this end, political, religious and civil rights leaders should coordinate their efforts. Indeed, Negro male employment should have more priority than space, urban renewal and education.

(b) Inevitably the instrument that will achieve practical results will be legislative. A law promulgated to ensure the employment of all Negro males (regardless of the degree of their formal education or natural ability) would have at least the following elements:

(over)

All businesses - partnerships, corporations, individual proprietorships - having more than, say, ten employees, should be compelled by law to hire male Negroes and, if necessary, train them . . .

In such firms, the ratio of Negro to white employees should eventually equal the ratio of the total U.S. Negro male population to the total U.S. white male population.

A legislative solution such as this one to the problem of Negro male unemployment is eminently practical, not visionary, because (a) American business unquestionably has the economic power, wealth, and resources required to employ and, particularly, train the unemployed; (b) it is a solution that would have immediate beneficial consequences for all Negroes; (c) the moral right of male Negroes to job equality would be ensured by governmental enforcement; all businesses within scope of the law would have to make an equal commitment; (d) the effect of such legislative action by our government would have repercussions around the world and, perhaps, cause many nations to reassess their opinion of our professed humanitarianism.

Incidentally, a law such as this one might be called, for brevity's sake, a "one-in-twenty" law, or whatever the ratio of Negro employee to white employee happens to be decided upon.

If the foregoing proves in any way helpful or suggestive to you, that will be fine with me.

Very truly yours,

Herman M. Kroll

28 Arrandale Avenue
Great Neck, New York 11023

NEW YORK STATE CAREERISTS SOCIETY, INC.
210 West 35th Street
New York, New York 10008

Employment

September 15, 1967

As an influential leader in the community, we solicit your views and cooperation on a problem that affects the people of our community--"discrimination against black people in New York State Civil Service".

We will hold a city-wide conference of leaders in our community at the New York N. A. A. C. P., 261 West 125th Street, 2nd floor, on Saturday afternoon, September 23, 1967 at 2:00 P. M. We invite your participation in order that we may best plan how to solve this problem and insure greater employment opportunities for our people.

RELEVANT FACTS

The largest and most rapidly growing field of employment today is Government services - Federal, State and Local. Almost 1/5 of the total labor force now receive their livelihood through Government employment.

It is time that additional programs are funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity, which provided thousands of jobs for "Administrators" in new community agencies, but let's not also forget about the old line government departments.

Can the black man gain equality in employment and ignore this largest source of employment?

Last month, community interest forced a change in the selection procedures for principals in "demonstration schools" in Brooklyn. Community interest has brought about changes in the New York City Police Department--but in the over-all, these are still token changes, though in the right direction. What about housing? What about employment? What about black participation at policy-making levels and in top administrative positions?

THE PROBLEM

The New York State Division of Employment receives millions of dollars to work in the area of Placement, Counseling, and Human Resources throughout the State. Most of this activity is directed to the Negro and Puerto Rican community, yet there is not one Negro in a statewide policy making or administrative position. There is no black representatation on the State Employment Advisory Council. On the professional levels, State Employment Offices and Youth Opportunity Centers are virtually lily white. The absence of a success image continues to castrate our youngsters. The staffing pattern is not designed to inspire our black youth, who yearn for a positive self-image.

Administration of the Labor Department's programs costs about 100 million dollars a year, and nearly 3/4 of this goes for salaries of employees. But less than one percent go to Negro workers. More than half of the funds used to administer the Division of Employment are federal funds. Only about 10% of the total appropriations come from regular state appropriations.

We are being short changed. The following is a quote from a letter received by the Careerists Society from Mr. M. P. Catherwood, Industrial Commissioner, New York State Department of Labor. He attempted to give proof that Negroes do not qualify--even after training.

--"During 1966, the Division, in an effort to ascertain whether actual performance on the job, as contended by many, would assist minority group individuals to pass the required Civil Service examinations, the Division hired 26 provisionals. Unfortunately, even after intensive training and nine months of satisfactory work experience, 22 failed the Civil Service examination twice".

Today, when New York City is reorganizing its bureaucracy into super agencies and when vast new programs are being set up at the state level--time is critical. If we do not effect change in the pattern of government employment now, many years of frustration will continue to be our lot.

Let's also stop to examine the type of services our people are receiving here in this community. Unless something is done, and done immediately--those least oriented to communicate with the black community will continue to receive a disproportionate share of the tax dollar in a type of "colonialism".

Will you kindly complete the enclosed form, indicating whether you will be in attendance on Saturday, September 23, 1967, at the N. A. A. C. P. headquarters.

Very truly yours,

Jeff Greenupp
President NAACP

Hillel Valentine, President
Federation Negro Civil Service
Organizations, Inc.

By
Emmett M. Beane, President
Division of Employment, Chapter
New York State Careerists

NEW YORK STATE

File Employment

EMPLOYMENT TRENDS

DIVISION OF EMPLOYMENT STATE OFFICE BUILDING CAMPUS, ALBANY, N.Y. 12201 APRIL 1968

TOTAL EMPLOYMENT of 7,735,000 in New York State in April 1968 was the highest for any April on record. It was 95,000 more than the 7,640,000 in April 1967 and 60,000 more than the 7,675,000 in March of this year. The 290,000 total unemployment for the State, the lowest for any April on record, was 30,000 less than the total in April 1967 and 5,000 below the total in March 1968. The April unemployment rate for the State was 3.6 per cent, also the lowest for any April on record. The April 1967 rate was 4.0 per cent and for March 1968 the rate was 3.7 per cent.

Most industries responded to seasonal influences by moving to new record employment levels from one year ago, indicating a continuing healthy economic environment throughout the State. The total employment increase in April was concentrated in nonfarm employment although farm employment also experienced gains.

NONFARM EMPLOYMENT (which excludes agricultural workers, self-employed, unpaid family workers and domestics working in private households) rose to 6,929,000 in April, an increase of 63,000 over the previous month. Gains in nonfactory employment accounted for most of the gain.

In the nonmanufacturing segment, construction, trade and service industries experienced the largest gains. The unseasonally warm spring weather and seasonal fluctuations in employment were largely responsible for these gains.

Manufacturing employment fell, largely due to a sharp decline in the nondurable goods sector. The seasonal reduction in the apparel industry, following the Easter season, led the soft goods decline. The hard goods category expanded from the previous month because of greater than seasonal increases in the primary metals and stone, clay and glass industries as a result of the strikers returning to work in the copper and glass industries.

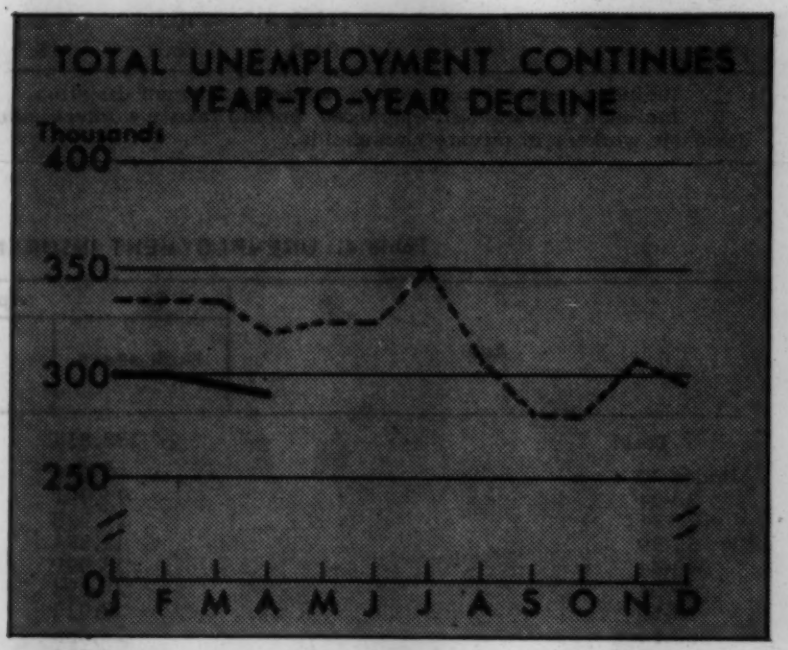
In comparison with April 1967, nonfarm employment was 137,000 higher in April 1968. The largest part of this gain was in the nonmanufacturing industries, with government, services, trade and finance, insurance and real estate having the largest year-to-year increases in the nonfactory group.

TOTAL UNEMPLOYMENT fell in April for the second successive month, reaching a record low for the month. The seasonal decline in unemployment and the end of the nationwide strike in the copper industry accounted for most of this reduction. Total unemployment of 290,000 in April 1968 was 5,000 below the previous month and represented the lowest April total on record.

The unemployment rate in the State dropped to 3.6 per cent in April, the lowest rate for any April on record. All of the State's metropolitan areas had less total unemployment and a lower unemployment rate than in March, with the exception of the New York and Rochester areas.

BENEFICIARIES (persons receiving benefits for the week following the mid-week of the month for April) were 133,800, a decrease of 14,900 from March. The manufacturing segment had an increase due largely to layoffs resulting from the changeover from spring to fall apparel production. With the coming of warmer weather, the construction industry had a large decrease, which was largely responsible for nonmanufacturing's substantial decline and more than offset the increase in manufacturing.

A year-to-year decrease in the apparel and electrical machinery industries resulted in a 31,100 decline in beneficiaries. A year ago, a prolonged strike in electrical machinery affected the manufacturing total. In nonmanufacturing, all of the industries decreased, especially construction and trade.



STATE OF NEW YORK
Nelson A. Rockefeller
Governor

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
M. P. Catherwood
Industrial Commissioner

DIVISION OF EMPLOYMENT
Alfred L. Green
Executive Director

Table 1. TOTAL EMPLOYMENT, UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATE BY AREA

Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area	Total employment 1/			Total unemployment			Total unemployment rate 2/		
	Apr. 1968	Mar. 1968	Apr. 1967	Apr. 1968	Mar. 1968	Apr. 1967	Apr. 1968	Mar. 1968	Apr. 1967
	(In thousands)								
New York State	7,735.0	7,675.0	7,640.0	290.0	295.0	320.0	3.6	3.7	4.0
New York Metropolitan Area	5,245.0	r5,215.8	5,164.4	182.8	r182.2	205.6	3.4	3.4	3.8
Albany-Schenectady-Troy	291.5	r287.5	287.7	9.0	9.7	9.7	3.0	3.3	3.3
Binghamton	118.4	117.7	118.9	3.7	4.5	4.0	3.0	3.6	3.2
Buffalo	535.4	r527.4	522.7	19.6	22.7	23.3	3.5	4.1	4.3
Rochester	367.0	364.4	360.0	9.9	9.7	9.9	2.6	2.6	2.7
Syracuse	246.6	r243.5	241.4	9.3	r9.5	10.9	3.6	3.7	4.3
Utica-Rome	128.6	126.2	126.6	5.9	6.6	6.0	4.4	r5.0	4.6

1/ Includes persons involved in labor-management disputes.
2/ Unemployment as per cent of combined total of unemployment and employment.

Table 2. TOTAL EMPLOYMENT SUMMARY

Item	Apr. 1968 (preliminary)	Mar. 1968 (revised)	Per cent change from Apr. 1967
	(In thousands)		
Total employment 1/	7,735.0	7,675.0	+1.2
Nonfarm wage and salary	6,928.8	6,865.8	+2.0
Manufacturing	1,870.3	1,878.9	- 0.2
Durable goods	890.5	885.2	+0.3
Nondurable goods	979.9	993.7	- 0.6
Contract construction	247.2	227.8	- 0.1
Transportation and public utilities	489.7	486.4	+0.8
Wholesale and retail trade	1,398.2	1,375.5	+2.2
Finance, insurance and real estate	543.8	539.2	+4.7
Services, mining and miscellaneous	1,261.7	1,243.5	+2.6
Government	1,117.9	1,114.6	+4.7
All other nonfarm 2/	710.0	710.0	- 5.3
Farm	94.0	86.0	- 5.1

1/ Includes persons involved in labor-management disputes.
2/ Includes nonfarm self-employed, unpaid family workers, and domestic workers in private households.

Table 3. UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE BENEFICIARIES, BY INDUSTRY AND COLOR

Industry and color	Apr. 1968	Per cent change from Apr. 1967	Beneficiary unemployment rate 1/
Total 2/	133,815	- 18.8	2.4
INDUSTRY			
Manufacturing	62,641	- 24.6	3.3
Durable goods	12,244	- 35.5	1.4
Nondurable goods	50,397	- 21.4	5.0
Contract construction	21,571	- 20.7	8.4
Transportation & public utilities	4,922	- 10.9	1.1
Wholesale & retail trade	20,433	- 38.2	1.0
Finance, insurance & real estate	3,450	- 16.9	0.7
Services	15,934	- 24.3	1.6
Government	2,007	- 8.4	0.6
Agriculture & mining	900	- 28.0	4.1
Ex-servicemen	1,467	+61.9	
COLOR			
White	116,766	n.a.	2.4
Nonwhite	17,049	n.a.	2.4

1/ Based on average insured employment including government during 12 months ending June 30, 1967.
2/ Total includes unknowns; details do not add to total.
n.a. Not available.

Table 4. UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE BENEFICIARIES, BY AGE AND SEX

Age	April 1968			Beneficiary unemployment rate 1/		
	Both sexes	Men	Women	Both sexes	Men	Women
Total	2/ 133,815	71,982	60,846	2/ 2.4	2.0	3.0
Under 20	2,259	1,148	1,111	0.5	0.4	0.5
20-24	11,091	6,245	4,846	1.5	1.5	1.6
25-34	21,998	13,087	8,911	2.0	1.7	2.6
35-39	11,854	6,318	5,536			
40-44	13,999	6,692	7,307	3/ 2.4	1.8	3.4
45-54	29,298	13,563	15,735			
55-59	13,915	6,997	6,918	3.1	2.4	4.2
60-64	13,059	7,477	5,582	4.1	3.5	5.5
65 and over	15,355	10,455	4,900	6.0	5.7	6.9

1/ Based on average insured employment including government during 12 months ending June 30, 1967.
2/ Total includes persons whose age and sex were not reported.
3/ Detail unavailable because of change in age classification.

RS 202 (5-24-68)

City of Pittsburgh
Pennsylvania

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
DAVID B. WASHINGTON

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

TO: Interested Agencies and Individuals

FROM: David B. Washington, Executive Director

DATE: May, 1968

Enclosed is "A Statistical Analysis of Negro Employment Data in the Pittsburgh Area Basic Steel Industry--1965." The research for this project was conducted and the report compiled by the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania, through funds made available by the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to the Pittsburgh Commission on Human Relations.

With the issuance of this report, the Pittsburgh Commission has announced that it will immediately launch an affirmative action program designed to increase the number of Negroes employed by the Pittsburgh area basic steel industry at all levels of its operations. The affirmative action program is designed to implement the report's recommendations.

The Commission will be happy to have your comments on the report and the affirmative action program.

Sincerely yours,

David B. Washington

David B. Washington
Executive Director

DBW:bg

Enclosure

A STATISTICAL ANALYSIS
of
NEGRO EMPLOYMENT DATA
in the
PITTSBURGH AREA BASIC STEEL INDUSTRY
1965

by

Darold T. Barnum
Research Assistant
Industrial Research Unit

A report prepared for the City of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Human Relations Commission under a grant of the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Department of Industry
Wharton School of Finance and Commerce
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

April 1968

Foreword

The Industrial Research Unit, the research arm of the Department of Industry, was requested by the Commission on Human Relations of the City of Pittsburgh to study the reports made to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission covering 1965 employment and to report its findings and recommendations. The research task was assigned to Mr. Darold T. Barnum, working under my direction. Mr. Barnum, an honor graduate of the University of Texas, and a Dean's list student in the Graduate Division of Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, is scheduled to receive his M.B.A. degree in May 1968. He then plans to remain at the University of Pennsylvania to work toward the Ph.D. in Business and Applied Economics, with a major in industrial relations.

The findings of Mr. Barnum emphasize the limitations for policy purposes of data supplied by industry to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. This does not imply that the data are not extremely useful both for policy and for research purposes. Thanks to their existence, we now have greater knowledge of racial employment patterns and of the areas where corrective measures are necessary than has heretofore been available. Moreover, much can be learned from them by applying the statistical tools utilized by Mr. Barnum. But, as Mr. Barnum notes, cause and effect are not necessarily revealed by data analysis. Primary field research is essential before one can determine the basic reasons for such phenomena as wide variations in the percentage of Negro employees among plants in the same general areas and in the same industry.

Fortunately such research is well under way. As a result of a Ford Foundation grant to the Industrial Research Unit, a three year nationwide industry-by-industry study of the racial policies of American industry is now well under way. The first study--that of the automobile industry--has already been published. The steel industry study is being done by Dr. Richard L. Rowan, Associate Professor of Indusry, and Associate Director of the Ford Foundation sponsored racial policies study. Dr. Rowan's study is scheduled for publication later this year.

Thanks are due to Mr. David B. Washington, Executive Director, Commission on Human Relations, City of Pittsburgh, and to Dr. Phyllis A. Wallace, Chief, Technical Studies Section, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, for their cooperation. The manuscript was typed by Miss Katherine Cooper. Mrs. Marjorie C. Denison drew the charts. Mrs. Margaret E. Doyle handled administative problems and details.

Herbert R. Northrup, Chairman
Department of Industry
Wharton School of Finance and Commerce
University of Pennsylvania

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104
April 1968

I. THE GENERAL PICTURE

Reports filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, covering 1965 employment by basic steel producers in the Pittsburgh Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA)--a metropolitan labor market as defined by government statistical agencies in Pennsylvania which includes the counties of Allegheny, Beaver, Washington and Westmorland--reveal that Negroes have about their overall share of total steel jobs. Thus 6.4 per cent of Pittsburgh's basic steel employees are Negro as compared with an estimated 8 per cent Negro population. On the other hand, the Negro population is highly concentrated in certain suburbs, and in the city itself where in 1965, the Negro population was estimated at 20 per cent. Many of the plants are in outlying towns where the Negro population is close to the SMSA average.

On an occupational basis, the situation is quite different. Negroes comprise 12.27 per cent of the laborers, 12.93 per cent of the service workers, and 10.86 per cent of the semi-skilled operatives, but only 3.21 per cent of the craftsmen. They are, therefore, almost two-fold overrepresented in the lowest classification and equally disproportionately underrepresented in the most skilled blue collar work.

In the white collar classification, Negro representation is very poor, being under one per cent in all groups except office and clerical, and just over one per cent there.

Negroes are also underrepresented in the training classification listed in Table 1. In all cases the percentage of Negro trainees is below that of Negroes

Table
Total and Negro E
Pittsburgh SMSA Basic
1965

Classification	All Employees			
	Total	# Male	# Female	T
Officers & Managers	10,214	10,157	57	
Professionals	5,884	5,728	156	
Technicians	3,523	3,292	231	
Sales Workers	2,894	1,828	1,066	
Office & Clerical	12,466	7,441	5,205	
Total White Collar	34,981	28,446	6,535	
Craftsmen	22,883	22,882	1	
Operatives	39,523	39,463	60	4
Laborers	15,267	15,261	6	1
Total Blue Collar	77,673	77,606	67	6
Service Workers	1,988	1,791	197	
Total Employees[a]	114,642	107,843	6,799	7
Apprentices[b]	709	709	0	
On-the-job-trainees[b]	483	483	1	
White Collar	313	313	1	
Production	170	170	0	

Source: 1965 EEO-1 forms filed with EEOC by basic steel e
a. Percentages are weighted averages
b. Included in proper classification of regular empl
c. Because of incomplete data, 10 companies with 3.7

ble 1
ro Employment for
asic Steel Companies[a]
1965

Negro Employees			Total Negro As % Of Total Employees	Male Negro As % Of Total Males	Female Negro As % Of Total Females	Classification's Employees As % Of All Employees
Total	# Male	# Female	%	%	%	%
36	36	0	.35	.35	0	8.9
7	7	0	.12	.12	0	5.1
30	28	2	.85	.85	.87	3.1
16	5	11	.55	.27	1.03	2.5
158	89	69	1.27	1.20	1.37	10.8
247	165	82	.71[c]	.47[c]	1.26[c]	30.4
735	735	0	3.21	3.21	0	20.0
4,292	4,292	0	10.86	10.86	0	34.5
1,874	1,874	0	12.27	12.28	0	13.4
6,901	6,901	0	8.88[c]	8.89[c]	0[c]	67.9
257	241	16	12.93	13.46	8.12	1.7
7,405	7,307	98	6.4[c]	6.8[c]	1.4[c]	100.0
18	18	0	2.54	2.54	0	
9	9	0	1.86	1.86	0	
2	2	0	.64	.64	0	
7	7	0	4.12	4.12	0	

el employers in Pittsburgh SMSA.

employees
3.7% of the employees were excluded (4,431 employees excluded)

in classification, except in the white collar group. Hence there is improvement, although the numbers are small. Table 2 compares the percentage of Negroes in a classification with the percentage of trainees:

Table 2
Per Cent Negroes in Classification Compared
With Per Cent Negro Trainees
1965

	% Negro
Craftsmen	3.1
Apprentices	2.5
Production Workers	11.0
Production Trainees	4.0
White Collar Workers	.5
White Collar Trainees*	.6

*2 Negro trainees Source - Table 1

In view of these data, it is apparent that prior to 1966, Negro employment percentages were not increasing in the industry. The reasons for this are not apparent in the data. There is, for example, the fact that the steel industry in Pittsburgh has been an industry of declining employment for a number of years. This could make it unattractive to youth, white or colored. Obviously however, field research is required to answer the question of why employment in the industry has the aforenoted trends and characteristics. Since the steel industry provided about 13 per cent of the non-farm jobs in the Pittsburgh SMSA, and about 12 per cent of the basic steel employees in the United States in 1965, it is obviously of significance in terms of employment, even though not an area of expansion.

II. VARIATIONS IN NEGRO EMPLOYMENT

An examination of the data revealed considerable variations in the number and percentage of Negroes in the work forces of various plants. Various statistical methods were utilized in an attempt to explain these variations, but no completely satisfactory results were achieved. Again field work is the obviously required tool.

To sum up the findings about interplant variations, little or insignificant correlations between the percentage of Negroes employed and characteristics of a plant's work force were found, except that home offices of all companies had few Negroes. There was some negative correlation between the percentage of Negroes employed and the linear distance of a plant from central Pittsburgh. Also, there was fair correlation between a plant's percentage of Negro employees and the community in which the plant was located. Since, however, many of these communities are basically company towns, no causal relationship can be drawn.

In sum, there is little correlation between Negro employment and the tested variables. It is possible that variations in the percentages of Negroes employed are the result of conditions of an earlier era, or that other less obvious relationships exist. These possibilities are discussed in the last section of this paper. But in any case, the answers lie in primary research in the Pittsburgh area.

Data and Methodology

The basic sources of data are the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission employer information reports for 1965 on basic steel in the Pittsburgh SMSA; the

the 1940, 1950, and 1960 Censuses of the United States: The Economic Study of the Pittsburgh Region, 1963, by the Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association; and maps of the area. The E.E.O.C. data are 99.9 complete for the Bureau of the Census Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) 33, and data on copper and aluminium companies classified in SIC 33 were removed so only basic steel reports remained. All steel plant reports were considered initially. Tests were then run on certain parts of the data in an attempt to isolate variables affecting the percentages of Negroes employed.

Mulitple linear correlation and the F-ratio test were used for the inital analysis. Variables and sample sizes with any correlation were then tested by the non-parametric methods of rank correlation (Spearman, or rank-difference coefficient of linear correlation) and the Chi-square test. Because the distributions were not normal and the correlations not linear, the latter two tests, especially the rank correlation, were used for more accurate measures of significance and degree of correlation.

There are six years difference between town population data and the E.E.O.C. reports. This difference may mitigate the value of the involved correlations.

The basic sample used was 56 plants. Administrative offices operating seperately from a plant were deleted, because they are a different type of operation than a steel mill. Of course, slingle-unit companies have administrative offices at their plant, but in these cases the percentage of plant worker is high enough to overcome any influence. The reports removed never had more than 15 per cent Blue Collar Workers. Since plants remaining in the sample had a minimum of 65 per cent Blue Collar Workers, there is an obvious break between the two types of

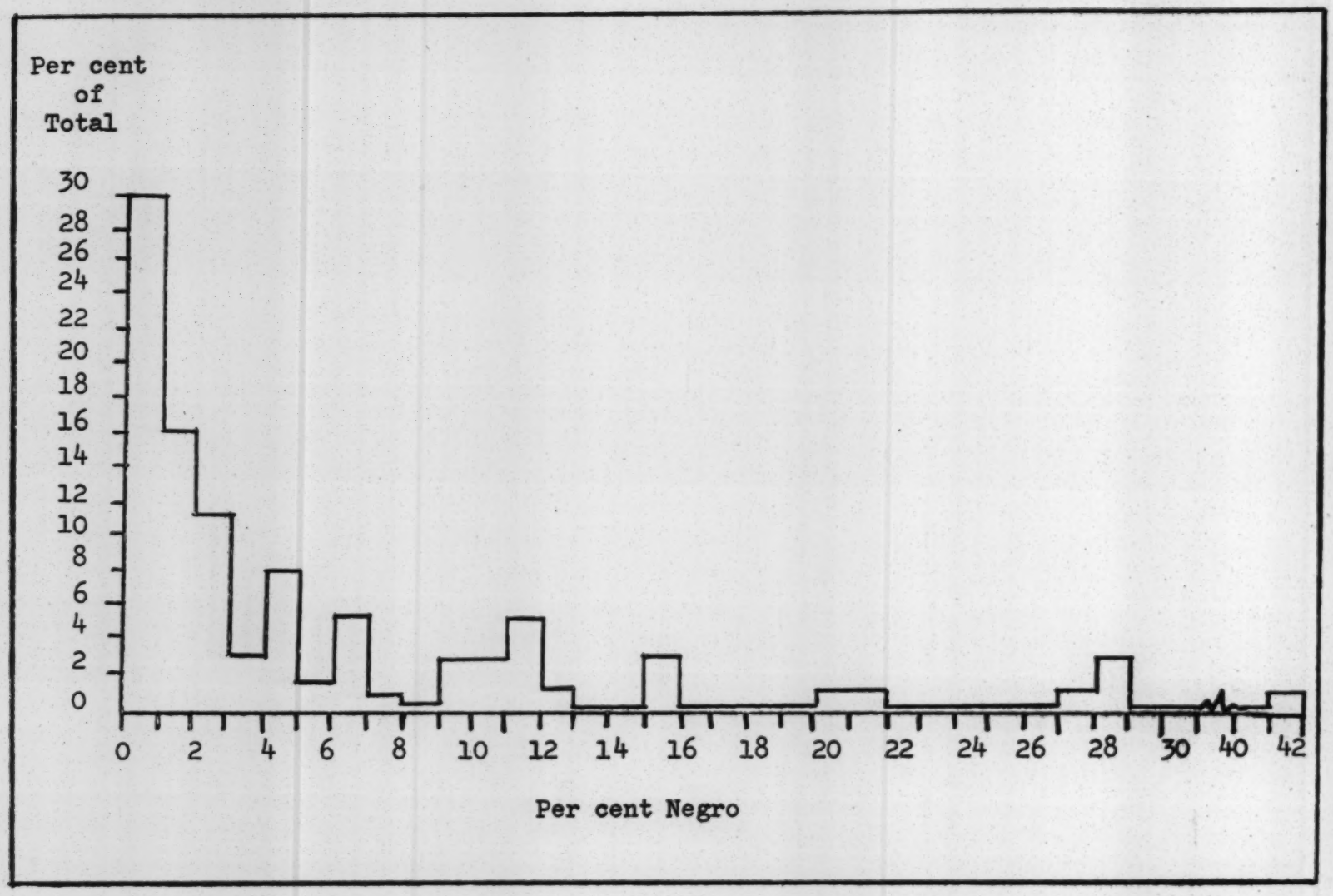
operations. (Home offices as noted had few Negroes. Hence there was no need to examine company differences. The need is to explain why all have a similar racial mixture).

After removing administrative offices, three sample sizes where tested. The first sample of 63 plants included all the remaining reports. Incomplete data on some of the plants necessitated removing seven plant reports, making the basic sample 56 plants. Since very high or very low Negro/Employee ratios (i.e., Negroes divided by total Employees) might have resulted from deliberate policies or individual plant conditions, a sample with only those plants having between 1 per cent to 13 per cent Negroes was tested against the same independent variables as the basic sample. In all cases the smaller sample gave poorer results. Since the basic sample of 56 company plants was in all cases either comparable or better than the other two, it is the only one discussed.

Quantitative Findings as to Plant Differences

Pittsburgh basic steel plants vary widely in the percentages of Negroes employed. The unweighted average is 5.9 per cent, but the range is from 0 per cent to over 40 per cent. Almost half on the plants have less than 2 per cent Negro employees. (The Pittsburgh SMSA is about 6.7 per cent Negro). A frequency distribution of the Negro/Employee ratios of the sample plants shows the dispersion as noted in Figure 1.

Figure I
Frequency Dispersions of Negro/Employees Ratios
Steel Plants, Pittsburgh SMSA
1965



Source: Table 1 data

Of the various tested causes for this wide range, we found the Negro/Employee ratio correlated best with type of operation (administrative or production), number of employees, linear distance of the plant from central Pittsburgh, and the Negro/Population ratio of the town in which the plant was located. Other correlations, notably Negro/Employee to per cent Blue Collar Workers, showed insignificant

correlation. (Variables tested and the results are tabulated in Appendix I).

PERCENTAG NEGRO EMPLOYEES TO TOTAL EMPLOYEES

Larger companies tend to employ higher percentages of Negroes than do small companies, although the relation is very weak. All physically seperate administration offices regardless of size have less than 2 per cent Negroes. (Administrative offices were not included in computing any of the following tests of significance. They are shown on the contingency table for comparative purposes, however).

The rank-difference coefficient of .30 shows significance at the 97 per cent confidence level, as it is 2.22 standard deviations from r_s=o. (r_s varies from -1 to +1; the larger its absolute value, the more the correlation. $\sqrt{r_s} = .1348$) But while r_s is larg enough to conclude some correlation does exist, it is too small to explain much of the variation.

The contingency table 3 illustrates the relationship. A higher percentage of small companies have low Negro/Employee ratios than do large companies, and large companies have a higher percentage of high Negro/Employee ratios. (The fourth column is the percentage of all companies with low, medium, and high Negro/Employee ratios. It does not include the administrative offices presented in the third column).

Table 3
Negro/Employee Ratios by Size of Company
and Type of Operation

	Production		Admin.	Total Production
	Less than 605	More than 605		
Negro/Employees	%	%	%	%
0-2.5%	53	35	100	45
2.6-8.9%	23	35	0	29
Above 9%	23	31	0	27
Total*	100	100	100	100
(Number of cases)	(30)	(26)		(56)

*May not add to 100 because of rounding

The Chi-square ratio, (which in this case tests whether the percentage differences between the large and small companies' Negro/Employee ratios are significant), indicates the variation is not significant at the 90% confidence level. This result should not be weighted too heavily, however. In the first place, the class groupings were chosen where natural breaks in the data occured, and not where the largest Chi-square ratio would occur. Second, the variations in the data are all in the direction expected, since small companies tend to have lower Negro/Employee ratios and larger companies tend to have higher Negro/Employee ratios. The test does not account for this trend. Hence in this and the following cases, r_s is considered the most valuable test, with Chi-square serving as an important but secondary test.

In sum, large companies are more likely to employ a higher percentage of Negroes than small companies, but the relation between size and the Negro/Employee ratio is weak at best. Further, the results do not indicate whether the relationship is one of cause and effect, or whether there is a third factor or inherent characteristic of large companies involved.

PERCENTAGE NEGRO EMPLOYEES TO PERCENT BLUE COLLAR WORKERS

No identifiable relationship exists between the Negro/Employee and Blue-Collar-Worker/Employee ratios.

Spearman's r_s equals only .045 and hence is not significant; since it is only .33 standard deviations from o, it could have easily occured by chance.

The Chi-square ratio is not significant at 90 per cent confidence, and the contingency table exibits no special relationships.

Table 4

Negro/Employee Ratios by Blue Collar Employee/Total Employees

	Blue Collar/Employee .65-.75	.75-.86	Above .86	All Companies
Negro/Employee	%	%	%	%
0-2.5%	44	38	62	45
2.6-8.9%	44	29	15	29
Above 9%	11	33	53	27
Total	100	100	100	100
(Number)	(9)	(34)	(13)	(56)

Because we felt that variations in the percentages of skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers might show better correlation, various combinations were checked against Negro/Employee ratios by multiple linear regression. There was no significant correlation.

In sum, we found no identifiable relation between percentage Blue Collar Workers and percentage Negroes. Accounting for skill level did not improve the findings.

PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES TO LINEAR DISTANCE FROM CENTRAL PITTSBURGH

The Negro employee percentage decreases as the plant's distance from Pittsburgh's Golden Triangle increases. The correlation is weak, however.

Spearman's r_s is -.33. While correlation does exist with 97 per cent confidence, the degree of correlation is again too small to explain much of the variation in Negro/Employee ratios among plants. The effect of increased distance is illustrated by a contingency table:

Table 5

Negro/Employee Ratios by Distance from Pittsburgh

	Approximately Linear Distance in Miles			Population Total
	0-10	10-20	Above 20	
Negro/Employee	%	%	%	%
0-2.5%	33	50	55	45
2.6-8.9%	21	29	39	29
Above 9%	46	21	6	27
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of plants	24	14	18	56

The percentage of plants with low Negro/Employee ratios increases from 33 per cent for those within ten miles of Pittsburgh to 50 per cent for those between ten and twenty miles out to 55 per cent for those more than twenty miles from the Golden Triange. The reverse situation prevails for high Negro/Employee ratio plants.

While the Chi-square ratio indicated no significance at 90 per cent confidence, this only shows the effect of increasing distance is weak; the trend characteristics in the table are clear.

In sum, although there is a definite relation between the Negro/Employee ratio in a plant and the plant's distance from central Pittsburgh, the relation is weak, as shown by the relatively low value of r_s and the Chi-square ratios.

The correlation does not directly result from Negroes having relatively more difficulty than whites in traveling long distances to work, because the majority of workers in the Pittsburgh area live close to their workplace. As might be expected, the distance from central Pittsburgh and the percentage of Negroes in a town's population is also negatively correlated. The coefficient of linear correlation is -.426. So although distance is correlated with Negro/Employee ratios, it is not the direct cause of it. However, distance does play a role; and by combining it with the findings in the next section, areas for further research can be established.

DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES IN COMPANY TOWNS

The term "company town" is used in the scene that steel workers comprise a significant percentage of the workforce in these towns. Of course, as the Economic Study of the Pittsburgh Region indicates, major steel facilities "served as nuclei for most of the industrial communities that now exist in the region," citing as examples Braddock, Homestead, Duquesne, McKeesport, Clairton, Monessen, Donora, Brackenridge, Aliquippa, and Midland.[1] Statistics on these towns and others where a high

percentage of the workforce are steel workers follow, but in order to maintain confidentiality, the names of the towns are not given. (Note that the "percentage of steel workers in workforce" figures are obtained by dividing 1965 steel workers (EEOC reports) by 1960 workforce (census). Percentages over 100 indicate that at least that percentage over 100 do not live within the towns's political boundary. The Economic Study of the Pittsburgh Region indicates that many workers live near their place of employment, but points out that long-distance commuting has increased since the war, due to increased auto ownership, better highways, and the suburban sprawl of housing.[2])

Table 6

Town	Steel Workers Workforce (1965)	No. of Co(s) in town (1965)	% Workers in largest co. (1965)	% Negroes in town (1965)	%Negroes in co(s) (1965)
A	131	2	87	21.0	10.6
B	193	1	100	4.25	4.1
C	66	2	96	23.5	10.5
D	68	1	100	21.9	15.7
E	24	1	100	10.7	4.8
F	73	1	100	14.1	11.2
G	68	3	57	.1	.06
H	29	2	91	7.6	4.6
I	289	2	94	17.5	6.7
J	58	2	77	8.0	4.3
K	155	1	100	.18	12.5
L	57	2	50	1.5	2.0
M	61	1	100	3.2	1.8

[2] vol. II, p.23
vol. II, p.25

PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN COMPANY TO PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN THE COMPANY'S TOWN

Of all the relationships tested, the Negro/Employee to the Negro/Population ratio of the company's town produced the highest correlation. The results indicate that steelworkers in general live in the town where they work but the results are not inherently indicative of a causal relationship between the variables.

Spearman's rank coefficient of correlation is .62, so some correlation exists with 99 per cent confidence. The degree of correlation would likely be even higher if 1966 population data were used instead of 1960 figures. (For example, two major plants closed between 1960 and 1966.)

The contingency table 6 shown below is significant at the 90 per cent confidence level for the Chi-square ratio.

Table 7
Per Cent Negroes in Company by Per Cent Negroes in Town

	Negroes/Town Population			
	0-2.5%	2.6%-8.9%	Above 9%	Total
Negro/Employees	%	%	%	%
0-2.5%	75	50	23	45
2.6-8.9%	6	43	35	28
Above 9%	19	7	42	27
Total	100	100	100	100
(Number of plants)	(16)	(14)	(26)	(56)

The correlation alone does not attest a causal relationship. Employees generally live close to their workplace, and since a substantial percentage of the examinated towns' workforces are employed by the town's steel works, the correlation is to be expected. (The percentages were obtained by dividing the number of employed in a plant by the workforce of the town in which the plant was located). Hence the information only confirms that most of the steel towns are company towns.

Thus the relevant question is, did the companies' hiring practices determine the racial composition of the towns, or does the composition of the towns influence the companies' hiring practices? Although the answer to this question is complex, and will entail primary research, it will go a long way in explaining the variations in Negro/Employee ratios. The reason for this, and an approach to finding meaningful conclusions, is the subject of part III.

III. ANALYSIS OF RESULTS OF VARIATION STUDY

Although there is some relation between the Negro/Employee ratios and the independent variables tested, it is statistically insufficient to explain the major part of the interplant variance in Negro/Employee ratios. Further, one cannot postulate casual relationships from the results without knowing more about the underlying circumstances and conditions involved; the tests are on too gross a level, and likely some factors, especially sociological, have been overlooked entirely. In sum, the E.E.O.C. data will have to be combined with primary research before any significant conclusions can be drawn.

However, some tentative theories upon which to base further research can be made.

The fact that Negroes migrating North have preferred the cities is well known. Pittsburgh is no exception, for as the Economic Study of Pittsburgh points out, "the city of Pittsburgh has proven durably attractive to most of the region's minority groups." Attesting to this fact is Pittsburgh's 16.7 per cent Negro population, compared to the region's 6.7 per cent average.

If the migrating Negro actually preferred to live in the city, they would be less likely to seek jobs in plants far from it; transportation problems in the Pittsburgh region made it inexpediant to live far from one's work in the past. In any case, if Negroes were less likely to apply for jobs in plants far from Pittsburgh, these plants and their towns would have lower Negro percentages.

An important reason why the correlation results were low may be the past and not present conditions caused the variations in the Negro/Employee ratios. Examining this proposition further reveals the following information.

First, a steel mill town's percentage of Negro population in the 1930's or 1940's is a good indication of the Negro/Employee ratio in the town's plant. The correlation has been shown strong in 1960. It was probably even stronger in the 1930's, for lack of adequate transportation made it even more necessary to live near one's work. Thus by examining the percentage of Negroes in the various steel towns, one can get an approximation of the percentage of Negroes in the town's steel mill.

Although all major steel towns in the area have higher percentages of Negroes now than in 1930, they have approximately maintained the same relative position: a town with a high percentage of Negro population compared with other towns in the 1930's still had a comparatively high percentage in 1960. Therefore it is likely that the steel mills have also maintained their relative Negro/Employee positions. Thus reasons for the current variation in the ratios may have originated from pre-1940 causes.

This possiblity is strengthened by the fact that there has been relatively little new hiring in the steel mills of Pittsburgh SMSA since the war. The Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association notes that "In the Pittsburgh Region...the

trend of employment in steel must be regarded as downward...Steel has not for some time been...a very large source of new employment opportunity."

Steel's unionization in the 1930's would also tend to freeze the labor force composition. Few new jobs have become available, and union job security and seniority provisions would tend to limit major shifts and to protect the jobs for the more senior personnel.

Finally, the above reasoning does not prove that pre-war characteristics are the cause of current variations. It only indicated the feasibility of such a theory. In any case, primary research will be necessary to find the desired answers.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The Commission on Human Relations of the City of Pittsburgh desires recommendations for action based upon this study. The already expressed limitations of the data do not offer as wide a field for recommendations as might be hoped, but some potential for constructive commission action is apparent in the data.

1. There seems to be a relationship between housing patterns in some locations and opportunities for Negro employment. It is therefore recommended that the Commission examine the rental and property purchase practices in the Pittsburgh SMSA in order to determine whether such practices inhibit Negro employment in basic steel mills.

2. Since Negroes in the Pittsburgh SMSA, as in most metropolitan areas, are much more concentrated in the inner city than in outlying areas, it is recommended that the Commission examine the adequacy of public transportation from Negro residential areas to steel mills and particularly whether Negro residential areas are provided with a reasonable and fair share of such transportation.

3. A significant finding of the study is the decided underrepresentation of Negroes in all salaried positions as of 1965. It is likely, as in industry generally, that improvement has occurred since that date. The Commission should, however,

be aware of this situation, and what steps are being taken to improve it.

4. As in industry generally, Negro employment lagged in the craftsmen classification as of 1965. Again, the Commission should determine what steps might be utilized for improvement.

5. The data available for this report do not provide sufficient breakdowns to permit recommendations concerning seniority systems, availability of work in various classifications, or possible bars to Negro employment or advancement in specific occupational categories. Rather than undertake additional studies in these areas, it is recommended that the Commission await the findings of Dr. Richard L. Rowan which are likely to shed light in these areas upon which policy might be developed.

6. Pittsburgh is not an expanding area of basic steel manufacturing. Not only have a number of older plants closed in the area, but in addition expansion in the industry has centered in the Chicago, or midwestern area rather than in the Pittsburgh SMSA. This raises the question of the extent of employment opportunities available in the Pittsburgh SMSA steel industry, and specifically the potential there for Negro labor. The Commission could well determine whether the relative lack of new steel jobs is proving especially discouraging for Negro job hunters and in view of the few Negro trainees, whether any special programs are in effect or required to encourage Negro participation.

APPENDIX I

Table 8

Per Cent of Negro Employees to	Non-Parametric Rank-Diff. r_s	Non-Parametric Rank-Diff. level of signif.	Non-Parametric x^2 Ratio level of signif.	Parametric Coeff. of multiple Correlation R	Parametric Coeff. of multiple Correlation R^2	Parametric F-Ratio Ratio	Parametric F-Ratio level of signif.
Distance from Pittsburgh	-.33	.98	.65	.29	.08	6.02	.975
Number of Employees	.30	.97	.15	-.033	-.0011	.94	less than .90
Per Cent Blue Collar Workers	.04	.26	.15	.094	.009		less than .90
Per Cent Negroes in Town	.62	.99	.94	.38	.149	10.6	.995
Number of Blue Collar Workers					.0001	1.006	less than .90
Multiple Correlation Number of Blue Collar and Distance					.084	3.52	.95
Number of Employees and Distance					.079	3.37	.95
Number Employees, Craftsmen Blue Collar, Operative Blue Collar, and Unskilled Blue Collar					-.0148	.8001	less than .90
Number Blue Collar, Craftsmen Blue Collar, Operative Blue Collar, and Unskilled Blue Collar					.0603	.78	less than .90
Distance and Per Cent Negroes in town					.1585	6.18	.995

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NEW CAREERS: ONE SOLUTION TO POVERTY

Arthur Pearl
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An Overview

The new career proposal advances the idea that domestic problems of the United States stem from inadequate organization of work and education.

Education and work are still keyed to a technologically unsophisticated world. The great bulk of the population is being prepared for activities that can be better done by machines, while insufficient numbers of persons have been readied for activities that machines cannot be expected to perform. We are generating a situation where "there exists simultaneously large numbers of people without jobs and a great many jobs without people."[1] "New Careers" is a proposal for social engineering to rectify this condition.

Two developments have lead to the strange phenomena of poverty and abundance. On the one hand automation is taking its toll of traditional work functions in agriculture, products producing industries and entrepreneurial enterprise, while on the other hand increasing educational requirements in the human service fields are limiting these activities solely to college graduates.

The new career proposal has particular relevance for the "credential society" since it advances the principle of fractionation of work functions in health, education, welfare, recreation and protective services to allow persons with a minimum of skill, training and experience entrance to these fields.

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1 Arthur Pearl and Frank Riessman. New Careers for the Poor. New York: Free Press, 1965, p. 5. This work presents a more detailed statement of the new career concept than is possible in this article.

New Careers - Identifying the Unmet Employment Needs

The human service fields are the Fastest growing "industries" in the country and it is precisely in these areas that we are failing to meet the needs of our society. Teachers are in vast undersupply.

> " A nationwide shortage of qualified instructors was disclosed by an Associated Press survey. The shortage was the worst in history in some states, including Wisconsin, Missouri, North Carolina, Illinois and New York - - -
>
> Illinois, which has about 120,000 teachers, was trying to fill 21,000 vacancies - - -
>
> The New York State Education Department reported that systems under its jurisdiction were short 15,000 certified teachers, about 10% of the total needed."[2]

There is a shortage of teachers and even if these teachers were available the true needs of education would not yet be met. In normally attended classes vast numbers of students are receiving an inadequate education. This is especially true for those who are unable to obtain much help in the home.

There is admittedly an insufficient number of doctors, social workers and recreation specialists, and even if the requested number were available there still would be inadequate service. To truly meet the needs in these fields many hundreds of thousands of additional personnel will be required. Thus the human services provide enormous potential for development of new careers.

New Careers - Employment First, Education Later

Except for a few menial deadended jobs college education is mandatory for entrance into the human service field. As a consequence health, education and welfare have become almost exclusively the province

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2 Washington Post, Septemberl, 1966.

of the relatively affluent and as a further consequence there is manpower shortage. Only a small percentage of our population attain a college degree and these few are drawn disproportionately from the relatively well to do.

Very few of the poor are going to get a college diploma. They indeed have difficulty obtaining a high school diploma. In point of fact, the poor are denied an education. They are herded into "tracks" which do not prepare for college; they do not receive the necessary support at home; they are subjected to more harsh rules, they are rendered more powerless, the school has less relevance to their lives and they are allowed fewer gratifications for their efforts than are provided the advantaged.[3]

Even if the recently inaugurated compensatory programs for the poor had a desirable effect it would be two decades before the beneficiaries of that program could enter the labor force. Recent trends in the major cities of the United States have emphasized that we cannot wait two decades for change (if, indeed, the desired change would come through the modest tinkering with education that currently typifies educational "innovations"). There is an alternative and that is: to change the nature of the service by creating entry positions in health, education and welfare which would be open to all. These entry duties would relieve the professional of all the menial tasks he is now required to perform. The entry position could be a career, offering security and horizontal mobility through pay increments for years of service and limited opportunities for promotion. Vertical mobility would also be possible if education were brought <u>to</u> the person on the job. If the entry worker were given credit for what he learns

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3 See Arthur Pearl, <u>Educational Change</u>. Human Relations Commission, San Francisco, 1966, mimeo.

on the job and if in addition college matriculation was facilitated by arrangement with community colleges, extension services, state colleges and universities he could, in two years' time be eligible for the next step and in similar fashion be eligible for the next step with two years of paid work experience and supportive college backup. This could be sustained until he ultimately attained the terminal professional status.

The establishment of a series of landings which allow everybody, regardless of station, an opportunity to progress within the dictates of ability or motivation is the essence of the new career position.

New Careers - Pinpointing the Manpower Shortages in Health, Education and Welfare

It is impossible to accurately assess the manpower needs in human service. There is no magic formula to define the numbers of teachers, doctors, social workers, etc. a society needs. Any designation is arbitrary. Looking at the quantity and quality of service it is safe to asseverate that more of the above are needed than currently are available. But no one should be content with such definition. A society designed for human beings deserves a much better statement.

Social planning should start with the assumption that every available human being could be put to good use in human care of human beings. The challenge of social planners would be to create a system that makes such an assumption a reality. It should be possible to structure education which vastly improves the quality of service when pupil teacher ratio is reduced from 20 to 1 to 10 to 1 and vastly increases the service when that ratio is further reduced to 5 to 1.

In similar fashion health, welfare and recreation services should be so planned that every person added to the roles leads to the improvement in quality and quantity of service. Thus the new career proposal suggests the following:

> "(1) a sufficient number of jobs for all persons without work
> (2) the jobs to be so defined and distributed that placement exists for the unskilled and uneducated
> (3) the jobs to be permanent and provide opportunity for life-long careers
> (4) an opportunity for the motivated and talented poor to advance from low-level skill entry jobs to any station available to the more favored members of society
> (5) to work to contribute to the well being of society."[4]

Underlying the new career proposal is the thesis that a truly people oriented society must provide at least as many opportunities for work as there are potential members in the labor force.

New Careers and the Future of Work

There are many who argue that creating work opportunities is futile. The machine eats up jobs faster than man can produce them. This position runs counter to the new career approach. Advocates of new careers foresee a future where work remains essential and, if anything, predict that the work needs of a society will increase.

Technological change will make education more and more a necessity for all segments of the population. An education will become a process that never stops. Accepting that assumption, there will be an ever increasing demand for the services of adequately trained teachers.

Projected population growth will increase the need for health, welfare and recreation specialists. The greatest population growth will

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4 Pearl and Riessman. op. cit.

occur among the very young and the very old. Both these populations require maximum medical attention, and educational, recreational and welfare services.

If one goes beyond the myopic preoccupations of national concerns and takes cognizance of the world scene one faces the prospect of a world population doubling every 35 years. The projected needs for personnel to provide adequate health,education, welfare and recreational support to this population is staggering.

If there is to be more leisure time in the future, if there is to be a shorter work life (earlier retirement), a shorter work year (more vacation and holidays), and even a shorter work week as some social planners request (and there appear to be some harbingers of these kinds of changes in recent labor-management negotiations), the need for recreation workers will increase proportionately. It is absolutely impossible to conceive of leisure without service personnel to make that leisure enjoyable. Music teachers, bowling instructors, boat repairmen, fishing guides, park rangers and naturalists, etc. must be recruited to tend to the pleasure seekers. At the present time the thought of retirement is repugnant to many because of the lack of outlets available to the superannuated employee.

Every technological change which relieves the need for work in mechanical service or products produced in industry actually increases the need for manpower in human service! Every technological change which reduces the need for work in mechanical service and products producing industries makes possible a greater investment of manpower in human service!

If the new career proposal is relevant to today's manpower problems, it's even more meaningful for tomorrow. If there is applicability to the United States there is even greater potential in the newly emerging Asian and African nations.

New Careers - Education as an Example

Education can serve as a model for the projection of new careers. At the present time the organization of the teaching function is absurd. Not only is the universe of potential teachers much too restricted, but also the teacher role incorporates a wide range of different activities ranging from the most menial to the most complicated. Highly trained persons are engaged in unchallenging tasks. Certainly much that a teacher does does not require a college education. Some of the things the teacher does require little more than bare literacy. Such things as supervising hallways, taking roll, operating audio visual equipment, and other non-teaching functions are a waste of a professional's time. Even many of the so-called "teaching" activities are minimally challenging. Helping students with homework, or reading to a class, or even explaining a scientific principle can be effectively managed by relatively untrained personnel if they are supervised by more highly trained staff. It has been demonstrated that even very young, apparently intellectually impaired ten year olds, can be enormously helpful in aiding younger children in their schoolwork. There are many other more complicated tasks which teachers perform which do demand a measure of experience, knowledge and skill, but not the four years plus of college that is currently a requisite for certification. Education in particular could benefit from a hierarchy of roles - a series of landings to allow for a wider range of persons to function in the field. This could be organized as follows:

1) Teacher Aide

Prerequisite: six weeks on-the-job training or equivalent.

Duties: clerical functions, supervisor of hallways, homework help, laboratory aide, library aide, showroom attendant, audio-visual operator. Junior member of teaching team.

Post Service Training: Training on the job for which college credits are received (especially classroom management and teaching practice). Supportive theory and content courses in evenings and summer.

Promotional Opportunities: Eligibility for teacher assistant if complete prerequisite or Aide II - more responsibilities in above described duties.

Salary: Aide I $3500 to 5150

Aide II $4200 to 5850

2) Teaching Assistant

Prerequisite: Two years of appropriate college work or two years of service as Aide and 36 units of college work in growth and development and specific course content.

Duties: assisting teacher or teacher associate in the classroom, conducting small groups, supervising teacher aide. Intermediate member of teaching team.

Post Service Training: continuation of program described for aide, additional college work (education theory and further sophistication in content areas).

Promotional Opportunities: eligibility for teaching associate if complete prerequisites or Assistant II; more responsibilities in above described duties.

Salary: Assistant I $4500 to 6150

Assistant II $5200 to 6850

3) Teaching Associate

Prerequisites: five years of appropriate college work; three years of service as assistant and 36 units of college work in supervision and content specialization.

Duties: classroom instruction, senior member of teaching team, supervisor of aide and assistant.

Post Service and Training: continuation of program described for aide and assistant, additional college work (education theory, further sophistication in content areas - consultation and supervision).

Promotional Opportunities: eligibility for teacher on complete prerequisites.

Salary: $7000 to $10,500

4) Teacher

Prerequisite: M.A. in Education, three years of service as associate and 48 units of college work in consultation, supervision and content specialization.

Duties: Teaching of aide, assistant and associate teachers; consultation to lower echelon staff; supervision and specialist in content areas (guest lecturer on teaching team) and administration.

Post Service Training: continuation of program with goal of further development leading to doctoral degree.

Promotional Opportunities: opportunity to advance to local, state or national structures, transfer to university setting .

Salary: $9000 to $15,000

The establishment of a series of landings, while providing handsome salaries for top echelon personnel would actually allow for more people to teach without necessarily increasing the expense to the taxpayer. The following chart indicates how this could be accomplished.[5]

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5 Other models for incoporation of new career personnel in Education are inserted in Pearl and Riessman, op. cit.

CHART I

Comparison of cost of two systems of educational programing.

	System 1			System 2		
	Certified Teacher Only			Echelon of Staff of Aide, Assistant, Associate and Teacher		
Role	No.	Rate	Salary	No.	Rate	Salary
Teacher	100	x $8,000	$800,000	10	$10,000	$100,000
Associate				40	8,000*	320,000
Assistant				40	6,000*	240,000
Aide				35	4,000	140,000
Total	100		$800,000	125		$800,000

* Assuming some of the staff in these categories had earned wage increments for years of service.

Thus it would be possible to actually add 25% more staff, increase the salary of the professional by more than 20% and not increase the cost to the taxpayer!

New Careers and the Credential Society

Credentials have been developed to establish standards. The value of high level performance in human service is not to be depreciated. The problem is that the means used to obtain the credential do not guarantee a high level of service and at the same time effectively bars great numbers of persons from opportunity to serve. Higher education in the helping services was made obsolete with the invention of the printing press. It made a great deal of sense to go to where the book was when there was only one book. However, production of books is relatively

inexpensive and can be distributed universally. The problem with higher education in the human service field is that it does not simulate field practice and little that is learned in the classroom is applicable to the job situation.

The new career proposal provides a means whereby high quality service can be assured. Persons do not advance to higher levels until they have demonstrated the capacity to function at that level. There can be meaningful integration of theory with practice. Training can deal specifically with problems that are confronted in "live" situations.

The "credential society" with its reliance on ritualistic requirements leads to the illusion of quality service. A "good society" demands highly trained and skilled practioners. There are those who deprecate the need for such highly trained personnel.

> "Why do we not recognize the evidence that ten year olds teach nine year olds better than adults teach nine year olds?"[6]

I, who have had considerable involvement with ten year olds teaching nine year olds feel that this statement is a distortion. Ten year olds do teach nine year olds very well but only if ten year olds have the benefit of intensive supervision and training by highly qualified adults. The new career proposal recognizes the importance of valid standards. there is no attack on "professionalism" in the new career approach. To the contrary the new career proposal provides a means by which true professional standards can be fostered.

Similar models can be developed for other human service occupations. These can be developed with the possibility for cross over,

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6 Robert Theobald. Poverty: Four Approaches, Four Solutions. Assoc. Students, University of Oregon, 1966, p. 61.

i.e. persons involved in education can, on the basis of education and experience, transfer over to health or recreation fields.

The new career proposal adds greater flexibility to higher education. It provides a parallel path to a human service career. A person may decide after two years that he would prefer a more intensified university experience and he would be eligible to transfer over at a junior level, or, a student in a college might, after a couple of years of drifting, decide to sample a human service career and he would be eligible to start as an assistant. Maximizing options available to individuals is central value to the new career thesis.

The Distinction Between a Job and a Career

There are many who propose the development of jobs as a means to solve unemployment and there is a current popularity in the employment of non-professionals in health, education and welfare. Neither of these approaches are consistent with the new career proposal. Jobs are transient. There is no guarantee of security in jobs nor is there guarantee of upward mobility. Most of the poor, in the age ranges where employment is possible, work at jobs full time. However, they are not likely to move out of poverty through their employment. Careers have an entirely different connotation.

Careers imply (1) permanence and (2) opportunity for upward mobility. Careers are minimally affected by vicissitudes in the economic health of society. Careers carry an assurance that if one situation is terminated another situation will be available. The new career proposal argues that every person has the virtual assurance of at least horizontal mobility, (increments of salary that comes with years of service) and the opportunity for vertical mobility (advancement to the next station and there on to the terminal position).

Marc Fried makes a distinction between work as a task, as an occupation and as a career. Jobs have no security. On a job the worker must

> "Learn to work with and be subordinate to other people."[7]

In a task, the worker attains some measure of "stability and confidence," he is able to

> "Achieve mastery of the work that allows pleasure and pride in performance."[8]

In an occupation

> "The workers begin to develop responsibility for and identity with, an entire work objective, an overall integrated goal - - -
>
> a new sense of social responsibility results."[9]

And finally in a career

> "People identify their own personal achievement - often much of their total personalities with their occupation. Social participation and individual fulfillment become almost indistinguishable."[10]

Fried contends that careers are only open to the upper strata of society. The new careers idea extends this possibility to all segments of the population.

The Issue of Employability

If the new career proposal is to have any relevence to the major dilemmas of inequality, poverty, segregation and automation the issue of employability must be critically reviewed. It is perfectly

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7 Marc A. Fried. "Is Work A Career?" Transaction. Sept./Oct. 1966, p. 42.

8 Ibid. p. 43

9 Ibid. p. 43

10 Ibid. p. 43

possible to create literally millions of new positions and have not an iota of effect on unemployment, partial employment or underemployment. The new careers would then only offer additional opportunity to the relatively affluent and serve as further inducements to "moonlighting" or the reentrance to the labor force of middle class housewives, etc.

The poor and other disadvantaged populations could be denied access to the new opportunity because of alleged incapacities. Unemployability must be fully recognized for what it is - an arbitrary determination of ability to function.

Two factors in a society regulate employability. The number and availability of jobs has important impact on the definition of employability. During World War II job opportunities vastly exceeded job applicants. As a consequence, numerous "unemployables" suddenly fould work. Middle-aged women without skill and experience were recruited as welders in shipyards. Similarly racial restrictions in industry were removed and handicapped persons found that their impediments no longer precluded employment.

The other factor which affects employability is the requirement demanded for the job. In a technologically advanced society this becomes a major issue.

Many economists are missing the point entirely when they assess unemployability.

> "To analyze this problem of unemployability, we must turn to the conservative economists who are making a case that cannot be denied. They argue that society is increasing the wage rate which it demands should be paid to all people, and it is, therefore, decreasing the economic attractiveness of the less skilled and trained. On the other hand, the increasing efficiency

> of machines make them more and more attractive to an employer. When the employer is confronted with a choice of man or machine in his production of goods and services, he will more and more often choose the machine over the individual with a low IQ and inadequate training and education."[11]

Actually technological change is reducing unemployability. Factors which in an undeveloped society preclude employment no longer apply. Physical strength is unimportant in an advanced society. Age, sex, handicap, infirmity are not restrictive in a highly automated economy. The only restrictions imposed are alleged cognitive competence.

The new career proposal gets to the heart of unemployability by increasing the number of jobs and making entry positions available to every segment of the population. The latter consideration must be understood if new careers is to have its impact on the development of the "good society".

New Careers in the Good Society

One important guage of a good society is the range of options it offers to its citizens. Freedom is the underpinning of every good society. Freedom, if it is to be more than a shallow phrase must be operationalized. Freedom means choice and in the United States presently there are precious few options available to a majority of its citizens. Freedom has no meaning unless citizens have economic resources to exercise options. Access to prestigeful and lucrative careers is central to the concept.

The new careers approach generates wider latitudes of choice to citizens. No longer are many persons faced with the intolerable

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11 Robert Theobald, op. cit. p. 55

alternatives of "lousy"job or no job. If fully implemented, so that there were at least as many career openings as there were job seekers, no person would ever have to face the horrid feeling of being trapped. No longer will persons be lodged in situations from which there is no escape nor any possibility of fulfillment or enjoyment.

Individual potency is a necessary attribute of the "good society". A society which renders its individuals helpless cannot qualify as a good society. Personal power is a function of available options. The lack of available options in life careers affects every aspect of an individual's existence.

No one is truly free to express opinion on political issues if his job situation is tenuous. No one is truly free to choose marriage partners or styles of life if his social universe is restricted. A precarious employment situation intrudes into choice of literature, theatre, and dress.

At the present time select individuals have a wide range of choice. They do not look for jobs, jobs look for them. They are in this enviable position because they have either effective sponsorship (well situated friends or relatives) or they possess rare skills that are in great demand. As a consequence they decide where and for whom they want to work. They have considerable control over where they live, the schooling of their children and their leisure pursuits. They are rarely harassed by police or social workers.

The new career proposal is designed to extend these attributes of existence to the vast majority of the population. Even those seemingly

well situated but unhappy in their situation would have options not now available. Today the only way a dissatisfied relatively high level salesman, accountant, or administrator could realize a life ambition of becoming a doctor would be to begin a medical school education. This is extremely difficult (although there is on the campus a growing number of such persons). The new career appreach would create a situation where many more could exercise choice since it allows for immediate transfer as a paid practioner into an appropriate level of practice.

The question of manpower supply affects every aspect of the work situation. Wages, hours and job conditions are affected by supply and demand considerations. Workers bind together in unions when they are easily interchanged and others are available successors for their positions. Every job situation would change if the employer had to compete to hold the worker. Insensitivity to worker needs or interests has come about because the employer has been allowed to become lazy. It is he who lacks initiative. Change the situation, put the options in the worker and you create impetus for revitalization of every job. In order to compete for this scarce employee every employer will have to glamorize his offerings of wages, hours or conditions. (The proper balance of supply and demand to keep inflationary pressures under control would be a major responsibility of sound planners - the establishment of landings with fixed salary limits across many related fields is a brake on inflationary tendencies. The employer would have to use blandishments other than money to attract the employee).

A situation which liberalizes the worker can produce other essential ingredients of a "good" society, and allows persons to search

for situations that give them a feeling of competence. It allows choice in social intercourse and thus promotes a sense of belongingness and finally, it allows for a feeling of social potency that is the result of feeling that one has made an important contribution to the society.

Some advocates of the guaranteed annual income stress the importance of income guarantee as a protection against the threat of job loss.

> ".....you cannot satisfactorily achieve the human care of human beings within a 'job' situation because a 'job' is based on the assumption that employees can be fired - somebody employs you to do what he tells you to do. The things we are going to be doing in the future, education, politics, human relationsships, and the human care of human beings cannot be organized this way."[12]

This position fails to take into account the importance of high standards of service to a "good society." A "good" society depends upon "good" service. No truly good society can exist independent of quality education, health and welfare.

The poor in particular are victimized by the low level of service that they receive. Education will only be exciting and uplifting to disadvantaged pupulations through the mediation of exceedingly competent teachers. Not everybody should teach or practice medicine. Some have to be fired from those "jobs." The problem is not the "firing" but the calamity that accompanies "firing," the desperate search for another position and the destruction to self-esteem. The good society offers alternative outlets and attains a sensitive valance between the individual aspirations and the quality of service provided.

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12 Robert Theobald, Ibid. p. 57

New Careers and Alienation

The individual is not only threatened by loss of choice in a highly technologically developed world, he is also threaned . . by loss of identity. He is being overwhelmed by a massive bureaucratic structure and as a result an estrangement process is generated which separates one human from another and even from an understanding and appreciation of himself.

Alienation as a phenomenon becomes more acute as society becomes more technologically sophisticated. The advent of cybernation in which even planning functions are computerized adds to deparsonalization of man. There can be no meaningful description of the "good society" without taking into account this problem of alienation.

Alienation, historically, has been attributed to a variety of causes. Marx held that the separation between the ownership of production and the worker was the major precipitating factor since such a system inevitably lead to denial of personal fulfillment in work activities. Weber perceived bureaucracy to be the "depersonalizer," bureaucracy effectively eradicated meaningful personal interchange, commitment and responsibility through its detached manner of operation, its guidelines and its tables of organization.

Neither Marx nor Weber could not possibly have predicted the nature of modern society. With respect to alienation the ownership of production appears to be an irrelevant consideration in a technologically advanced society. There seems to be as much bureaucratic intransigance and evidence of personal alienation in public sector activities as there is in private sector enterprizes. Nations which have eliminated private ownership of industry appear to be plagued by the same symptoms as those nations which operate under a system of private capital.

Bureaucracy is, as Weber suggests, a force for dehumanization, but it is not essential that a technologically advanced, highly interdependent society lack humanity. It is not organization per se that limits human growth but the nature of the organization. It is not organization per se that attacks the individual but rather the inadequate preparation of persons to live interdependently and the inadequate social service for those who have difficulty in surviving.

It is important to recognize that education and social welfare are currently structured to facilitate bureaucracy. They are procrustean in their procedures and their goals. These services, in fact, epitomize bureaucratic practices. In schools, we are not preparing students to survive and posper in an interdependent society. To the contrary, we are trying to force them to conform. We are not generating a welfare system that facilitates motion or growth; in actuality welfare acts to "lock" the poor into dependency.

The new career proposal has relevance to both the organization of society and the service designed to help humanize organization

Bureaucracy is reinforced by its limitations of individual choice. How options can be increased was discussed in the previous sector of this article. It cannot be questioned but that the creation of ten million new careers would dramatically alter the rigidification of our society. The new career proposal would also allow for drastic revisions in the nature of education and welfare in our society. It would become possible to teach students interpersonal competence if the pupil-teacher ratio was reduced from 24 to 1 to 6 to 1. Moreover, if persons now "locked out " could be allowed entrance into the field of education their presence would have an enormous impact in the climate of the schools.

Alienation is fostered in the schools. Education is imposed on children. There is little connection between that which is learned in classrooms and a broader life experience. The teachers are aliens. They operate with styles and language forms which separate them from their students. In slum schools they are alien by residence and social class. The new career proposal would not by itself rectify all these conditions but it would allow for the possibility of correction. The transition between student and teacher would be observable and negotiable. There could be a connection between the student role and the outside world. The school could become an integral part of the community. How all this can be accomplished goes beyond what can be discussed in this paper, but centralto a revitalization of the schooling process is the introduction of new careers into education. Similarly the creation of millions of new positions would be a powerful influence for change in welfare. The major goal of welfare could become mediation between developed opportunity and disengaged populations. Such service would counter rather than facilitate bureaucracy.

The issue of alienation is influenced somewhat by such concerns as centralization and decentralization of government functions. A truly adequate human service would require both more centralization and more decentralization. The organization of the direct service must be attuned to local needs and there must be considerable latitude at the local level for programatic decisions. But at the same time there must be standards which facilitate mobility. The teacher should have a wide range of choice on how a certain educational goal is to be achieved but that goal must be standardized so that the transfer to any other regions or upward status is not impeded. Different standards in different states for education, health or welfare not only perpetuate inequality but also tends to lower

standards for all. Regulatory powers to uplift standards and provide for smooth linkage of service should be more centralized than is currently the practice. Ultimately these powers should be vested in international bodies. However the administration of this service should be more decentralized than is now the case.

The new career proposal, while not decisive to the centralization-decentralization debate is germane. At the present time it is virtually impossible to have either centralized regulatory powers or decentralized administration. The lack of valid standards for credentialing prohibits a meaningful central function and the "locking out" of indigenous populations makes local control an empty phrase.

Misuse of centralized activity facilitates alienation. The growing efficiency in record keeping has lead to an erosion of personal privacy. Individuals become more guarded and distrustful as records are used to deny opportunities. Ours has become a truly non-redemptive society. A minor transgression can follow an individual throughout his life. One can no longer start afresh if one has violated the law. The new career proposal can have only tangential influence on the issue of personal privacy. However it is certainly true that the zealousness of personnel inquiry is a function of available manpower, and, a program which minimizes the "risk" in employee selection by establishing a hierarchy of roles, the lower echelon to do non-sensitive functions, the higher echelon to perform sensitive duties-does build in a safety factor and therefore does make more employable persons with unsavory pasts.

While "new careers" may exercise modest control over the tyrannical power of record keeping, disqualification on the basis of prior record can do serious damage to the new career program. This is particularly true as

the program has bearing on alienated populations. New careers offers an alternate way of life to persons now without choice. As argued earlier, an important premise of the proposal is to rearrange work to reduce unemployability. Alienated populations tend to be unemployed because they both lack qualifying credentials and also because, in disproportionate numbers, they possess disqualifying records. A society determined to reduce alienation must create a more rational approach to the treatment of deviants than is now the practice.

Currently alienation is reinforced by segregation. Segregation has become almost the only used solution to all social problems. Those suffering from emotional disorders are segregated into one type of compound, those who learn differently are herded into "tracks" and criminals are guarantined in prisons. The issue of segregation is intertwined with every aspect of social planning.

One uniquely unjustifiable form of segregation that relates to all other forms is that which is based on racial factors. New careers has import to the civil rights movement which has emerged to alter the condition of racial segregation.

New Careers and the Civil Rights Movement

The civil rights drive (at least at the time of this writing) is confronted with a deepening crisis. The series of legislative and judicial decisions that have both sparked and culminated civil rights activities have not relieved the condition of the Negro and other minority groups. In fact, the situation of Negroes in this country continues to worsen. The gap between Negro and white income continues to widen and segregation intensifies in every urban community.

In 1939 the median white family earned $600 more than the median Negro family.[13] In 1964, the difference was in excess of $3,000.[14] Negro youth in particular suffer. In October 1965 one fourth of all negro young women between the ages of 16-24 who were in the labor force were unemployed[15] and the jobs they had were in every respect less desirable than available to their white counterparts.

Segregation has grown to such extent:

> "In most large cities in 1960, half or more of the Negroes lived in census tracts in which the population was 90 percent or more Negro and in which population density per square mile was especially high."[16]

and bad as it was in 1960, it is worse today.

Because of lack of progress, the civil rights movement is showing dissolution that comes with disillusion. Anger and discouragement are taking its toll. A solid phalanx of dedicated workers is breaking up into diverse factions and none of the factions are hitting directly at the cause of segregation and the violence of racial unrest.

The basic problem is lack of economic opportunity to the poor, Negro and white alike. There are not enough good paying careers to go around. The civil rights movement has been directed to rearranging the existing system. The movement wants equal rights and while the demand is eminently just, the rub is that such gain must come at the expense of others who are only marginally connected to the economy. The civil rights

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13 Manpower, Report to the President, U. S. Government Printing Office Washington, D. C., March 1964. p. 275.

14 The Negroes in the United States, Bulletin No. 1511, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. p. 139.

15 Ibid. p. 127

16 Ibid. p. 3.

movement is handicapped by some of its assumptions. Current civil rights activities assume a zero-sum system. By zero-sum it is meant that there is only so much to be gained, and progress for some comes at the expense of others. The ugly outbursts in the South and in Chicago are generated and sustained by populations who have something to lose if Negroes gain their rights. Action that, for example, results in equal employment opportunities at a department store means those populations which have had exclusive claim to these jobs now have to share. Coupled with the loss of monopoly there is the threat of the machine - automation affects all blue collar inadequately educated populations. The machines which last year picked 70% of the cotton in Mississippi affected the employment of whites as well as Negroes. The rationalization in products producing industries haunt blue collar workers of every race.

New Careers is an absolute necessity for a true civil rights movement. There can be no possibility of equality unless there is access to the fastest growing industries. Credentials more than bigots are locking out Negroes. New Careers is non-zero sum! The gains do not come at expense to any population. The fear that accompanies a closing in of job opportunity is obviated and the impact on segregation is obvious.

Contact on a job by itself is not an answer to racial antagonism, but the kind of involvement suggested in new careers offers the best possible arrangement. The nature of the activities build mutual trust and interdependence. The dignity intrinsic to the jobs serves to enhance relationships and paves the way to more harmonious desegragation of housing and education.

The civil rights movement has tended to look to solutions and coalitions that made sense in a simplistic society. The model of absorption of minorities into the mainstream of society through mobilization of political strength, and thereby obtain patronage is no longer viable. That model is based on a preautomated society - the world that the Irish crashed in Boston was a small organization society. Families ran all the enterprizes there were no credentials to bar employment, there were no established bureaucracies and merit systems to confront.

The allies that civil rights look to for support no longer can spearhead liberalism. Civil rights adherents expect help from unions but organized labor is also a casualty of technological change. Desperately trying to hold on to a membership, labor is in no position to form this nucleus for social rehabilitation. Nor can either political party, as presently constituted, mobilige for effective system change. Political parties now are nostolgically trying to hold to the past. One party is energized by dreams of a sylvan simplicity and the other yearns for the unhappy "happy days" of acute solutions to a depressed economy.

New Careers and Political Reformation

There is little to distinguish the two major political parties today. The differences within the parties are greater than the differences between them. Neither party represents an ethnic concentration, a geographical concern or an economic block.

New careers offers a basis for new political alignments. There is an appeal to large segments of the population who today are only tenuously involved in political affairs and this appeal can be organized to form a coalition to breathe new life into the politcal process.

New Careers has appeal to:

1) The poor who would benefit directly from new opportunities

2) Minority groups who would gain access to prestigeful and remunerative activities.

3) The stable working class who would profit both from the career options and the benefit from the improved services in health, education, recreation and welfare.

4) Professionals, particularly in education and welfare, who would be relieved from menial tasks

5) Business intersts who would profit from increased buying power and be able to plan on a more accurate assessment of consumer response

6) Traditionally conservative element who would find the slogan - "everyman a taxpayer" an attractive alternative to the drain of crime and welfare

7) The youth who are smarting under enforced passivity and lack of involvement.

New opportunity and increased services are proven political appeals. Political parties have traditionally offered economic opportunity to constituents, sometimes in the form of tariff reform, "free silver" or "available" land. The new careers updates this appeal by placing opportunity into the context of the world of today. In recent years service has been the slogan of the Democratic Party. The "New Deal," "Fair Deal," "New Frontier," and "Great Society" all allude to services to the electorate. The problem with the slogans is that they have come to ring hollow. They lack credibility because they have not been operationalized. New careers is a means to bring credibility back into the political slogan of service.

Some may find it hard to believe that any significant number of professionals would join a new career political coalition, and yet, the present clamor for new careers is coming from professionals and almost all professional organizations have had extended debates on the new career issue.

On reflection it is not too difficult to fathom. The professional in education and welfare is aware that so long as he is occupied with menial duties, his professional status is jeopardized. He is critical of the preservice preparation he has received and the new career idea presents an exciting alternative. He knows of the manpower shortage and some of the more perceptive professionals realize that the greatest threat to their status is a manpower shortage which allows non-credentialed persons to do exactly the same things as professionals do. The new career proposal offers a means by which manpower shortage can be relieved without jeopardizing the status of the professional. Not all professionals will support new careers, and many may support a non-professional career which truncates below professional status, e.g. something like a nurse-medical doctor arrangement. But professionals are likely participants in this coalition and only prejudgment of their receptivity will limit their involvement.

New Careers and Economic Salubrity

Economists, in the main, look to growth in gross national product as a means to maintain a sound economy. In effect to paraphrase Charles Wilson, they proclaim that

"What helps the GNP, helps the people".

There can be no question that a sound economy is an absolute necessity for any "good society," but there may be some confusion of cause and effect. There is inefficiency in this trickle down of general economic growth to disadvantaged populations. Tax cuts and interest manipulation does influence employment through enhancement of consumer demand but such economic leger demain has minimal impact on alienation, racial inequality, segregation or poverty.

The slogan might be better put

"What helps people helps GNP."

The greatest boom to the economy would come with the ordaining underconsumers with buying power. Such action would precipitate a housing boom and a marked increase in demand for goods and services. It is certainly possible that the ultimate result of the investment in new careers would be a return in tax revenues at least equal to the cost in additional salaries. Furthermore, the investment in stable industries (health, education and welfare) would add stability to the economy and thus grant more security to the investors.

At the present time economic growth affects drastically manpower needs. The new career proposal reverses much of this; by controlling manpower deployment, economic growth can be more predicatably assured and serious reversals in economic growth can be averted.

Conclusion - Feasibility and Universiality of New Careers

For new careers to be implemented it must be demonstrated that impoverished, undereducated, alienated populations would be attracted to and would be able to succeed in human service careers, and further that agencies or communities are amenable to the change in organization and are necessary for new career implementation. A number of experiments[17] have demonstrated both the appeal of service to alienated populations and their ability to perform. The willingness of agencies to change is not that demonstrable. But there are some encouraging signs.

New career projects in a variety of settings are growing. Professional agencies have at least begun discussion of the involvement of non-professionals in their fields. Community colleges have begun to structure curriculum for day care assistants, teaching assistants,

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17 See for example
Community Apprentice Report, Howard University, Washington D.C.
New Careers Project, Institute for Crime and Delinquency, Sacramento, Calif.
Community Mental Health Project, Albert Einstein School of Medicine, Bronx, New York

case aides, etc. This has been accomplished with little fanfare and without a politically powerful constituency. More widesweeping change will come only when a public has had the opportunity to digest the meaning of the approach in the "marketplace of ideas." Successful demonstrations do provide a means to interest and enlist new allies.

New careers, to be fully implemented, must rely on the establishment of beachheads. The creation of ten jobs in one agency can be the base which leads to the formation of hundres and even millions of new careers.

New careers is both consistent with and antagonistic to the guaranteed annual income idea. The major difference between the two proposals is in the consideration of employability. I believe that a certain percentage of the population - the aged, the severly handicapped and the neglect d young need adequate income maintenance, but only a very small percentage of the population would have to be supported. The vast majority would qualify for new careers. The new career is only one option and no one would be forced into such a career. There would be a limited but declining number of traditional work functions for those who prefer such activity. For the great majority of persons a guaranteed annual wage is unnecessary and if the service needs of the society are considered the guaranteed annual income is an ill-advised alternative to better organization of work.

VOLUNTARY MERIT EMPLOYMENT COUNCILS

Association of Huntsville Area Contractors
L.C. McMillan, Executive Director
2205-E University Drive
Huntsville, Alabama

Birmingham Merit Employment Council
Lewis F. Jeffers, Chairman of the Board
Hayes International Corporation
P. O. Box 2287
Birmingham, Alabama

Federated Employers of the Bay Area
Mr. William H. Smith
2 Pine Street
San Francisco, California

Mayor's Committee for Jobs, Inc.
Milton Fredman, Chairman
1355 Front Street
San Diego, California

Los Angeles Merit Employment Committee
Merl R. Felker, Administrator
Corporate Personnel Services
Douglas Aircraft Company, Inc.
3000 Ocean Park Boulevard
Santa Monica, California 90406

Orange County Equal Opportunity Employers Association
Elmer J. Noonan, Director of Industrial Relations, Northrop Nortronics
500 East Orangethorpe Avenue
Anaheim, California 92802

Metropolitan Denver Council of Plans for Progress Companies
David L. Bruns
The Martin Company
P.O. Box 179
Denver, Colorado 80201

Connecticut Council for Equal Employment Opportunity
Richard M. Stewart, President
Anaconda American Brass Company
414 Meadow Street
Waterbury, Connecticut 08720

Employment Opportunities Committee
H.C. Judd, Manager
Community Services Department
Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce
250 Constitution Plaza
Hartford, Connecticut 06103

Industrial Services Department, Walnut Street Branch, YMCA of Wilmington and New Castle County
Wesley J. Marshall, Director
10th & Walnut Streets
Wilmington, Delaware 19801

Aerospace Contractor's Equal Opportunity Committee
R. Gordon Relyea
United Technology Center
P.O. Box 222
Cape Canaveral, Florida

Atlanta Employers Voluntary Merit Employment Council
Hugh Gordon, Assistant to the Director of Industrial Relations
Lockheed-Georgia Company
86 South Cobb Drive
Marietta, Georgia 30062

Chicago Merit Employment Committee
Tom McLaughlin
30 W. Monroe Street
Chicago, Illinois 60603

The Committee for Full Employment
De Ver Sholes, Director
Research and Statistics Division
Chicago Association of Commerce & Industry
30 West Monroe Street
Chicago, Illinois 60603

Quad-City Merit Employment Council
C.W. Toney
Training Representative
Deere & Company
John Deere Road
Moline, Illinois 61265

The Committee for Employment Opportunity
William Johnson
320 N. Meridian Street
Indianapolis, Indiana

Greater New Orleans Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity Council
J.J. Reetz
The Boeing Company
Space Division, Launch Systems Branch
P.O. Box 29100
New Orleans, Louisiana 70129

Voluntary Council for Equal Opportunity, Inc.
Alfred P. Ramsey
Baltimore Gas & Electric Building
Baltimore, Maryland

Massachusetts Plan for Equal Employment Opportunity
Walter H. Palmer, Director
Human Relations
Associated Industries of Massachusetts
2206 John Hancock Building
Boston, Massachusetts

Citizens Committee for Equal Opportunity
Stanley M. Webb, Associate Director
4864 Woodward Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48201

Mayor's Job Opportunity Committee
William J. Decatur, Coordinator
Room 200, Municipal Courts Building
St. Louis, Missouri

Omaha Equal Opportunity Committee
N.H. Nilson, General Manager
Western Electric Company, Inc.
Omaha Works
Box 1400
Peony Park Station
Omaha, Nebraska 68114

Governor's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity
Mrs. Millicent Fenwick, Chairman
Bernardsville, New Jersey

Newark Business and Industrial Coordinating Council
William Mercer, Coordinator
46 Branford Place
Newark, New Jersey

Opportunities Development Corporation
Dr. Allen H. Bush, Executive Director
M & T Bank Building, Suite 502
Buffalo, New York

Suffolk County Plans for Progress
Stanley Blauser, General Manager
New York Telephone Company
North Ocean Avenue
Patchogue, New York 11772

Greater Cleveland Businessmen's Interracial Committee on Community Affairs
Robert W. Taber, Assistant to the President
The Cleveland Cliffs Iron Company
Union Commerce Building
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

Greater Cleveland Plans for Progress Council
T.G. Shirreffs, Director, Employee Relations
The Standard Oil Company (Ohio)
Midland Building
Cleveland, Ohio

Columbus Plan for Progress Committee
R.G. Klass
Western Electric Company, Inc.
6200 East Broad Street
Columbus, Ohio 43213

Cincinnati Plans for Progress Council
Forest Lombaer, Vice President
Shillitto's Department Store
7th & Race Streets
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202

Toledo Employers Equal Opportunity Council
Philip Anthony, Manager
General Office Personnel Department
Owens-Illinois
Toledo, Ohio 43601

Job Development And Employment
D.B. Powell
Community Relations and Public Affairs
Western Electric Company, Inc.
6655 W. Reno Avenue
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73101

Tulsa Employers Association for Merit Employment
A.W. Mankoff, Chairman
Manager Personnel Services
American Airlines, Maintenance & Engineering Center
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74151

Council for Equal Job Opportunity
George P. Lehmann
General Electric Company
Missile & Space Division
P.O. Box 8555, Room M-1017
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19101

Opportunities Industrialization Center
Rev. Thomas J. Ritter, Executive Director
1225 North Broad Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Greater Pittsburgh Plans for Progress Council
J.E. Groves, Vice President, Industrial Relations
Allegheny-Ludlum Steel Corporation
Oliver Building
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222

Inter-Religious Committee on Race - Employment Committee
Everett E. Smith
Western Electric Company, Inc.
Box 241
Reading, Pennsylvania 19603

Rhode Island Council for Equal Employment Opportunity
John J. Miller
P.O. Box 1438
Providence, Rhode Island 02901

Dallas/Ft. Worth Plans for Progress Planning Committee for Equal Employment Opportunity
G.H. Scott
Ling-Temco-Vought, Inc.
P.O. Box 5003
Dallas, Texas 75221

Equal Opportunity Employment Center
Bernard T. Poor, Vice President
Washington Natural Gas Company
815 Mercer Street
Seattle, Washington 98121

Milwaukee Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity Council
Elmer L. Winter, President
Manpower, Inc.
820 N. Plankinton Avenue
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO.
CONFIRMATION OF MESSAGE FILED BY PHONE
1966 MAR 14 AM 5 50

NP017 LLD6 NL PD

TDN BROOKLYN NY MAR 13 1966

WILLIAM BOOTH, HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

80 LAFAYETTE ST NYK

YOU MADE A MISTATEMENT TODAY ON CHANNEL 7. YOU SPOKE OF RACIAL IDENTIFICATION IN CRIME STORIES BEING A MATTER OF SOME YEARS AGO.

THE PRACTICE HAS NEVER STOPPED AND I HAVE BEEN TRYING TO ŒT ACTION FROM YOUR AGENCY FOR NEARLY 2 YEARS.

I TALKED WITH MISTER GOLDABER JANUARY 10 1964 ABOUT MY CONCERN ŒVER THIS IDENTIFICATION. I HAVE A RECORDING OF THAT TELEPHONE ©NVERSATION. HE PROMISED TO GET " BACK TO ME". OF COURSE, HE NEVER DID.

AFTER BEING ON A TV PANEL WITH STANLEY LOWELL, I TALKED WITH HIM IN HIS OFFICE. HE SAID HE COMPLETELY AGREED WITH MY COMPLAINT. HE WAS CHAIRMAN THEN, BUT HE DID NOT ACT. I RECORDED THAT CONVERSATION ALSO. LATER, I TALKED WITH MADISON JONES WHO NOT ONLY AGREED THAT MY COMPLAINT WAS VALID BUT TOLD ME OF AN INSTANCE ON THE FRONT PAGE OF THE TIMES. I RECORDED THAT CONVERSATION.

FINALLY, ON MAY 4TH 1965 I GOT THE COMMISSION TO ACCEPT A FORMAL COMPLAINT. I HAVE A RECORDING OF MRS. WITHY'S RUDENESS ON THAT OCCASION.

BEFORE YOU WERE NAMED, I COMPLAINED TO JAMES SMITH AT CITY HALL BECAUSE NO ACTION HAD BEEN TAKEN.

I HAVE NOT GOTTEN IN TOUCH WITH YOU PERSONALLY BECAUSE THIS IS NOT A PERSONAL MATTER, AND WHAT I WANT IS NOT A FAVOR. I WANT ACTION ON MY COMPLAINT.

THE LATEST EVIDENCE I HAVE, IS FROM YESTERDAYS NEWS AND THE HONY LIBERAL POST.

P. JAY SIDNEY.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

File
Lever Bros.

March 17, 1967

Mr. P. Jay Sidney
1303 Dean Street
Brooklyn, New York 11216

Dear Mr. Sidney:

Enclosed herewith you will find a copy of the letter we finally sent to Lever Brothers. You will note that paragraph four is different than that in the first letter we sent you.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
enclosure (1)

March 17, 1967

Mr. James Farmer
165 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Jim:

Enclosed herewith you will find a copy of a letter we sent to Lever Brothers. You will note that the fourth paragraph is different than that in the other copy we sent you. This is the version which was finally sent.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
enclosure (1)

March 17, 1967

Mr. Humphrey Sullivan, Public Relations Director
Lever Brothers Company, Inc.
Lever House, 390 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Sullivan:

Thank you for your letter of March 10, 1967. In reply, please be advised that the Congress of Racial Equality fully supports the position of Mr. P. J. Sidney. For this reason, I would suggest that you arrange a conference to discuss this problem at your very earliest convenience.

It is our belief that there is a reliable way in which the black masses can determine their true friends in industry. They can no longer be deceived by elaborate verbal commitments.

First, it must be determined if the employment practices of a given company have, in any way, improved the conditions of the black masses. Second, we must know if the advertising policies of a company are such that they benefit black people. (For instance, Negro actors and actresses have suffered tremendously because of lack of opportunity in this "land of opportunity.")

Also, there are industries who have indicated their interest in the black masses by cooperating with CORE on projects which are of benefit to the black community. (Lever Brothers is not one of these concerns.)

It is also significant when a firm grants accounts to racist Public Relations firms, while not granting accounts to black concerns. (It appears Lever Brothers follows this practice.)

We feel it is imperative to discuss these matters as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

cc: James Farmer
P. Jay Sidney
Lincoln O. Lynch, Assoc. Nat'l Dir., CORE

Lever Bros file

March 17, 1967

Mr. Humphrey Sullivan, Public Relations Director
Lever Brothers Company, Inc.
Lever House, 390 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022

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It is also important to note whether corporations contribute any sums of money to organizations which represent black people. (Lever Brothers has not made such contributions, to our knowledge) This is a capitalistic society, and benefits must be measured by capitalist standards.

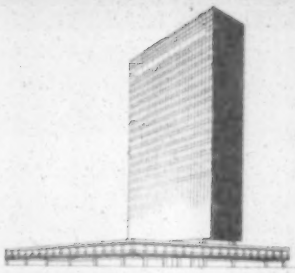
It is also significant when a firm grants accounts to resist Public Relations firms, while not granting accounts to black firms. (It appears Lever Brothers follows this practice.)

We feel it is imperative to discuss these matters as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

cc: James Farmer
P. J. Sidney
Lincoln O. Lynch, Assoc. Nat'l Dir., CORE



LEVER BROTHERS COMPANY

(INCORPORATED)

LEVER HOUSE • 390 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022 • MURRAY HILL 8-6000

PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR

MAR 13 1967

March 10, 1967

Mr. Floyd McKissick, Director
National Office
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. McKissick:

We met when, along with two other members of the Advisory Council of Plans for Progress, I was invited to join you at the get-together in your hotel suite following the White House Conference To Fulfill These Rights. As I recall, there was considerable concern that evening that the Conference had produced little in the way of practical accomplishment or communication. The latter appears to be just as big a problem as ever.

We understand that Mr. P. Jay Sidney recently informed CORE that Lever Brothers Company is applying discriminatory practises in its advertising. Enclosed is a copy of correspondence we received from Mr. Sidney.

I believe that Lever's advertising record is well known. However, I want you to know that as we assured Mr. Farmer when he met with us nearly four years ago, the door is open at any time to you as head of CORE to review the record with us. We would welcome such an opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

Humphrey Sullivan

HS:tc
Enclosures

cc: Mr. Lincoln Lynch
Mr. James Farmer

BY CERTIFIED MAIL

1303 Dean Street
Brooklyn, N. Y. 11216
March 6, 1967

Mr. Milton C. Mumford
Chairman of the Board
Lever Brothers
390 Park Avenue
New York, New York

M. C. MUMFORD
MAR 8 1967

Dear Sir:

I thought you ought to know the background of my plan to picket Lever Brothers and to call for support of a boycott of Lever Brothers products.

On January 17, 1967, I went to the offices of BBD&O to audition for a commercial for Warm Water Swan. I was taken aback when I saw that the other four actors who were auditioning were all Negroes. I was hired to do two Warm Water Swan commercials the next day. At that time, being taken aback gave way to being infuriated, when I was told, by Arnie Christie of BBD&O, that the commercials were being made to be used on the so-called Negro radio stations.

None of the three actors who were hired spoke with anything that could remotely be called a Negro or southern accent. You will see from my resume of commercials and narrations, that I have considerable experience in narrating documentary films, none of which were in any way related to my being a Negro. These Swan commercials were, as I understood, to be played on so-called Negro radio stations, without any identification of the race of the actors participating. This is an example of the extent of the American racial insanity, that is, Negroes with non-identifiable voices are hired to do "cullud" commercials to be played over "cullud" radio stations.

Your Warren Gerz tried to justify this practice by saying that he thought it was "an employment opportunity for some Negroes". I pointed out to him that with the state and city laws against discrimination on the books, everything that Lever Brothers or BBD&O does should be a potential opportunity for everyone who is qualified.

Humphrey Sullivan reminded me that I had appeared in a Lever Brothers commercial for Lifebuoy. That commercial was done more than two and a half years ago. I had no lines to say and my face was so little seen that my relatives don't recognize me in the commercial. Obviously, Lever Brothers and BBD&O have done a great many general market radio and television commercials in the intervening time, and yet I was not called until there was a commercial to be segregated, to be confined to the so-called "Negro market".

In the case of BBD&O, I can't be so bad as a reader of copy, because I was hired by BBD&O as one of the four participants in making a presentation for the BBD&O stockholders in January 1966. This presentation was a re-doing of some of the most successful

BBD&O radio commercials from the past; I recorded three of the famous BBD&O radio commercials. They were neither originally "Negro" commercials, nor did I do them with any distinguishable accent. So that BBD&O knows of my capability in doing general commercials. But I do think I was called for the presentation because the presentation only paid $100.00 and there were no residuals connected with it.

My concern has been, is now, and will continue to be the Negro image. You will note, in the statement which I gave before a congressional hearing in October of 1962, my fervent belief that the Negro image --- that held on one hand by white people of Negroes, and on the other hand by Negroes of themselves --- is central to the Negro's position in American society. You will note also my belief, which is shared by most other people, that television is the greatest opinion-molding medium that has yet been devised; and if the greatest opinion-molding medium is saying, by implication, by innuendo, by omission, and otherwise, that Negroes are not citizens, that Negroes are not a part of the American scene, that Negroes do not have to be taken into account, then I submit that that projection, however it is made, is a defamation against me and mine, and I intend to fight this with every ounce of my energy.

I am not claiming to be oblivious to the matter of Negro employment, or, for that matter, to my personal employment. But it is the Negro image that is my main concern. Your Mr. Sullivan told someone that I must have some "personal motives". I do, indeed, have some personal motives and they concern my fervent pursuit of first-class American citizenship. My source got the impression that Mr. Sullivan thinks I am after something for myself in the way of employment. That would be hard for anyone to believe, who took the trouble to see the amount of effort I put into my campaign of five years ago, and who took the trouble to find out that I was black-listed for several years as a result of it. It would be obvious, to anyone who was interested in the facts, that I would stand to gain more by keeping my mouth shut than I do by speaking out. After all, I have appeared on nearly 200 television shows and I am currently a regular on a television series. Before I took up this particular grievance, I had to consider the possibility that my current employer might be so opposed to a "controversial" personality that I might be dropped from this job. Also, I considered the possibility that you powerful gentlemen at Lever Brothers might be able to exert influence that would cause me to lose this series. It was a calculated risk.

Any Negro in this country who does not regard every day as a calculated risk doesn't understand the situation. But, as I said in my statement to the House Labor and Education Committee in 1962, every Negro has two careers --- one, of being a Negro, and the other one, at which he, if he's lucky, makes a living. The first one I would not choose, but the Humphrey Sullivans and the Warren Gerzes of America foist it on me. I try to give as good an account as possible in any fight in which I find myself, either by choice or by having had it foisted on me.

I was told also that your Mr. Sullivan said that I would have to be "dealt with". What do you suppose Mr. Sullivan had in mind?

Be that as it may, I have long held that equality is not something that can be conferred as an honorary degree, but is something that has to be demonstrated. The early patriots pledged their "lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor". My fortune is negligible and my sacred honor is probably as little, but what I have, I pledge to resist insults to my intelligence from the Warren Gerzes, and restriction and exclusion by the Humphrey Sullivans.

It might be worth noting that Lever Brothers is especially vulnerable to a boycott by Negroes since, aside from the soaps and detergents that Negroes buy for their own use, they are frequently employed in positions where they buy for employers; and hence, they control the choice of more than they consume.

Lever is also vulnerable especially in the respect that this behavior represents a breach of faith, represents, in effect, a breach of an agreement.

In SPONSOR Magazine of August 17, 1964, your vice-president, H. H. Webber, is quoted, "...in August of last year, we awoke to the fact that, although we had been careful in many areas, we had been largely blind to our basic obligations to American Negroes. When this was pointed out to us, we realized the complaint was a just one.

"Since then, we have made a special and determined effort to encourage our agencies, and the producers and networks whose tv shows we buy, to use Negro models and actors in normal, natural situations. That's the key to the whole thing --- 'normal, natural'. We are not trying to create change, we're trying to reflect it."

In other words, since 1964, there have been only a few background spots in which Negroes were "normal and natural". Also, there is a consistent tendency to use Negro women more than Negro men, again implying that the Negro man does not exist as a part of the American scene.

Part of Mr. Gerz's defense of his segregated commercial was that Lever Brothers is carrying on a campaign on the Negro stations to get Negro youngsters to stay in school. I submit to you that the reason why the Negro children do not stay in school, do not conform to the cultural norms and expectations, is to a great extent that the image projected of their elders suggests that no matter how hard they try, they will not be included as fellow-American citizens. If Lever Brothers genuinely wanted to help in this particular area, Lever Brothers would show Negroes fairly, would give the Negro youngsters encouragement to believe that they could, in fact, succeed and take a place in the mainstream; this belief would then be a reason for staying in school. Lever's explanation of this segregated advertising is fraudulent and spurious.

Back in 1963, it was New York CORE that threatened a boycott of Lever Brothers products. At that time, I was what you might call "an auxiliary", insofar as New York CORE asked me if I would act as its consultant in its talks with Lever Brothers. New York CORE initiated that particular action and New York CORE, which was made up of too many white beatniks for my taste, also dropped the issue quite before any real success had been attained. Up to now, the so-called civil rights struggle has been an entertainment for white liberals. Negroes have to act aggressively in their own behalf. In my panel appearances, I have repeatedly proposed economic and political guerrilla warfare. If you are interested in hearing my remarks, I understand that BBD&O ordered a transcript of my February 1, 1967 appearance on the Long John Nebel Show.

The difference this time is that I am initiating this particular fight; and although there is reason to believe that National CORE will support me, as you will see from the copy of a letter I received from the National CORE Associate Director, Lincoln Lynch, I do not intend to let this drop until it has been made plain to Lever Brothers and to other advertisers that Negroes must be taken into account, and not just with some little sop on the misnamed "Negro" radio stations.

Apropos of the previous meetings with Lever Brothers, see BROADCASTING Magazine of August 12, 1963, and the HERALD-TRIBUNE of August 8, 1963. Lever was represented at those meetings by H. H. Webber, Humphrey Sullivan and Abe Fortas.

I think that the Negro community is much more ready to participate actively in a boycott of Lever Brothers products today than it was in 1963.

Sincerely,

P. Jay Sidney

P. Jay Sidney

Enclosures

cc: Floyd McKissick, Director, National CORE
Lincoln Lynch, Associate Director, National CORE
Charles H. Brower, Chairman of the Board, BBD&O
The Press
et al.

STATEMENT

of

P. JAY SIDNEY

given before

Committee on Education and Labor of the

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

10-30-62

Mr. Chairman:

I intend to give testimony indicating discrimination against Negroes in television and radio—discrimination that is almost all-pervading, that is calculated and continuing—discrimination which is possible in the degree that it is practiced because of the "cooperation", if not the outright collusion of public officials.

I understand that the concern of this hearing is the hiring practice per se. I have engaged in a campaign to bring about a fairer presentation of Negroes image-wise. If some of my facts seem, at first glance, to be digressions from the Committee's area of concern—I beg the Committee's indulgence; I think you will find my testimony, in the end, entirely relevant to the Committee's concern.

I have some competence to testify on the subject of Negro employment in television. I have appeared in more than 170 shows and have worked in television for eleven years. I have even more years experience being a Negro; someone once said that every Negro has two careers—one at which he makes a living—and the other of being a Negro.

I believe that Negroes are discriminated against to a large extent because of the image of Negroes that is held by most white people in the United States. When Negroes were first dragged off slave ships, Christian white Americans could justify enslaving them on the premise that the Negroes were less than human; this was the whites' image of the Negroes. Today—after several hundred years of alleged progress, the Negro is suffering still from the image that white Americans have of him.

Television is the greatest opinion-molding medium yet devised; one does not have to be able to read to be influenced by it. It is ubiquitous; it has been estimated that there are more television sets than toilets in America. What is this most formidable of opinion-molding media promulgating as regards Negroes? By excluding Negroes from what purports to be a true representation of the American scene, television is projecting the image of Negroes as non-existent, except possibly as servants here and there.

The epitome of the damaging image of Negroes projected by the broadcasting industry is the following: I know of only one instance where Negroes appeared in an outer space program—and that time, Captain Video landed on some planet and found it inhabited by Negroes dressed like savages and we made sounds like animals.

This imagery—false imagery of Negroes—affects adversely not only the hiring practices in the broadcasting industry, but *everywhere* that a Negro applies for a job, he not only has to qualify, but also has to get past the white interviewer's image of him (an image preconceived—and reenforced daily by the mass media, the most effective of which is television, effective because "one picture is worth a thousand words").

My campaign to have Negroes presented as they occur on the American scene bears directly on the employment of Negroes in television programs, since it is to be presumed that if Negroes are to be presented fairly, Negro actors would have to be hired to play Negroes.

Negroes do not necessarily play Negroes on radio, however. I cite the following to point up the *extremity*—I repeat, the extremity of the exclusion of Negroes from broadcasting generally—and from radio in particular. On February 4, 1962, the "Eternal Light" radio show did a dramatization of George Washington Carver's life. Five of the characters were Negroes by historical fact—yet four of these five characters were played by white actors. I played George Washington Carver. I assumed that I had been hired because I do the southern accent well (Mr. Carver spoke with the accent of the deep south). I was not allowed to use the southern accent, however, because the little white boy who played Carver as a boy could not do the southern accent. Insult was added to injury, which was compounded with absurdity.

I indicated to the director, when the program was over, my outrage at this ultimate in exclusion of Negroes from employment in broadcasting. The director, Daniel Sutter, an NBC employee, told me that he did not know any Negro actors—he only knew of me because I had been recommended by George Voutsas, previous director of "Eternal Light". Mr. Voutsas, in turn, had only heard of me by asking a Negro secretary at NBC if she knew a Negro actor. Please note, Mr. Chairman, that Negro actors are not sought out in the normal channels. I was at that time listed in Players' Guide as having appeared in more than 150 television shows and more than a dozen Broadway plays. This again demonstrates that, for most white people, Negroes are not actors, or doctors, or lawyers—not really—but are, rather, all members of a secret lodge, domiciled in Harlem or some other Colored Town—all knowing each other, and all experts on each other.

It was ironic. Here I was on February 4, 1962, playing on a radio show not because of my talent or my considerable experience, but because the particular secretary whom Mr. Voutsas had asked earlier if she knew a Negro actor, happened to have gone to college with my wife.

With the route so circuitous, is it any wonder that so few Negroes get work on radio?

Mr. Sutter said that he did not know any Negro actors or actresses. I talked with Ruby Dee that same night and she said that he knew her very well. It turned out that Mr. Sutter had called two Negro actresses who are sisters and live together. For some reason, neither of them could do the show. So—Mr. Sutter expended *one* telephone call in his search for Negro actors.

In a letter dated February 26, 1962, NBC Vice President George Fuchs defended Mr. Sutter thus, and I quote, "The program director then contacted the Jewish Theological Seminary and spoke with Miss Barbara Tillman requesting her assistance in obtaining

Negro children to play parts in the program. Miss Tillman could offer no suggestions in this area." Please note that NBC Vice President Fuchs sees nothing wrong with Mr. Sutter's not finding Negro children since, after all, Mr. Sutter had sought Negro children through the Jewish Theological Seminary. Now isn't that the logical place to inquire if one really wanted to find Negro children? I don't know why Mr. Sutter did not try the Swedish Consulate.

I pointed out to him—and I restate here—that I see nothing wrong with whites playing Negroes on radio, if Negroes are given an opportunity to play anything their voices qualify them to play. But I said that I was bitter if Negroes are restricted to playing Negroes—and then are *even* displaced from roles historically Negro.

Then Mr. Sutter told me that some years ago, a directive was issued to all NBC radio directors that Negroes were to be used wherever they qualified—but he admitted that that directive *had never been implemented*. I have with me a tape recording of that conversation.

I have cited and shall cite my own experiences—not to dramatize myself, but rather because I felt it was better to speak authoritatively about my own experiences, than to conjecture second-handedly about someone else's experiences.

Since television is visual, the exclusion of Negroes is even more obvious and incontrovertible than on radio. Negroes are not presented in the roles in which they appear in everyday American life. Failure to do so reflects in the almost total lack of employment for Negro actors—and, as might be expected under such circumstances, the minimum wage allowable is almost always the maximum paid to Negro actors.

My campaign to have Negroes presented more fairly first took the form of letter-writing. I got some pious, self-righteous replies—some were evasive—some utterly unresponsive to the issue.

I received one very revealing letter from NBC Director of Broadcast Standards, Carl M. Watson. He insisted that NBC had an iron-clad non-discriminatory policy and went on to prove it by citing the use of Leontyne Price on the NBC Opera. I replied to him that Negro *stars* had never been at a loss for work—but that white performers could get work on NBC without being of star stature. Mr. Watson noted that NBC had been commended by the State Commission Against Discrimination; this, and other facts that I shall bring out, will, I believe, mark the State Commission as NBC-lovers.

From the letter-writing stage, I moved into the more overt stage of my campaign. Lawrence Langner of the Theatre Guild, which produces the U.S. Steel Hour, scrawled an imperious message in pencil on the bottom of a letter I had written to him, and returned it to me. Mr. Langner's message cited a play from the 1930s and one from the 1940s as evidence that I was slandering one of our "few friends in the theatre". With condescending and paternalistic friends like the Theatre Guild, Negro actors don't need enemies.

With the insult of this pencil-written note added to the injury of the almost total exclusion of Negroes from the U.S. Steel Hour's representation of the American scene, I decided to begin my picketing at the Theatre Guild, apropos of the U.S. Steel Hour.

On the second day of picketing, I was asked in to talk with George Kondolf, who produces the U.S. Steel Hour for the Theatre Guild, Armina Marshall, a partner and a co-founder of the Guild,

Warren Caro, a partner in the Guild, and one of the Theatre Guild's attorneys named Forster.

Mr. Caro hastened to reassure me that Miss Marshall was not prejudiced, because "she entertains Negroes in her home." I tried to make clear that the object was getting Negroes represented on the U.S. Steel Hour – not social acceptance by Miss Marshall. Among other things said at that meeting, Mr. Kondolf admitted that many fewer Negroes were being used on the U.S. Steel Hour then (January 17, 1962), than during the years 1954-1956. Mr. Forster urged me to seek relief through the State Commission Against Discrimination; the reason for that will be clearer when I explain why I picketed the State Commission, accusing it of being "a political gimmick to lull Negroes into a sense of false security."

At one point, the Theatre Guild's lawyers, Fitelson and Mayers, attempted to intimidate me into silence by threatening litigation. They sent a three page telegram threatening to sue over the fact that my signs quoted Mr. Caro on Miss Marshall's entertaining Negroes up at the "Big House", and that I quoted what Mr. Langner had scribbled in pencil, and quoted a statement, ascribed by the NEW YORK POST to Mr. Kondolf, to the effect that "there are not too many parts that can be believably played by Negroes." My attorney, Bruce Wright, answered Fitelson and Mayers by return mail, pointing out that not only was I properly exercising my right of free speech with the picket signs, but that quite possibly, the passage of their telegram through so many hands constituted publication of statements that are legally actionable. The fact that Fitelson and Mayers did not bring action on behalf of the Theatre Guild suggests that they merely threatened suit in the hope of silencing my protests.

Next, with some friends, I picketed David Susskind in regard to the failure to show Negroes on the Armstrong Circle Theatre. Mr. Susskind agreed, as did the Theatre Guild, to use Negroes more fairly. And it must be said in his behalf that the Armstrong Circle Theatre has made a more earnest effort than the U.S. Steel Hour.

It became evident that there was not time or energy enough to picket each show. So I approached the State Commission Against Discrimination, now called the State Commission for Human Rights. (I cannot help suspecting that the name was changed because, as shameless as they are, even they became uncomfortable with the "Against Discrimination" in their name when they were and are so patently ineffectual against discrimination – possibly by design.)

On January 31, 1962, I met with Commissioner George Fowler (now chairman). He said that he was so biased in favor of my position that he would turn my complaint over to another commissioner. He suggested, however, that we have lunch the next week.

At lunch, Mr. Fowler all but assured me that the Governor would appoint a committee of "top people" to investigate the exclusion of Negroes from television. (I have recordings of that and other conversations with Mr. Fowler, with the then chairman Ogden Reid, and with vice-chairman Bernard Katzen. These recordings should be required listening for anyone who doesn't yet know the definition of a "snow job".) He suggested that I request an audience with the then chairman Reid.

On March 1, 1962, I, with several others who had interested themselves in my campaign, went to see Mr. Reid. The others were Bruce Wright, Rev. Sidney Lanier, and Jesse Walker of the *Amsterdam News*. I set forth my premise that the Negro people were all being hurt by the image fostered by television's exclusion or misrepresentation of Negroes. I repeatedly asked if this image complaint was within the competence of the State Commission. Repeatedly, Mr. Reid assured me that it was.

I would like to say, in passing, that I am not citing the actions of the State Commission by way of appealing to a higher body for review, but I cite this ignoble history more to indicate the poor prognosis of getting any help — at this level of government — for the grievous plight of Negroes in relation to the broadcasting industry.

Mr. Reid said he would talk to the "top men in television" whom he knew personally. I objected to this "drink at the club" type of law enforcement.

What with Mr. Reid's telling me one thing and telling a New York Times reporter another — it became increasingly clear that I was knee deep in deceptions and misrepresentations at the State Commission.

First I picketed the State Commission, then the Governor's New York office. I wanted some public statement of intent, to correspond to the private (but recorded) representations given me by Messrs. Reid and Fowler. On May 18, 1962, Mr. Fowler (by then, chairman) declared against the damaging image of non-whites put forth by television. The *New York Times* report of the above date quoted Mr. Fowler in what was a recapitulation, almost verbatim, of the complaint I had made to Mr. Fowler on our first meeting. Mr. Fowler did not indicate that the idea did not originate with him; nowhere did he mention my having made the complaint. The *Times* reporter, however, having heard me set forth the ideas before, noted at the end of the article that I had initiated the complaint. It seemed to me important who made the complaint, because that would determine who might *drop* the issue (as apparently Mr. Fowler has done.)

When I went to lunch with Mr. Fowler, he asked me to call him George, and he called me Old Buddy — this was seemingly in lieu of action by him in the area of his competence and responsibility.

The final stroke that made me know I had mistaken the holdup men's hangout for the police station, came when the State Commission rendered a decision on a specific charge that I had leveled against NBC. I complained to the State Commission that I had sought a job "in the production of television shows". In order to find in NBC's favor, the Commission changed "in the production of television shows" to "producer". The producer is the top man, but there are many jobs under him. I should not be such a fool as to apply for a job as producer; but the State Commission made me out such a fool to protect the network. First NBC was commended by Elmer Carter (former chairman, State Commission Against Discrimination), and now Bernard Katzen protects NBC by changing the wording of my complaint. I cannot help wondering if NBC is not a branch of the State Government.

Also, there have been deceptive maneuvers and pronouncements by CBS and ABC. CBS made a big thing of hiring Rex Ingram as a regular on the "Brighter Day" program — only a few weeks before it announced that "Brighter Day" was going off the air

permanently. The NEW YORK TIMES of September 5, 1962, observed that it was going to "be a short day for Mr. Ingram". Since network program plans are made quite far in advance, one cannot help suspecting that Mr. Ingram was installed as a crew member on a ship that was known to be sinking. It is my considered belief that the announcement of Mr. Ingram's employment as a "regular" (which indicated continuing appearances) was made as a publicity gimmick.

At ABC, James Hagerty drew out his alleged search for a Negro newsman for many months. There was a great deal said and written about his intending to hire a Negro newsman. It had a lot of the quality of being the Harlem version of the much-publicized search for someone to play Scarlett O'Hara; it was a propaganda maneuver. Mr. Hagerty acted as if the news department were the *only* area in which Negroes were being excluded by ABC; it was a smoke screen, and not a very successful one.

Unimaginatively, the other networks followed suit and hired a Negro newsman. The fashion in pets changes from time to time. This season, no network worth the mention would want to be caught without a Negro newsman in tow.

It seems to me that in this aping of each other, hiring only newsmen, the networks have displayed no ingenuity – and have been utterly *unresponsive* to the charge of employment discrimination against Negroes. It is too little and much, unconscionably much too late.

Commercials are the "Ole Miss" of the broadcasting industry. I don't know of any commercials that have been made using Negroes, that are shown on television or played over radio stations other than over the so-called Negro stations.

Commercials are perhaps the most lucrative broadcasting activity that a non-star can engage in. And there are no Negroes really in it. Commercials have been made with Negroes but those have not been shown, to the best of my knowledge.

In August, 1961, N. W. Ayer, one of the biggest advertising agencies, called in five or six Negroes to try out for a radio commercial for Feenamint. I was chosen. I made three commercials. I heard no more about them, which is a sign that they were not being used; the big money from commercials comes not from the making of them, but from their re-use.

On March 1, 1962, when I spoke with the then chairman Reid of the State Commission, I told him of my experience with N. W. Ayer. I told him I thought it was a maneuver on N. W. Ayer's part to be able to say, "We used a Negro once; we don't discriminate."

By the oddest coincidence, I got a call the next day from N. W. Ayer. I made some more Feenamint commercials; this time, the man from Pharmaco (they make Feenamint) gleefully assured me that my commercials would be distributed "to all the Negro stations." I speak well enough to have been hired last year to narrate a LIFE Magazine film, in competition with some of the best announcers in television; I narrated a film describing General Dynamics Corporation's commercially available atomic reactor; I narrated a film on the Rehabilitation Program of the State of New Jersey, which won an award; I recently narrated a film commemorating the 150th anniversary of J. P. Stevens Textiles. But according to Pharmaco and N. W. Ayer, I can urge only the colored section to keep regular with Feenamint.

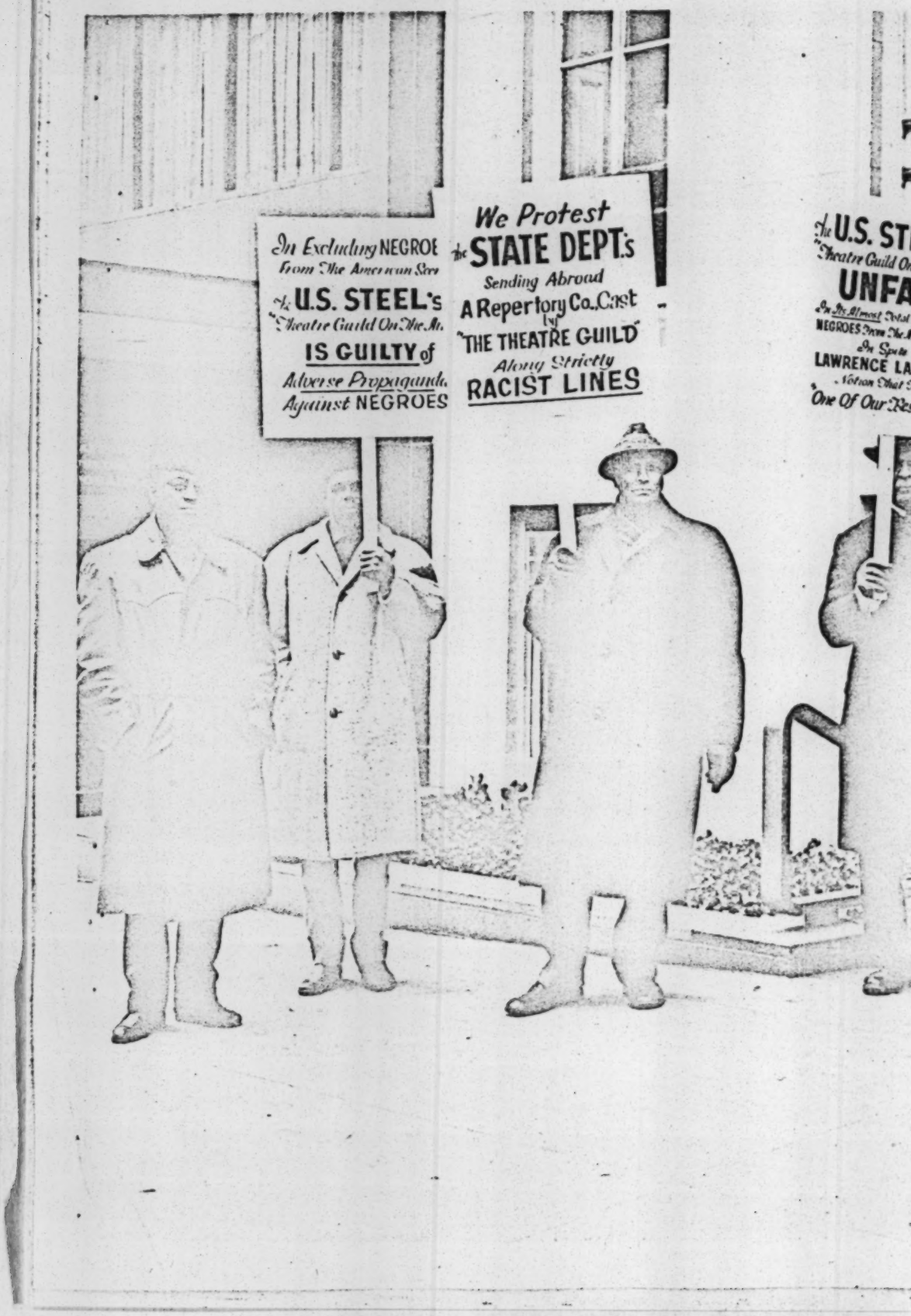
Except for the *Life* Magazine film, the films I listed above were made under the aegis of On Film, Inc. It is a small film producing company, but they were integrated before there was any pressure to be so. But the State Commission has given them no commendation.

I had intended to confine this statement to hiring policies in broadcasting, but there is one section of the theater which I urge this Committee to examine – that is the tax-exempt Ford Foundation grants to repertory theaters that will not hire a Negro as a regular member of the acting company. I protested to Dr. Henry T. Heald of the Ford Foundation earlier this year. The answer I got was that the foundation does not interfere in the internal workings of the recipient companies. However, I take the view that, insofar as and to the extent that the Ford Foundation and the recipient theaters are tax-exempt – to that extent, the Federal Government is subsidizing them; the Federal Government is subsidizing theaters that restrict Negroes to darky parts, or exclude them altogether. Is it possible that the Ford Foundation does indeed exercise some control, detrimental to Negro employment opportunities, by supporting theaters that discriminate, while withholding support from the New York Shakespeare Festival which is eminently fair in its employment of Negroes?

Apropos of the Federal Government's role in discriminatory hiring practices: the Voice of America's broadcast of "The Patriots", May 19, 1962, had a white English actor playing Thomas Jefferson's Negro servant. On May 23, 1962, I sent the following night letter to Edward R. Murrow: "I understand that on a Voice of America broadcast of May 19, 1962, an English actor was used to portray an American Negro servant of Thomas Jefferson. How far can you go in excluding Negroes from your presentation of America?"

In summary, I think that the broadcasting industry is guilty of discrimination against Negroes. I think this discrimination would not be possible in New York without the aid and cooperation of State officials. And finally, I think I have shown that the Federal government aids, abets and indeed, practices the same discrimination against Negro performers.

My campaign has not gone unnoticed in the press – although the networks have tried to pretend that my fight did not exist, or at least, that if they ignored me, I would go away. Recently, a CBS vice president told me he had not heard of my campaign – in spite of the fact that the following publications have carried articles written wholly or in part about it: JOURNAL-AMERICAN, February 20 and 27, March 2, June 19, July 2; TIMES, March 7 and 24, April 7, May 18, June 6 and 10; *Variety*, February 21 (front page), March 7, May 9, May 30 (front page), June 27; *Daily Variety*, May 31 (front page); POST, February 11 and 13, 23 (late city), June 4 and 11; *Herald-Tribune*, June 13; *Amsterdam News*, February 3, March 3, 10, 24 and 31, April 7, May 26, June 2 and 16, July 14; NEWS WEEK, August 20; *Broadcasting* Magazine, September 3, 1962.


In Excluding NEGROES
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The U.S. STEEL's
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IS GUILTY of
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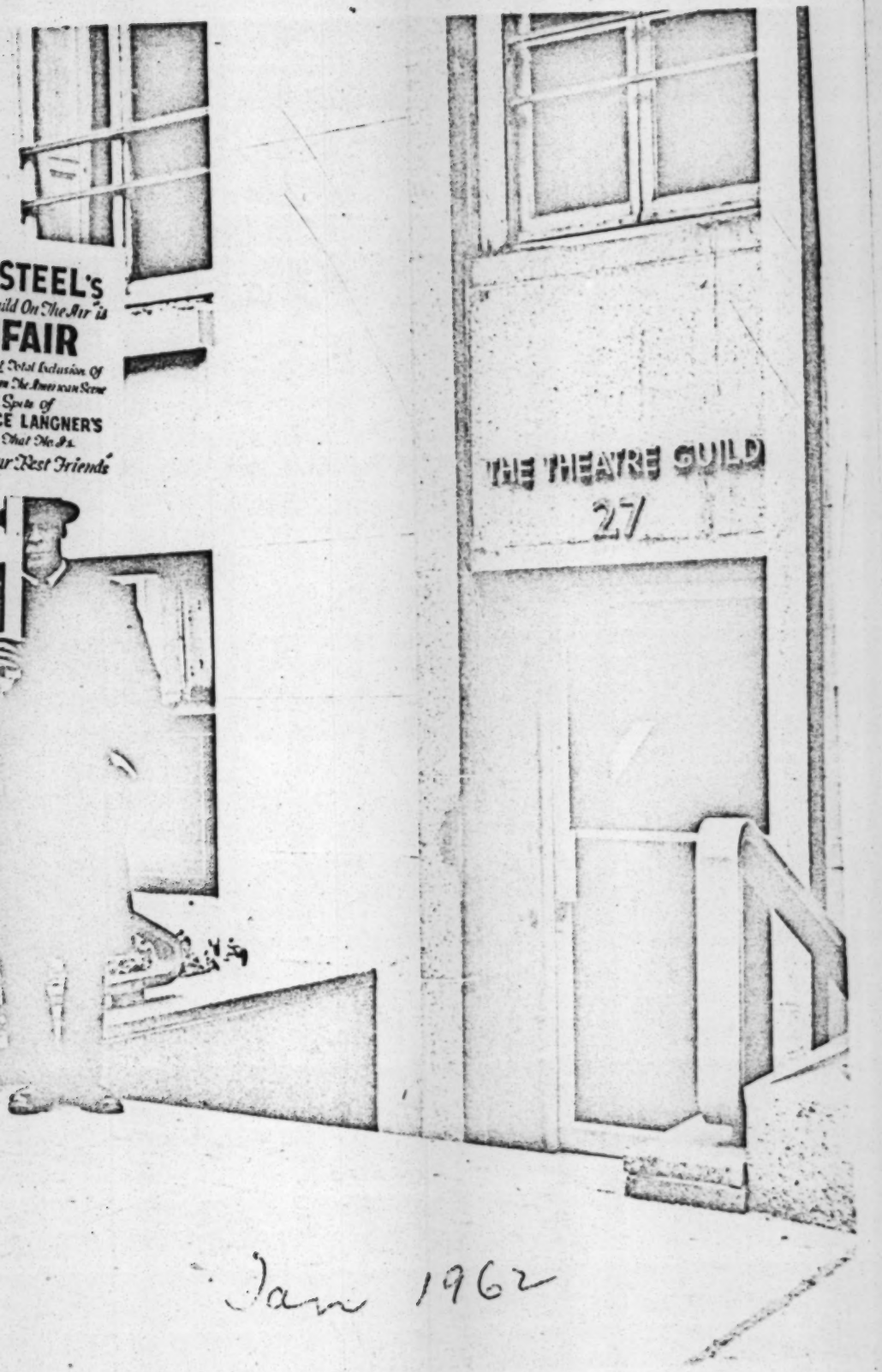
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THE THEATRE GUILD
27

Jan 1962

On The Air

By BOB WILLIAMS

* * *

P. Jay Sidney, a veteran actor with distinguished TV and stage credits, says he was appalled to discover that some of the major sponsor-ad agencies were still hiring "specifically" Negro actors to do "Negro" radio commercials. The color scheme of the aural blurbs is, of course, "Amos and Andy" stuff. It should be well behind the Madison Av. times, by now, if you're willing to stop and think...

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, JANUARY 26, 1967

Wednesday, February 1, 1967 VARIETY

Buys Ad to Counter Blurb

Negro actor P. Jay Sidney, in a tiff with the giant soapery over what he calls "coon commercial" casting, has ordered a two-column ad in the Amsterdam News, major New York Negro weekly, urging "everyone" not to buy Lever Bros. products.

The ad, for which Sidney submitted a check of $131.25, was slated to run in the edition out tonight (Wed.) and read: "Lever Bros. Co. does not use Negroes fairly in its commercials. Everyone is urged not to buy Lever Bros. products." The ad is signed by Sidney and has a list of some 16 Lever products.

Hassle arose when Sidney was called to audition for, and was accepted, to cut radio spots for Swan liquid soap. Sidney raised strong objections when he learned the spots were for Negro-market stations. He contends that such "colored section commercials" are a form of segregation in and of themselves, that he and other Negro talent should be called for both radio and tv blurbs of any category.

Lever's Warren Gerz said Sidney and two other Negroes were named for these particular transcripts in a switch from oral copy for the product on a five-city Negro-station show aimed at Negro teens. In New York, the show is stripped on WWRL with station talent Art Rusk Jr. handling. Rusk tapes interviews aimed at emphasising youth opportunities and the benefits of education.

Despite the hassle, the blurbs with Sidney (cut by BBDO) are being aired, the first reportedly running Monday (30) at 6:30 p.m.

Gerz says the show is now in its third year, and that these blurbs will run a week, then alternate with other products promoted on the program.

February 20, 1967

SPONSOR

Actor-narrator P. Jay Sidney, a Negro, is currently something of a thorn in the side of giant Lever Brothers. Called to audition for a radio commercial series for Swan (out of BBDO), Sidney got the job, but got his dander up when he discovered the commercials had all-Negro casts, not identified as such nor played for any identifiable ethnic characteristic, and were intended for use on Negro-appeal stations. To Sidney. this was a form of discrimination, and he has since said so, publicly, and has sought to place an ad to this effect in Negro-appeal AMSTERDAM NEWS (the ad was turned down on the basis of "possible libel"). Says Sidney: "I'd rather be hired because I'm an actor, not because I'm a Negro. Furthermore, I'm not a sore-head who can't get work. I often work in 'general' commercials." From Lever, no comment.

• • •

VARIETY

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

P. J. Sidney Says He'll Picket Agency, Sponsor When Weather Improves

The Amsterdam News, major New York Negro newspaper, last week rejected an ad from P. Jay Sidney calling for a boycott of Lever Bros. products.

In the ad, Sidney had charged that Lever Bros. does not use Negroes fairly in its commercials He and two other Negro talents had been cast in radio blurbs for Lever's Swan Liquid which are being used in the Negro market only.

In turning down the two-column ad (which named 16 Lever products and carried Sidney's name), the Amsterdam News reportedly said they felt the ad was libelous. A check for $131.25 in payment for the ad was returned to Sidney.

Sidney has charged that the newspaper's concern for Lever Bros. is greater than its concern for the Negro people. He told VARIETY last week that although it is too cold to picket now, spring is right around the corner and he plans to set up picket lines in front of the midtown offices of Lever Bros. and BBDO as soon as warmer weather comes. BBDO is ad agency for the Swan product.

• • •

(Text of the ad which was rejected by The AMSTERDAM NEWS)

LEVER BROTHERS CO.

does NOT use NEGROES fairly in its commercials

EVERYONE

is urged

NOT TO BUY

LEVER BROTHERS PRODUCTS

Dove	Lipton Tea
ALL	Surf
Lux	Whisk
Imperial Margarine	Lux Flakes
Pepsodent toothpaste	Handy Andy
Rinso	Swan Liquid
Stripe toothpaste	LIFEBUOY
Glamorene rug cleaner	Praise, etc.

This ad paid for by P. Jay Sidney

P. Jay Sidney
1303 Dean Street
Brooklyn 16, New York
HYacinth 3-0937
Messages: PLaza 7-6300

Actor - Singer (Baritone)
Age Range - 40 to 70
6'1" - 185 lbs.
ACCENTS: Southern, West Indian, British, French, etc.

TV: Phil Silvers Series (2 years); Montgomery (8); Hallmark (3); Lights Out; Dark of Night; Lux; Kraft (9); You Are There (2); Amazing Mr. Malone; Gulf Show; Medallion Theatre (2); Ellery Queen; Philco; Beulah Show (2); Shadow of the Cloak; Anna May Wong Show; Maugham Theatre; 21st Precinct; Three Steps to Heaven; Harlem Detective (Lead); U.S.Steel (5); Capt. Video; Brighter Day (2); Armstrong Circle; NBC Opera; The Stranger (2); Elgin Hour; Big Story (Lead) (3); Danger (Lead, with Mary Astor); Ed Sullivan Show (3); Camera Three (4); Capt. Grief; The Sea Hawk (2); Brenner; Lamp Unto My Feet (4); Look Up and Live (2); Eye On New York; The Witness (3); John Brown's Raid; Frontiers of Faith; Route 66; Young Dr. Malone (2); East Side, West Side; The Doctors and Nurses; Stage 67; As The World Turns (Dr. Bellows) regular;
Starred: General Motors Theatre (hour show) coast-to-coast, Canadian Broadcasting Company
Total: 170 TV shows
COMMERCIAL: AJAX (Waxin' Jackson)
LIFEBUOY (with Mickey Mantle)
DASH (voice-over)

FILMS: JOE LOUIS STORY; ONE GOOD BREAK; Test at Universal; Test at MGM; A FACE IN THE CROWD; Narrated 3 documentaries for On Film, Inc. (two of which won awards); Narrated 2 films for LIFE Magazine; BLACK LIKE ME; ANDY; (10 Film Narrations)

RADIO: Experimental Theatre of the Air -- directed, produced series. Acted on all Networks; 3 Feen-A-Mint commercials (N.W. Ayer);

TWENTIETH CENTURY	With Ferrer and Swanson
CARMEN JONES	
GREEN PASTURES	Last season of original production
SHUFFLE ALONG	lead -- out of town
DANCE WITH YOUR GODS	First Broadway show, 1934
EMPEROR'S NEW CLOTHES	Federal Theatre
ANDROCLES AND THE LION	" "
PROCESSIONAL	" "
NOAH	" "
RUN LITTLE CHILLUN	second lead
LYSISTRATA	
JEB	
RESPECTFUL PROSTITUTE	Chicago
DON'T GO AWAY MAD	Abbe Workshop
HEAD OF THE FAMILY	stage managed try-out for Theatre Guild
ARSENIC AND OLD LACE	stock
OTHELLO - - - - - ELT	produced, directed, played Othello
GREEN GODDESS - - ELT	adapted for one-set production, produced, played Rajah
LA BELLE HELENE	Westport
HASTY HEART	Bucks County
DETECTIVE STORY	Westchester Playhouse
THE WINNER	
THE COOL WORLD	Robert Rossen production
THE OCTOROON	Phoenix Theatre
CAPT. BRASSBOUND'S CONVERSION	With Siobhan McKenna and Zachary Scott
KING LEAR	New York Shakespeare Festival
THE PLAYROOM	recently on Broadway

PANELIST: more than 60 shows (Long John Nebel, Amazing Randi, Barry Gray, etc.)

NARRATIONS --- COMMERCIALS ---PRESENTATIONS

by

P. JAY SIDNEY

FILM NARRATIONS ---

HOLIDAY Magazine film on Paris

AMA FILM for 1965 convention (Biomedical Research Center)

TRIGA - film describing a commercially available atomic reactor (General Dynamics Corporation)

REHABILITATION FILM for the State of New Jersey (won an award)

THOMAS COLLATORS - a sales film

FASHION FILM - LIFE Magazine - fashions in LIFE for 25 years

WOMEN AND PRINT - also for LIFE

J. P. STEVENS FABRICS - first an anniversary film, then adapted to promotion (won a blue ribbon at the American Film Festival, 1964)

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF AERONAUTICS AND ASTRONAUTICS - film describing work of AIAA

OLIVETTI-UNDERWOOD CALCULATOR - a sales film

TELEVISION NARRATION ---

CAMERA THREE - "The Hungarian Revolution" -- on camera -- live

---

COMMERCIALS ---

Television: AMERICAN CANCER SOCIETY (6 voice-overs)

DASH (voice-over)

LIFEBUOY (with Mickey Mantle)

AJAX (featured as "Waxin' Jackson")

Radio: FEENAMINT (3)

WARM WATER SWAN

PRESENTATION ---

BBDO Presentation for 1966 stockholders' meeting (three different voices)

P. JAY SIDNEY

Speaker on the Image of the Negro

1303 Dean Street
Brooklyn, N. Y. 11216

HYacinth 3-0937
Messages: PLaza 7-6300

RADIO ---

WOR	-	Long John Nebel Show	(forty-odd times)
WNBC	-	Long John Nebel Show	
WWRL	-	"Controversy"	(ten times)
WMCA	-	Barry Gray Show	(several times)
WNCN	-	Eden Gray Show	
WLIB	-	"Meet the Editors"	(three times)
WOR	-	Amazing Randi Show	(several times)

TELEVISION --- Broadcast Forum (Channel 13)

IN-PERSON ADDRESSES ---

Bronx NAACP	
Kiwanis Club (Brooklyn)	(three times)
University of Cincinnati	(three speeches - 1963) and (two speeches - 1966)
Miami (Ohio) University	(two speeches - 1963) and (two speeches - 1966)
Western College for Women	
Conference of Presbyterian Ministers on Race and Religion (N. Y.)	
Secular Sermon - St. Clements Episcopal Church, New York	
Brooklyn Public Library	(three speeches)

Filmed interview for Division of Radio and Television
of the United Presbyterian Church in U.S.A.

CORE

FEBRUARY 21, 1967

[illegible]

DEAR [illegible]:

THANK YOU FOR BRINGING TO OUR ATTENTION ANOTHER INSTANCE OF THE RACIST PRACTICES OF THE ADVERTISING INDUSTRY HERE IN NEW YORK CITY.

YOUR CASE HAS BEEN REFERRED TO THE NEW YORK CITY HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, AND YOU SHOULD BE HEARING FROM THEM SHORTLY.

PLEASE BE ASSURED THAT WE WILL FOLLOW THE MATTER VERY CLOSELY AND TAKE EVERY ACTION WE DEEM NECESSARY TO ROOT OUT THESE REMNANTS OF OUR PAST.

KINDEST PERSONAL REGARDS, I REMAIN

VERY TRULY YOURS,

[signature]

FLORENCE M. KENNON
ASSOCIATE NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
[illegible]

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a full rate message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

1967 MAR 19 PM 5 47

CGA081 CG-NA435
DL PD 4 PGHS 2 EXTRA NEWYORK NY 19 324P EST
FLOYD B MCKISSICK
414 WEST 149 ST NYK
I WAS VERY PLEASED TO RECEIVE A COPY OF YOUR LETTER OT HUMPHREY SULLIVAN OF LEVER BROTHERS. THERE IS NO QUESTION BUT THAT THE BIG CORPORATIONS HAVE A SOCIAL MORAL AND ECONOMIC RESPONSIBILITY FOR HELPING TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF THE COUNTRY, THE MOST PRESSING OF WHICH IS THE POSITION OF NEGROES IN AMERICAN SOCIETY.

YOU WENT MUCH FURTHER THAN I DIJ AND I AM GLAD OF IT. AND I HOPE YOU WILL PERSIST UNTIL THIS BATTLE IS WON, SO THAT LEVER BROTHERS AND BBDO DO NOT HAVE TO BE FOUGHT AGAIN IN ANOTHER THREE OR FOUR YEARS. I AM IMPRESSED WITH EMERSON'S "THE CHARACTERISTIC OF GENUINE HEROISM IS ITS PERSISTENCY". WHAT PASSED FOR A CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT HAS TOO OFTEN BEEN A RECREATIONAL OUTLET

SF1201(R2-65)

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a full rate message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
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FOR WHITE LIBERALS, WHICH LEFT BEHOND MANY, TOO MANY UNFINISHED, "WOUNDED LIONS."

LEVER IS ESPECIALLY VULNERABLE FOR THE REASONS THAT I SET FORTH IN MY LETTER TO MUMFORJ. ALSO, THE LEVER CARTEL, AS I UNDERSTAND IT, HAS A BAD IMAGE ABROAD AMONT NON WHITE PEOPLE.

TOMORROW, MONDAY THE 20TH, I SHALL MAKE SWORN COMPLAINTS AGAINST LEDVER BROTHERS AND BBDO AT THE STATE COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND AT THE CITY COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

I WILL BE AT THE CITY COMMISSION AT TWO OCLOCK AND AT THE STATE COMMISSION AT 330. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL, AS A SHOW OF SOLIDARITY, IF YOU COULD MANAGE TO BE AT ONE OR BOTH PLACES.

SF1201(R2-65)

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
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The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

P JAY SIDNEY PHONE 493-0937

20TH 330 493-0937.(43)

SF1201(R2-65)

fil.

LEVER BROTHERS COMPANY

390 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK

HUMPHREY SULLIVAN
PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR

MAR 27 1967

March 24, 1967

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
National Director
CORE
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030

Dear Mr. McKissick:

I telephoned you this afternoon in connection with your letter of March 17.

I understand that it is uncertain as to whether or not you will be in your office on Monday. However, I will call in the event that you are in.

Cordially,

Humphrey Sullivan

HS:tc

Mar 27

Mr Humphrey Sullivan
MU 86000 Ext 694

Lever Brothers desires a conference:

Lynch — MCC
Sidney — Farmer

1. Statistics o employ.
how much done since prev conf.
2. $ commitments for CR
3. Supt. tro. progrm
@ del @ injur singly
4. Wat foundations assoc w/

file

APRIL 3, 1967

MR. P. JAY SIDNEY
1303 DEAN STREET
BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11216

DEAR MR. SIDNEY:

RECOGNIZING THAT YOU ARE AN ARTIST, AND THAT ARTISTS ARE SUPPOSEDLY TEMPERAMENTAL AND EVEN AT TIMES RUDE, I CANNOT APPRECIATE THE TONE OF YOUR LETTER OF MARCH 15TH. YOUR ASSUMPTIONS ARE COMPLETELY ERRONEOUS. FIRSTLY, YOUR CALLS WERE RETURNED AND NO REPLY WAS RECEIVED. SECONDLY, IT MIGHT NOT HAVE OCCURRED TO YOU BUT I HAVE ALSO BEEN OUT OF TOWN ATTEMPTING TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF BLACK PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

PLEASE REST ASSURED THAT I AM UNDER NO MIS-APPREHENSIONS WHATSOEVER. YOUR LETTER WAS NOT DEALT WITH AS COMING FROM WHAT YOU CONSIDER TO BE "ANONYMOUS, OFF-THE-STREET" AND AS FROM SOME "PO' NEGRO" WHO NEEDED "HELP." IN THE NATIONAL OFFICE, WE DEAL WITH THE JUST COMPLAINTS OF ALL BLACK PEOPLE AS IF THEY WERE THE MOST IMPORTANT PEOPLE IN THE WORLD.

I SHARE YOUR VIEW WITHOUT EQUIVOCATION THAT WE SHOULD <u>ACT TOGETHER</u> AND <u>COOPERATE</u>.

QUITE HONESTLY P. JAY, I CANNOT HELP IF YOU ARE PUT OFF WHEN I USE MY OWN TERMS AND MY OWN MANNER OF SPEECH AND WRITING TO REFER TO A SITUATION. I WOULD POINT OUT HERE, THAT THE REFERRAL TO THE CITY COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WAS ESSENTIALLY AT YOUR SUGGESTION AS INDICATED IN YOUR LETTER TO THE CORE OFFICE. WITHOUT QUESTION, I SHARE YOUR VIEW OF THE CITY, STATE AND OTHER COMMISSIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTER-GROUP RELATIONS. PLEASE REST ASSURED THAT I WAS NOT INTERCEDING ON YOUR BEHALF BUT RATHER ACTING ON YOUR IMPLICIT SUGGESTION.

NOW, WHETHER THIS WAS A MISTAKE TO ACT ON YOUR SUGGESTION THAT THIS MATTER, AND I HOPE YOU HAVE NO OBJECTION TO THIS,

BE REFERRED TO THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, IS FOR YOU TO DECIDE. I SINCERELY HOPE THAT OUR RELATIONSHIP CAN BE KEPT CORDIAL, FRIENDLY AND TO THE MUTUAL BENEFIT OF CORE AND YOURSELF, TO SAY NOTHING OF THE HUNDREDS OF OTHER BLACK ARTISTS WHO WOULD BE INVOLVED, AND WHO WOULD BENEFIT FROM A RESOLUTION OF THIS INTOLERABLE SITUATION. QUITE HONESTLY, I THINK THIS MATTER GOES BEYOND P. JAY SIDNEY AND CORE AND ANY ASSISTANCE WHICH CORE MIGHT BE ABLE TO GIVE TO YOU BECAUSE THIS IS YOUR PROJECT, AND EXTENDS INTO THE ENTIRE AREA OF THE NEGRO ARTIST IN THE ADVERTISING MEDIA.

FURTHER, I THINK THIS EXTENDS BEYOND LEVER BROTHERS AND EVEN BEYOND THE POSITION OF CORE IN 1963. I DO NOT THINK THIS IS YOUR FIGHT, THIS IS A FIGHT FOR ALL BLACK ARTISTS SUCH AS YOURSELF, WHO MUST MAKE A LIVING AND PROJECT AN IMAGE OF BLACK PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES. PLEASE REST ASSURED THAT NEITHER I, NOR THE ORGANIZATION WHICH I REPRESENT, HAVE ANY INTENTION OF TAKING OVER AND DIRECTING AND DETERMINING THE COURSE OF ANYONE'S STRUGGLE. WE ARE ONLY INTERESTED IN THE PROGRESS OF BLACK PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

THIS BEING SO, I AM PREPARED EVEN AFTER YOUR ACERBIC LETTER, TO SIT DOWN WITH YOU AND ANYONE ELSE WHOM YOU MAY DESIGNATE, TO PLOT A COURSE OF ACTION. WE, IN CORE ARE NOT AND DO NOT INTEND TO BE PRIMA DONNAS WHERE THE INTEREST OF BLACK PEOPLE ARE CONCERNED. IF THIS IS UNDERSTOOD, I AM CERTAIN WE CAN MOVE FORWARD.

IN SPITE OF ALL THIS, I AM PREPARED TO MEET WITH YOU AT ANY TIME OR PLACE MUTUALLY CONVENIENT, TO PLOT A COURSE OF ACTION. PLEASE ADVISE ME AT YOUR EARLIEST CONVENIENCE.

SINCERELY YOURS,

LINCOLN O. LYNCH
ASSOCIATE NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
LOL:GW

File Lewis Bros.

BY CERTIFIED MAIL

APR 11 1967

1303 Dean Street
Brooklyn, N. Y. 11216
April 10, 1967

Mr. Lincoln Lynch
Associate National Director
CORE
200 West 136th Street
New York, N. Y. 10030

Dear Sir:

Your second patronizing letter, dated April 3, 1967, is not worthy of answer in detail.

If the inaccuracies and distortions contained in the letter are deliberate, then such hostility I must shun; if they are unintentional, then such ineptitude and fatuity are even less acceptable to me.

I want no further contact or communication with you or National CORE.

Sincerely,

P. Jay Sidney

P. Jay Sidney

cc: Mr. Floyd McKissick

APRIL 3, 1967

MR. P. JAY SIDNEY
1303 DEAN STREET
BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11216

DEAR MR. SIDNEY:

RECOGNIZING THAT YOU ARE AN ARTIST, AND THAT ARTISTS ARE SUPPOSEDLY TEMPERAMENTAL AND EVEN AT TIMES RUDE, I CANNOT APPRECIATE THE TONE OF YOUR LETTER OF MARCH 15TH. YOUR ASSUMPTIONS ARE COMPLETELY ERRONEOUS. FIRSTLY, YOUR CALLS WERE RETURNED AND NO REPLY WAS RECEIVED. SECONDLY, IT MIGHT NOT HAVE OCCURRED TO YOU BUT I HAVE ALSO BEEN OUT OF TOWN ATTEMPTING TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS OF BLACK PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

PLEASE REST ASSURED THAT I AM UNDER NO MIS-APPREHENSIONS WHATSOEVER. YOUR LETTER WAS NOT DEALT WITH AS COMING FROM WHAT YOU CONSIDER TO BE "ANONYMOUS, OFF-THE-STREET" AND AS FROM SOME "PO' NEGRO" WHO NEEDED "HELP." IN THE NATIONAL OFFICE, WE DEAL WITH THE JUST COMPLAINTS OF ALL BLACK PEOPLE AS IF THEY WERE THE MOST IMPORTANT PEOPLE IN THE WORLD.

I SHARE YOUR VIEW WITHOUT EQUIVOCATION THAT WE SHOULD <u>ACT TOGETHER</u> AND <u>COOPERATE</u>.

QUITE HONESTLY P. JAY, I CANNOT HELP IF YOU ARE PUT OFF WHEN I USE MY OWN TERMS AND MY OWN MANNER OF SPEECH AND WRITING TO REFER TO A SITUATION. I WOULD POINT OUT HERE, THAT THE REFERRAL TO THE CITY COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS WAS ESSENTIALLY AT YOUR SUGGESTION AS INDICATED IN YOUR LETTER TO THE CORE OFFICE. WITHOUT QUESTION, I SHARE YOUR VIEW OF THE CITY, STATE AND OTHER COMMISSIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTER-GROUP RELATIONS. PLEASE REST ASSURED THAT I WAS NOT INTERCEDING ON YOUR BEHALF BUT RATHER ACTING ON YOUR IMPLICIT SUGGESTION.

NOW, WHETHER THIS WAS A MISTAKE TO ACT ON YOUR SUGGESTION THAT THIS MATTER, AND I HOPE YOU HAVE NO OBJECTION TO THIS,

BE REFERRED TO THE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, IS FOR YOU TO DECIDE. I SINCERELY HOPE THAT OUR RELATIONSHIP CAN BE KEPT CORDIAL, FRIENDLY AND TO THE MUTUAL BENEFIT OF CORE AND YOURSELF, TO SAY NOTHING OF THE HUNDREDS OF OTHER BLACK ARTISTS WHO WOULD BE INVOLVED, AND WHO WOULD BENEFIT FROM A RESOLUTION OF THIS INTOLERABLE SITUATION. QUITE HONESTLY, I THINK THIS MATTER GOES BEYOND P.JAY SIDNEY AND CORE AND ANY ASSISTANCE WHICH CORE MIGHT BE ABLE TO GIVE TO YOU BECAUSE THIS IS YOUR PROJECT, AND EXTENDS INTO THE ENTIRE AREA OF THE NEGRO ARTIST IN THE ADVERTISING MEDIA.

FURTHER, I THINK THIS EXTENDS BEYOND LEVER BROTHERS AND EVEN BEYOND THE POSITION OF CORE IN 1963. I DO NOT THINK THIS IS YOUR FIGHT, THIS IS A FIGHT FOR ALL BLACK ARTISTS SUCH AS YOURSELF, WHO MUST MAKE A LIVING AND PROJECT AN IMAGE OF BLACK PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES. PLEASE REST ASSURED THAT NEITHER I, NOR THE ORGANIZATION WHICH I REPRESENT, HAVE ANY INTENTION OF TAKING OVER AND DIRECTING AND DETERMINING THE COURSE OF ANYONE'S STRUGGLE. WE ARE ONLY INTERESTED IN THE PROGRESS OF BLACK PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

THIS BEING SO, I AM PREPARED EVEN AFTER YOUR ACERBIC LETTER, TO SIT DOWN WITH YOU AND ANYONE ELSE WHOM YOU MAY DESIGNATE, TO PLOT A COURSE OF ACTION. WE, IN CORE ARE NOT AND DO NOT INTEND TO BE PRIMA DONNAS WHERE THE INTEREST OF BLACK PEOPLE ARE CONCERNED. IF THIS IS UNDERSTOOD, I AM CERTAIN WE CAN MOVE FORWARD.

IN SPITE OF ALL THIS, I AM PREPARED TO MEET WITH YOU AT ANY TIME OR PLACE MUTUALLY CONVENIENT, TO PLOT A COURSE OF ACTION. PLEASE ADVISE ME AT YOUR EARLIEST CONVENIENCE.

SINCERELY YOURS,

LINCOLN O.LYNCH
ASSOCIATE NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
LOL:GW

Lincoln

C O P Y

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030

C O P Y

March 17, 1967

Mr. Humphrey Sullivan, Public Relations Director
Lever Brothers Company, Inc.
Lever House, 390 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Sullivan:

Thank you for your letter of March 10, 1967. In reply, please be advised that the Congress of Racial Equality fully supports the posibion of Mr. P. Jay Sidney. For this reason, I would suggest that you arrange a conference to discuss this problem at your earliest convenipnce.

It is our belief that there is a reliable way in which the black masses can determine their true friends in industry. They can no longer be deceived by elaborate verbal commitments.

First, it must be determined if the employment practices of a given company have, in any way, improved the conditions of the black masses. Second, we must know if the advertising policies of a company are such that they are beneficial to black people. (For instance, Negro actors and actresses have suffered tremendously because of lack of opportunity in this "land of opportunity.")

Also, there are industries who have indicated their interest in the black masses by cooperating with CORE on projects which are of benefit to the black community. (Lever Brothers is not one of these concerns.)

It is also significatn when a firm grants accounts to racist Public relations firms, while not granting accounts to black concerns. (It appears Lever Brothers follows this practice.)

We feel it is imperative to discuss these matters as soon as possible.

Very truly yours,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

cc: James Farmer
P. Jay Sidney
Lincoln O. Lynch, Assoc. Nat'l Dir.

BY CERTIFIED MAIL

1303 Dean Street
Brooklyn, N. Y. 11216
March 15, 1967

Mr. Floyd McKissick
414 West 149th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Enclosed is a letter which I sent to Mr. Lincoln Lynch. I thought it was necessary to clarify our relationship.

I still hope it will be possible to call on you and National CORE to help to bring the idea of the boycott to the Negro community. That is really the hard part. I think I have done pretty well with publicizing the issue in the general press and particularly in the trade press: a national weekly magazine should have it in one of its next two editions.

I think it would be more useful for me to picket alone than to have fifty people picketing the first day and to have three people picketing a week later, so that the enemy is able to estimate clearly the rise and fall of the support that the fight is, or is not, getting.

It would be most useful if we were able to discuss, in advance, any and all action that you plan to take in my behalf.

Sincerely,

P. Jay Sidney

P. Jay Sidney

P.S. I am still at a loss that none of the so-called Negro improvement organizations has seen fit to engage in any type of anti-defamation activity. In fact, I don't discern any long-term program being followed by any of the so-called civil rights organizations.

Enclosures

BY CERTIFIED MAIL

MAR 16 1967

1303 Dean Street
Brooklyn, N. Y. 11216
March 15, 1967

Mr. Lincoln Lynch
Assosiate Director
National CORE
200 West 135th Street
New York, N. Y. 10030

Dear Mr. Lynch:

I am sorry that you have not seen fit to return my calls to you, after you broke the appointment which we had to meet.

I wanted to talk with you about our relationship. Apparently, you were under some misapprehensions. The letter which I wrote to Mr. McKissick was not an anonymous, off-the-street letter written by some "po' Negro" who needed "help".

I had spoken with Mr. McKissick for several hours at his home, and he suggested that I put into writing some of the circumstances which I described, and that he would bring them to the attention of some of the CORE chapters. It was my hope, and it still is my hope, that it may be possible for us to act together, to cooperate.

I am, however, a bit put off when you speak in your letter of having referred my "case" to the City Commission For Human Rights. I have long experience in dealing with the City Commission, including when it was called the City Commission For Intergroup Relations; and in my letter, I asked Mr. McKissick, as a matter of tactics, if he thought it would be a good idea at this time to make a complaint to those agencies cited in the McKissick letter. I did not ask that you intercede for me.

This was not a very serious mistake, but I think we have to keep in mind our relationship, which is that I have an on-going, and a rather successfully on-going, project under way. It would be most useful if CORE and other organizations would lend such assistance as I may need, but that assistance must be determined by me, since this is my project.

In 1963, it was CORE which threatened to boycott Lever Brothers. It was also CORE which dropped this issue before there was a clear-cut victory. This is my fight. In 1963, I assisted CORE in its fight. If CORE wants to assist me in my fight, it is welcome, but neither you nor CORE may take over or may direct and determine the course of my fight.

Sincerely,

P. Jay Sidney

P. Jay Sidney

Enclosures
cc: Floyd McKissick

March 13, 1967
Volume 38 • Number 11
25 Cents a Copy • $6 a Year
CHICAGO 60611 • Published Weekly at
740 Rush St. • 312-337-5200
NEW YORK 10017
630 Third Ave. • 212 YU 6-5050

Advertising Age

With which is incorporated Advertising Agency Magazine, formerly Advertising & Selling

Second Class Postage Paid at Chicago, Ill. Copyright, 1967 by Advertising Publications, Inc.

Negro Actor Seeks Boycott of Lever for 'Segregated' Ads

NEW YORK, March 9—A Negro performer has announced his intention to picket Lever Bros. and to call for a Negro market boycott of Lever products because a radio commercial he made for the company was being limited to use on minority market radio stations.

P. Jay Sidney, in a letter to Milton C. Mumford, chairman of Lever, said he was "taken aback" on learning that a commercial for Swan liquid would involve only Negro performers and be heard only on Negro radio stations.

He told Mr. Mumford that "the Negro community is much more ready to participate actively in a boycott of Lever Bros. products today than it was in 1963."

This was a reference to the time a chapter of CORE threatened Lever with a boycott unless the company began using Negroes in commercials. The company, calling the complaint "a just one," instituted a "special and determined effort to encourage agencies and the producers and networks" to use Negro models and actors in "normal, natural situations."

(Continued on Page 98)

Negro Actor Seeks Boycott of Lever for 'Segregated' Ads

(Continued from Page 2)

ural situations."

Mr. Sidney was used in a Lifebuoy commercial more than two years ago, but stated that he was not called again "until there was a commercial to be segregated, to be confined to the so-called 'Negro market.'"

■ At Lever, Warren Gerz, community relations manager, said Mr. Sidney was hired by BBDO to do Swan commercials for airing on a radio series Lever presents on one Spanish-language station and five so-called Negro stations in five plant cities.

The programs, designed to combat the school drop-out problem. are heard on WHOM, New York Spanish-language station; WWRL, New York; KGFJ, Los Angeles; KATZ, St. Louis; WVON, Chicago; and WEBB, Baltimore. Lever has sponsored the shows since September, 1964, five days a week.

■ In the past, a local host handled the commercials. When the company decided to use commercial transcriptions for new Swan liquid, it felt it would be fair to use Negro talent, Mr. Gerz said. Casting was left to BBDO.

Mr. Gerz said Mr. Sidney arrived at a Jan. 17 audition and, seeing four other Negro performers, asked where the commercials would run. The program was explained. Mr. Sidney, in his letter, said he was "infuriated" when told of the limited audience for the commercials. Mr. Gerz said Mr. Sidney's reaction impaired the quality of the performance and recasting was considered but rejected and the commercial was aired.

■ Mr. Sidney's letter stated that the reason Negro children do not stay in school is that the image projected of their elders suggests that "no matter how hard they try, they will not be included as fellow-American citizens."

Lever should show Negroes fairly so that Negro youngsters would believe they could succeed. "This belief would then be a reason for staying in school," Mr. Sidney wrote.

He called Lever's "explanation" of "segregated advertising" both "fraudulent and spurious."

With Mr. Sidney's letter was one from Lincoln O. Lynch, associate national director, CORE, who called the episode "another instance of the racist practices of the advertising industry here in New York."

The Lever-Sidney flareup spread into Harlem, where the *Amsterdam News* rejected an ad Mr. Sidney wanted to run. The small space newspaper ad called on Negroes to boycott Lever products, listed the product line and said Lever "does not use Negroes fairly in its commercials." #

Advertising Age
With which is incorporated Advertising Agency Magazine, formerly Advertising & Selling
Second Class Postage Paid at Chicago, Ill. Copyright, 1967 by

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Negro Actor Seeks Boycott of Lever for 'Segregated' Ads

NEW YORK, March 9—A Negro performer has announced his intention to picket Lever Bros. and to call for a Negro market boycott of Lever products because a radio commercial he made for the company was being limited to use on minority market radio stations.

P. Jay Sidney, in a letter to Milton C. Mumford, chairman of Lever, said he was "taken aback" on learning that a commercial for Swan liquid would involve only Negro performers and be heard only on Negro radio stations.

He told Mr. Mumford that "the Negro community is much more ready to participate actively in a boycott of Lever Bros. products today than it was in 1963."

This was a reference to the time a chapter of CORE threatened Lever with a boycott unless the company began using Negroes in commercials. The company, calling the complaint "a just one," instituted a "special and determined effort to encourage agencies and the producers and networks" to use Negro models and actors in "normal, nat-

(Continued on Page 98)

Negro Actor Seeks Boycott of Lever for 'Segregated' Ads

(Continued from Page 2)

ural situations."

Mr. Sidney was used in a Lifebuoy commercial more than two years ago, but stated that he was not called again "until there was a commercial to be segregated, to be confined to the so-called 'Negro market.'"

■ At Lever, Warren Gerz, community relations manager, said Mr. Sidney was hired by BBDO to do Swan commercials for airing on a radio series Lever presents on one Spanish-language station and five so-called Negro stations in five plant cities.

The programs, designed to combat the school drop-out problem, are heard on WHOM, New York Spanish-language station; WWRL, New York; KGFJ, Los Angeles; KATZ, St. Louis; WVON, Chicago; and WEBB, Baltimore. Lever has sponsored the shows since September, 1964, five days a week.

■ In the past, a local host handled the commercials. When the company decided to use commercial transcriptions for new Swan liquid, it felt it would be fair to use Negro talent, Mr. Gerz said. Casting was left to BBDO.

Mr. Gerz said Mr. Sidney arrived at a Jan. 17 audition and, seeing four other Negro performers, asked where the commercials would run. The program was explained. Mr. Sidney, in his letter, said he was "infuriated" when told of the limited audience for the commercials. Mr. Gerz said Mr. Sidney's reaction impaired the quality of the performance and re-

On The Air

By BOB WILLIAMS

* * *

P. Jay Sidney, a veteran actor with distinguished TV and stage credits, says he was appalled to discover that some of the major sponsor-ad agencies were still hiring "specifically" Negro actors to do "Negro" radio commercials. The color scheme of the aural blurbs is, of course, "Amos and Andy" stuff. It should be well behind the Madison Av. times, by now, if you're willing to stop and think...

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, JANUARY 26, 1967

February 20, 1967

SPONSOR

Actor-narrator P. Jay Sidney, a Negro, is currently something of a thorn in the side of giant Lever Brothers. Called to audition for a radio commercial series for Swan (out of BBDO), Sidney got the job, but got his dander up when he discovered the commercials had all-Negro casts, not identified as such nor played for any identifiable ethnic characteristic, and were intended for use on Negro-appeal stations. To Sidney, this was a form of discrimination, and he has since said so, publicly, and has sought to place an ad to this effect in Negro-appeal AMSTERDAM NEWS (the ad was turned down on the basis of "possible libel"). Says Sidney: "I'd rather be hired because I'm an actor, not because I'm a Negro. Furthermore, I'm not a sore-head who can't get work. I often work in 'general' commercials." From Lever, no comment.

• • •

VARIETY

Wednesday, February 8, 1967

P. J. Sidney Says He'll Picket Agency, Sponsor When Weather Improves

The Amsterdam News, major New York Negro newspaper, last week rejected an ad from P. Jay Sidney calling for a boycott of Lever Bros. products.

In the ad, Sidney had charged that Lever Bros. does not use Negroes fairly in its commercials He and two other Negro talents had been cast in radio blurbs for Lever's Swan Liquid which are being used in the Negro market only.

In turning down the two-column ad (which named 16 Lever products and carried Sidney's name), the Amsterdam News reportedly said they felt the ad was libelous. A check for $131.25 in payment for the ad was returned to Sidney.

Sidney has charged that the newspaper's concern for Lever Bros. is greater than its concern for the Negro people. He told VARIETY last week that although it is too cold to picket now, spring is right around the corner and he plans to set up picket lines in front of the midtown offices of Lever Bros. and BBDO as soon as warmer weather comes. BBDO is ad agency for the Swan product.

Wednesday, February 1, 1967 | VARIETY

Buys Ad to Counter Blurb

Negro actor P. Jay Sidney, in a tiff with the giant soapery over what he calls "coon commercial" casting, has ordered a two-column ad in the Amsterdam News, major New York Negro weekly, urging "everyone" not to buy Lever Bros. products.

The ad, for which Sidney submitted a check of $131.25, was slated to run in the edition out tonight (Wed.) and read: "Lever Bros. Co. does not use Negroes fairly in its commercials. Everyone is urged not to buy Lever Bros. products." The ad is signed by Sidney and has a list of some 16 Lever products.

Hassle arose when Sidney was called to audition for, and was accepted, to cut radio spots for Swan liquid soap. Sidney raised strong objections when he learned the spots were for Negro-market stations. He contends that such "colored section commercials" are a form of segregation in and of themselves, that he and other Negro talent should be called for both radio and tv blurbs of any category.

Lever's Warren Gerz said Sidney and two other Negroes were named for these particular transcripts in a switch from oral copy for the product on a five-city Negro-station show aimed at Negro teens. In New York, the show is stripped on WWRL with station talent Art Rusk Jr. handling. Rusk tapes interviews aimed at emphasising youth opportunities and the benefits of education.

Despite the hassle, the blurbs with Sidney (cut by BBDO) are being aired, the first reportedly running Monday (30) at 6:30 p.m.

Gerz says the show is now in its third year, and that these blurbs will run a week, then alternate with other products promoted on the program.

(Text of the ad which was rejected by The AMSTERDAM NEWS)

LEVER BROTHERS CO.

does NOT use NEGROES fairly in its commercials

EVERYONE

is urged

NOT TO BUY

LEVER BROTHERS PRODUCTS

Dove	Lipton Tea
ALL	Surf
Lux	Whisk
Imperial Margarine	Lux Flakes
Pepsodent toothpaste	Handy Andy
Rinso	Swan Liquid
Stripe toothpaste	LIFEBUOY
Glamorene rug cleaner	Praise, etc.

This ad paid for by P. Jay Sidney

BY CERTIFIED MAIL

1303 Dean Street
Brooklyn, N. Y. 11216
March 6, 1967

Mr. Milton C. Mumford
Chairman of the Board
Lever Brothers
390 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

I thought you ought to know the background of my plan to picket Lever Brothers and to call for support of a boycott of Lever Brothers products.

On January 17, 1967, I went to the offices of BBD&O to audition for a commercial for Warm Water Swan. I was taken aback when I saw that the other four actors who were auditioning were all Negroes. I was hired to do two Warm Water Swan commercials the next day. At that time, being taken aback gave way to being infuriated, when I was told, by Arnie Christie of BBD&O, that the commercials were being made to be used on the so-called Negro radio stations.

None of the three actors who were hired spoke with anything that could remotely be called a Negro or southern accent. You will see from my resume of commercials and narrations, that I have considerable experience in narrating documentary films, none of which were in any way related to my being a Negro. These Swan commercials were, as I understood, to be played on so-called Negro radio stations, without any identification of the race of the actors participating. This is an example of the extent of the American racial insanity, that is, Negroes with non-identifiable voices are hired to do "cullud" commercials to be played over "cullud" radio stations.

Your Warren Gerz tried to justify this practice by saying that he thought it was "an employment opportunity for some Negroes". I pointed out to him that with the state and city laws against discrimination on the books, everything that Lever Brothers or BBD&O does should be a potential opportunity for everyone who is qualified.

Humphrey Sullivan reminded me that I had appeared in a Lever Brothers commercial for Lifebuoy. That commercial was done more than two and a half years ago. I had no lines to say and my face was so little seen that my relatives don't recognize me in the commercial. Obviously, Lever Brothers and BBD&O have done a great many general market radio and television commercials in the intervening time, and yet I was not called until there was a commercial to be segregated, to be confined to the so-called "Negro market".

In the case of BBD&O, I can't be so bad as a reader of copy, because I was hired by BBD&O as one of the four participants in making a presentation for the BBD&O stockholders in January 1966. This presentation was a re-doing of some of the most successful

BBD&O radio commercials from the past; I recorded three of the famous BBD&O radio commercials. They were neither originally "Negro" commercials, nor did I do them with any distinguishable accent. So that BBD&O knows of my capability in doing general commercials. But I do think I was called for the presentation because the presentation only paid $100.00 and there were no residuals connected with it.

My concern has been, is now, and will continue to be the Negro image. You will note, in the statement which I gave before a congressional hearing in October of 1962, my fervent belief that the Negro image --- that held on one hand by white people of Negroes, and on the other hand by Negroes of themselves --- is central to the Negro's position in American society. You will note also my belief, which is shared by most other people, that television is the greatest opinion-molding medium that has yet been devised; and if the greatest opinion-molding medium is saying, by implication, by innuendo, by omission, and otherwise, that Negroes are <u>not</u> citizens, that Negroes are <u>not</u> a part of the American scene, that Negroes <u>do not have to be taken into account</u>, then I submit that that projection, however it is made, is a defamation against me and mine, and I intend to fight this with every ounce of my energy.

I am not claiming to be oblivious to the matter of Negro employment, or, for that matter, to my personal employment. But it is the Negro image that is my main concern. Your Mr. Sullivan told someone that I must have some "personal motives". I do, indeed, have some personal motives and they concern my fervent pursuit of first-class American citizenship. My source got the impression that Mr. Sullivan thinks I am after something for myself in the way of employment. That would be hard for anyone to believe, who took the trouble to see the amount of effort I put into my campaign of five years ago, and who took the trouble to find out that I was black-listed for several years as a result of it. It would be obvious, to anyone who was interested in the facts, that I would stand to gain more by keeping my mouth shut than I do by speaking out. After all, I have appeared on nearly 200 television shows and I am currently a regular on a television series. Before I took up this particular grievance, I had to consider the possibility that my current employer might be so opposed to a "controversial" personality that I might be dropped from this job. Also, I considered the possibility that you powerful gentlemen at Lever Brothers might be able to exert influence that would cause me to lose this series. It was a calculated risk.

Any Negro in this country who does not regard every day as a calculated risk doesn't understand the situation. But, as I said in my statement to the House Labor and Education Committee in 1962, every Negro has <u>two</u> careers --- one, of being a Negro, and the other one, at which he, if he's lucky, makes a living. The first one I would not choose, but the Humphrey Sullivans and the Warren Gerzes of America foist it on me. I try to give as good an account as possible in any fight in which I find myself, either by choice or by having had it foisted on me.

I was told also that your Mr. Sullivan said that I would have to be "dealt with". What do you suppose Mr. Sullivan had in mind?

Be that as it may, I have long held that equality is not something that can be conferred as an honorary degree, but is something that has to be demonstrated. The early patriots pledged their "lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor". My fortune is negligible and my sacred honor is probably as little, but what I have, I pledge to resist insults to my intelligence from the Warren Gerzes, and restriction and exclusion by the Humphrey Sullivans.

It might be worth noting that Lever Brothers is especially vulnerable to a boycott by Negroes since, aside from the soaps and detergents that Negroes buy for their own use, they are frequently employed in positions where they buy for employers; and hence, they control the choice of more than they consume.

Lever is also vulnerable especially in the respect that this behavior represents a breach of faith, represents, in effect, a breach of an agreement.

In SPONSOR Magazine of August 17, 1964, your vice-president, H. H. Webber, is quoted, "...in August of last year, we awoke to the fact that, although we had been careful in many areas, we had been largely blind to our basic obligations to American Negroes. When this was pointed out to us, we realized the complaint was a just one.

"Since then, we have made a special and determined effort to encourage our agencies, and the producers and networks whose tv shows we buy, to use Negro models and actors in normal, natural situations. That's the key to the whole thing --- 'normal, natural'. We are not trying to create change, we're trying to reflect it."

In other words, since 1964, there have been only a few background spots in which Negroes were "normal and natural". Also, there is a consistent tendency to use Negro women more than Negro men, again implying that the Negro man does not exist as a part of the American scene.

Part of Mr. Gerz's defense of his segregated commercial was that Lever Brothers is carrying on a campaign on the Negro stations to get Negro youngsters to stay in school. I submit to you that the reason why the Negro children do not stay in school, do not conform to the cultural norms and expectations, is to a great extent that the image projected of their elders suggests that no matter how hard they try, they will not be included as fellow-American citizens. If Lever Brothers genuinely wanted to help in this particular area, Lever Brothers would show Negroes fairly, would give the Negro youngsters encouragement to believe that they could, in fact, succeed and take a place in the mainstream; this belief would then be a reason for staying in school. Lever's explanation of this segregated advertising is fraudulent and spurious.

Back in 1963, it was New York CORE that threatened a boycott of Lever Brothers products. At that time, I was what you might call "an auxiliary", insofar as New York CORE asked me if I would act as its consultant in its talks with Lever Brothers. New York CORE initiated that particular action and New York CORE, which was made up of too many white beatniks for my taste, also dropped the issue quite before any real success had been attained. Up to now, the so-called civil rights struggle has been an entertainment for white liberals. Negroes have to act aggressively in their own behalf. In my panel appearances, I have repeatedly proposed economic and political guerrilla warfare. If you are interested in hearing my remarks, I understand that BBD&O ordered a transcript of my February 1, 1967 appearance on the Long John Nebel Show.

The difference this time is that I am initiating this particular fight; and although there is reason to believe that National CORE will support me, as you will see from the copy of a letter I received from the National CORE Associate Director, Lincoln Lynch, I do not intend to let this drop until it has been made plain to Lever Brothers and to other advertisers that Negroes must be taken into account, and not just with some little sop on the misnamed "Negro" radio stations.

Apropos of the previous meetings with Lever Brothers, see BROADCASTING Magazine of August 12, 1963, and the HERALD-TRIBUNE of August 8, 1963. Lever was represented at those meetings by H. H. Webber, Humphrey Sullivan and Abe Fortas.

I think that the Negro community is much more ready to participate actively in a boycott of Lever Brothers products today than it was in 1963.

Sincerely,

P. Jay Sidney

P. Jay Sidney

Enclosures

cc: Floyd McKissick, Director, National CORE
Lincoln Lynch, Associate Director, National CORE
Charles H. Brower, Chairman of the Board, BBD&O
The Press
et al.

File

April 15, 1967

Mr. Humphrey Sullivan
Lever Brothers Company
Lever House, 390 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Sullivan:

Thank you for your letter of April 12.

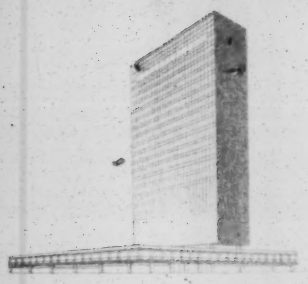
Mr. McKissick is now out of town and will not return until late next week. When he returns, your letter will be brought to his immediate attention.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH



APR 13 1967

LEVER BROTHERS COMPANY

(INCORPORATED)

LEVER HOUSE • 390 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022 • MURRAY HILL 8-6000

PUBLIC RELATIONS DIRECTOR

April 12, 1967

Mr. Floyd McKissick, Director
National Office
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. McKissick:

I gather from press reports that your schedule has made it impossible for us to arrange the early meeting we discussed in our telephone conversation on March 27. In the meantime, two things have happened which I thought I should bring to your attention -- Mr. P. Jay Sidney filed complaints against Lever Brothers Company and one of our advertising agencies, Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, on March 20 with the New York State Commission on Human Rights. On March 21, he filed similar complaints with the New York City Commission on Human Rights.

Since that time I have had a meeting with a representative of the N. Y. State Commission to discuss the complaint. I will be having a meeting with a representative of the N. Y. City Commission shortly.

In connection with the state's investigation, we have been asked for pertinent information concerning the Company's employment, advertising and community policies and activities. Since you expressed interest in these same matters in your letter of March 17, I thought you might like to see a copy of my letter responding to the State Commission's inquiries into these areas. You will note from it that Lever Brothers is giving significant attention to minority groups in its employment, advertising and community activities.

Additionally, your letter of March 17 observed that Lever Brothers Company is not one of the companies which is "cooperating with CORE in projects which are of benefit to the black community." It should be noted that Lever Brothers has never been asked by CORE to consider participation in any projects with CORE except for our efforts in the areas of integrated advertising in which we feel our record of cooperation speaks for itself.

It might be helpful to you if I discuss the one other comment raised in your letter concerning the retention of "racist" public relations firms. You said,

"It is also significant when a firm grants accounts to racist Public Relations firms, while not granting accounts to black concerns. (It appears Lever Brothers follows this practice.)"

Lever Brothers has for the past three years retained the public relations firm of Inez Kaiser & Associates, Kansas City. Mrs. Kaiser, who is a Negro, writes a regular advertising column about Lever Brothers products which appears in 21 leading Negro newspapers across the United States. In addition, in her capacity as a home economist, she represents Lever in a variety of functions.

Lever also retains, from time to time, the services of other public relations firms to carry out assignments promoting our products. None of these firms who are now working for us or who have worked for us in the past are "racists" to our knowledge.

We appreciate your interest in this matter. No person, no company, no laws, no branch of government, no civil rights organization is going to eliminate the inequalities that continue to exist in employment, housing and education. I hope you will agree that it is going to take the concerted effort of all of these groups to do the job. It would be a sad thing indeed if, through lack of communication, those who are working to achieve progress in this field concentrate their energies not on the problem areas but on each other. Therefore, I hope that the information I am furnishing you will make it clear that we are making equal employment opportunity a fact in our Company and in the community.

In the long run, employment at Lever Brothers and community activities by Lever and Lever people depend on the Company's abilities to create and market products consumers want and need. Lever will continue to implement the policies it has in force; and, as it is able, it will continue to be responsive to the larger needs of the community on whom it depends for its customers and employees.

If it would be helpful to you to go into this matter further and you would like to meet with us, please let me know. A meeting can be arranged at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Humphrey Sullivan

HS:tc
Enclosure

cc: Mr. James Farmer
Mr. Lincoln Lynch

P.S.: As your letter was being typed this noon, Mr. Sidney picketed in front of Lever House from shortly after 12:30 until 2:00 p.m. He carried a placard which read: "Don't Buy Lever Brothers Products... Don't Buy Any Products Advertised by BBD&O." He was accompanied by four or five young ladies who passed out handbills. I am enclosing one of the handbills for your information.

LEVER BROTHERS COMPANY
(INCORPORATED)
LEVER HOUSE • 390 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022 • MURRAY HILL 8-6000

April 10, 1967

Mr. Howard E. Jones, Regional Director
State of New York Executive Department
State Commission for Human Rights
62 East 125 Street
New York 35, New York

Dear Mr. Jones:

I am enclosing a copy of our latest federal E.E.O. 1 form covering employment of minority groups during 1966 here at our corporate headquarters, 390 Park Avenue. Since you are concerned with the figures concerning Lever employees in New York State only, copies of the 1966 report covering employment at Lever facilities located in other states have not been enclosed. However, our personnel executives tell me that the overall average of employment is approximately the same for the entire company as it is for our New York headquarters.

Since you expressed interest in our employment and promotion policies, here are some additional facts which bear on the company's record as an equal opportunity employer:

1. Lever Brothers Company has had non-discriminatory provisions regarding hiring and promotion for a good many years. In 1964, these policies were publicly re-affirmed in writing when the company drew up and filed a Plan for Progress, upon joining the nationwide voluntary industry program.

2. There has been a decline of two per cent in overall employment at Lever Brothers in the past four years. Nevertheless, during the same period, there has been a 78 per cent increase in the number of Negro employees. There has been a combined increase of 83 per cent during the same span in the number of Negroes and other minorities employed with Lever. As of December, 1966, total employment in Lever was slightly under 7,700. This included some 665 Negro and other minority group employees* of which the great majority are Negroes.

3. Beginning with the end of 1962, the Company has kept accurate records as a member of the voluntary Plans for Progress industry program to promote equal employment opportunities for Negroes and other minorities in business. These reports are on file with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in Washington. It should be noted that the figures represent net increases and do not reflect

(* American-Indian, Oriental and Spanish-American)

a substantial normal turnover of men and women who joined the Company and then left for other jobs, marriage, etc.

4. There is one other point of interest concerning jobs -- summer employment for college students. Some 144 Negro college students participated in 1965 and 1966, along with 803 other college students, in working with Lever in summer vacation replacement jobs in our five plants. Most of the Negro students were specially recruited in participation with Vice President Humphrey's program to create summer jobs for students.

5. A survey here in our headquarters building, Lever House, shows that Negroes and other minority employees are working in over 50 different types of positions. These range from youngsters in the mailroom to supervisors and managers. A similar check has been made at our plant in Edgewater, New Jersey. There, Negroes and other minorities are employed in some 28 different occupations. These range from production line activities to supervisory and scientific positions.

6. It is worth commenting also on advancement opportunities in Lever Brothers. In Lever House, one out of three Negro and other minority group employees earned and received promotions in 1965 and again in 1966.

What does Lever do to actively recruit Negroes and other minorities? A fair number of people write us or apply directly. Others tell us they learn about the Company from men and women who work for Lever Brothers. When there are openings we cannot fill internally, we advertise in local newspapers, including Negro media. We recruit also from the Urban League's Skills Banks and through employment specialists such as Hallmark and Dick Clarke. We have called on ministers and we have been helped by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. We visit the high schools in plant communities and we recruit at Negro oriented colleges and universities.

7. How have we communicated the Company's employment policies to Lever people? Lever publicly reaffirmed its written policy of nondiscrimination employment and advancement when it joined Plans for Progress. The President and Chief Executive Officer of the Company (now Chairman of the Board), sent, personally, over his signature copies of Lever's Plan for Progress to all Lever executives stressing the need for affirmative action in employment as well as for advancement on the basis of merit only. (a) We publicized our policies at the same time in our Company newspaper.

Since that time, the Company's annual reports have carried over the signature of its top officials statements reiterating Lever's policy and practice "in achieving equal employment opportunities for all citizens." (b)

Mr. Howard E. Jones April 10, 1967

From October, 1963, when the Plan for Progress was signed, to date, the Lever Standard, the Company-wide publication published nine times a year and sent to the home of every employee, has carried 35 articles, features, stories and pictures depicting Negroes and members of other minority groups in natural work or recreational situations.

As it does with the national organization, Lever also works closely with Urban League chapters in our plant cities. The plants work closely with the chapter's Skills Bank in obtaining candidates when job opportunities appear, and give assistance and support to special League projects such as Career Fairs when such events are held. In New York, for instance, Lever is one of the companies financing the League's "Secretarial Training Program" and employs a number of its graduates.

Lever personnel representatives participate in the Plans for Progress Negro College Conferences, in which business and educators exchange views on adapting today's curricula to the educational needs of business and industry today.

We have been active in programs aimed at elementary and high school students who come from Negro and other minority group backgrounds. For the past two years, we have participated with special staffed exhibit booths in the Career Opportunity Exposition sponsored by the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Baltimore, and also took part in a similar industry Career Fair in St. Louis arranged by the local Urban League Chapter and St. Louis Argus newspaper.

Here in New York, our Personnel Department has been cooperating in the anti-poverty program project called JOIN (Job Orientation in Neighborhoods). As you know, the objective is to enable school drop-outs to resume their educations through special remedial programs, or to provide job training in vocations best suited to their skills and interest. Business cooperates by giving on-job training and experience to stimulate the candidate's further interest. We have several such candidates working here at Lever House.

Since 1964, we also have been cooperating with the East Harlem Youth Employment Service by having groups of youngsters visit our Edgewater Plant on an almost monthly basis. They are taken on a tour of the plant and its production lines, learn how our various products are made and the kind of educational skills which are needed for the various jobs to be found in a plant.

You may also find of special interest some of the activities Lever employees undertake to help promote greater understanding and employment gains. For example, the industrial relations managers at several of our plants make frequent visits to the schools in their respective communities to speak to students about the operations and job opportunities to be found with companies and plants such as ours.

Five employees from Lever House responded to a Company appeal and have volunteered their services with Industrial Sponsors for Youth, motivational project of the New York City Youth Board. Each volunteer, working on his own time, is assigned to a particularly troubled youth to persuade him to return to school or apply for a vocational training course suited to his talents and interest. They meet frequently at lunches and go on special tours of city points of interest previously unexplored by the youth. The youths also visit the sponsor's own company and office for a first-hand look at the business world. Lever people are working, too, with the Interracial Council for Business Opportunity. The council's purpose is to strengthen and encourage the development of Negro-owned and operated business enterprises in New York and other major cities.

Through contributions and memberships, Lever provides direct financial support to a variety of national and local Negro-oriented activities and organizations. Examples include the Urban League, the N.A.A.C.P., Plans for Progress vocational guidance institutes, National Merit Achievement Scholarship Program and the United Negro College Fund.

Late in April, three teams of Lever employees who occupy various positions will appear as "living witnesses" at three junior high schools (John M. Coleman Junior High School, Frederick Douglass Junior High School, and Lefferts Junior High School) to encourage the students to stay in school and complete their educations. Together with employees from other New York companies, these volunteers are aiding in a nationwide vocational guidance program developed by Plans for Progress. The volunteers have one important thing in common with the students - all come from minority backgrounds. The volunteers talk about their jobs and what kind of an education it takes to work various occupations.

This brings me to the major community activity in which you have specific interest in connection with the complaint filed by Mr. P. J. Sidney.

In 1964, Lever launched a special series of radio programs designed to encourage and persuade teenagers to complete their educations in order to qualify for the growing number of job opportunities now available to them. The programs are presented Mondays through Fridays on five radio stations which specialize in broadcasting to Negro audiences and one Spanish-language station in the five cities where Lever has facilities. The stations are in New York (including the Spanish-language one), Baltimore, Chicago, St. Louis and Los Angeles. The programs are paid for through product advertising. Normally, the commercials have been read "live" from scripts written for use by the program personality or a station announcer. However, in January, 1967, to gain added impact for a new commercial advertising message concerning Swan Liquid, a light duty dishwashing product made by

Lever, the company and B.B.D.O. (the advertising agency to which the product is assigned) decided to transcribe two commercials in the form of skits. One concerned a housewife whose hands were "on fire" from dishwashing and a fireman who recommended she put the fire out with Swan; the second commercial has a similar theme involving a fire chief and a fireman who recommend the same help in responding to a telephone call from the housewife. Copies of both scripts are enclosed. (C) You have heard the actual recording which we can make available if you desire. Mr. Sidney was one of the three Negro actors hired by B.B.D.O. for the commercials which were made specifically for our plant cities' public service radio shows.

We believe, from mail and other evidence, that these programs are achieving their purpose to a worthwhile degree. For example, just last month, Art Rust, the "host" of the New York program on WWRL, was signally honored by six different Harlem youth organizations and a neighborhood mothers' group for his dedicated broadcast efforts in behalf of youth. Each group presented him with a specially inscribed plaque or trophy as expressions of their appreciation for his efforts.

Mr. Sidney himself provides a link to some further pertinent facts about Lever advertising policies in connection with fostering equal employment opportunities on television. Mr. Sidney has previously been employed by B.B.D.O. to appear in a Lifebuoy Soap television commercial filmed in 1964 and which was still being shown from coast to coast in 1966.

In 1963, Mr. Harold H. Webber, Lever consumer relations vice president, issued policy letters on the subject of integrated commercials and programs to our then six, now five, advertising agencies, including B.B.D.O. He also wrote the three major television networks and the major producers of television programs. Copies of this correspondence are enclosed. (d) Since that time, our product managers and Lever's advertising agencies have been regularly reminded of our policies in this area. A copy of the most recent communication on this subject is enclosed.

We are also able to give you what we believe to be an accurate summary of our progress in both helping create more jobs on and off screen for Negroes in our advertising and in insuring a more realistic representation of the nation's population on the screen in our television commercials:

1. It should be noted that better than 90 per cent of the Company's advertising expenditures are devoted to television.

11. Lever, we have been told, was the first company to present an integrated commercial on network television in 1963, thereby breaking

Mr. Howard E. Jones April 10, 1967

a long-standing barrier. The initial integrated commercial for Wisk, a liquid laundry detergent, featured Negro and white youngsters engaged in a Little League baseball game.

III. Since that initial showing, over a four-year period (1963-1966), a total of 142 TV integrated commercials involving 14 different Lever products have received 380,034 major city showings throughout the United States. These include both spot and network commercials on stations reaching millions of families, nationwide.

IV. Lever products are also advertised in specialized media. These include Spanish-language stations in the southwest, Negro radio stations and advertisements in Negro print media. Mrs. Inez Kaiser, a well-known Negro home economist and public relations consultant, who specializes in the homemaking areas in which our business is centered, is retained by Lever. She writes a column discussing Lever products and offering helpful hints to housewives. Her column appears regularly in 21 major Negro newspapers across the country. Lever product commercials are also aired on the Company's six public service radio programs broadcast daily in the cities where the Company has facilities.

If there is any additional information you require concerning this matter, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Humphrey Sullivan
Public Relations Director

HS:meb

cc: Messrs. H. H. Webber
R. V. Shorey

Enclosures:

Page 1, Para. 1 - E.E.O. 1 Form

(a) Lever Plan for Progress
(b) Lever Annual Reports - 1964, 1965, 1966
(c) Swan Liquid - Scripts
(d) Policy Letters

LEVER BROTHERS CO.

does NOT use NEGROES fairly in its Commercials

EVERYONE
is urged
NOT TO BUY

LEVER BROTHERS PRODUCTS

Dove	Lipton Tea
All	Surf
Lux	Whisk
Imperial Margarine	Lux Flakes
Pepsodent Toothpaste	Handy Andy
Rinso	Swan Liquid
Stripe Toothpaste	Lifebuoy
Glamorene Rug Cleaner	Praise, etc.

This ad paid for by P. Jay Sidney

Don't Buy Anything Made by LEVER BROTHERS. . .
. . . and Dont Buy Anything Advertised by BBD&O.

The above ad was refused by the AMSTERDAM NEWS, which is more interested in Lever Brothers than in the Negro community. The AMSTERDAM NEWS is an Uncle Tom newspaper.

(Is it true that Bobby Kennedy has bought the AMSTERDAM NEWS as the first step in making Harlem his personal plantation?)

This Leaflet Distributed by P. Jay Sidney

APR 13 1967

April 11, 1967

Mr. P. Jay Sidney
1303 Dean
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11216

Dear "P.J.",

Enclosed are the copies of the CORE letter you requested. You know that I am pleased to assist you in the cause to which you dedicate yourself unselfishly. I am, however, surprised that you apparently do not see that the CORE letter reaches out to you in the clearest of terms...even though the first few lines seem to reflect a bristling reaction to something they took exception to from you.

The fact that you, personally, are such a valuable asset to the total struggle for human dignity is the reason I take time to let you know what is in my heart and what is on my mind. I believe that reconciliation of those things which belong together is the greatest thing we can hope for throughout all human life. Mr. Lynch stated quite clearly that he felt you belonged together...and he made repeated overtures for you to get together.

Everyone of us in this struggle has--at one time or another--acted emotionally. And, upon reflection, often has seen the need to adjust to a more viable position. You know, too that this whole effort for human dignity is much too great for any of us to attack each other for what obviously are relatively minor differences.

Always I shall do whatever I can for you in relation to your obvious endeavors as indicated by your unique record. As important as you are to the struggle, even if you don't need CORE, CORE has certainly acknowledged that they need you. Accordingly, and for the good of all of us who love you, I do wish you would reconsider your initial reaction taken to the recent CORE letter.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin H. Wright
410 Central Park West
New York, N.Y. 10025

BHW/lj
cc: Lincoln Lynch
bc: Floyd McKissick

From The Office Of:
Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz
80 Centre Street
New York City
(COrtlandt 7-9800, Ext. 7192)

NEWS RELEASE

RELEASE P.M. NEWSPAPERS
WEDNESDAY, MAY 3, 1967

"Wanted -- Ivy League Types -- For Immediate Employment."

Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz said today that advertisements in help wanted columns offering employment to "Ivy League types" by one of the largest employment agencies in New York City have been the subject of action by his Civil Rights Bureau resulting in an agreement by the agency that it will cease and desist from such advertising in the future.

"While the New York State law against discrimination does not prevent employers from giving preference to 'graduates' of particular schools, the use of the phrase 'Ivy League type' in an employment enquiry is generally a disguise for a discriminatory inquiry which cannot be justified under existing law," Attorney General Lefkowitz said.

He said that the phrase "Ivy League Types" has been resented by civil rights organizations for many years because of its connotation that it limits employment to individuals of limited social background.

The company which signed an assurance of discontinuance of the form of advertising with the Attorney General's office is the Patton Personnel Agency, Inc., of 100 West 42nd Street, New York City. The agency agreed to cease this form of advertising in seeking personnel for their clients.

The assurance of discontinuance also prohibits the company from using any other phrase or other indication denoting race, creed, color, national origin or sex on any form or in connection with any application for employment.

Attorney General Lefkowitz said that he expected that other employment agencies which may use similar phrases in advertising for personnel would follow the example of the Patton agency.

The violation of the assurance of discontinuance would constitute prima facie evidence sufficient to permit the Attorney General to seek a permanent injunction against the firm.

-30-

From: Charles W. Stickle, Executive Assistant to the Attorney General
COrtlandt 7-9800, Extensions 7192, 7175 and 7187.

STATEMENT

of

P. JAY SIDNEY

given before

Committee on Education and Labor of the

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

10-30-62

Mr. Chairman:

I intend to give testimony indicating discrimination against Negroes in television and radio—discrimination that is almost all-pervading, that is calculated and continuing—discrimination which is possible in the degree that it is practiced because of the "cooperation", if not the outright collusion of public officials.

I understand that the concern of this hearing is the hiring practice per se. I have engaged in a campaign to bring about a fairer presentation of Negroes image-wise. If some of my facts seem, at first glance, to be digressions from the Committee's area of concern—I beg the Committee's indulgence; I think you will find my testimony, in the end, entirely relevant to the Committee's concern.

I have some competence to testify on the subject of Negro employment in television. I have appeared in more than 170 shows and have worked in television for eleven years. I have even more years experience being a Negro; someone once said that every Negro has two careers—one at which he makes a living—and the other of being a Negro.

I believe that Negroes are discriminated against to a large extent because of the image of Negroes that is held by most white people in the United States. When Negroes were first dragged off slave ships, Christian white Americans could justify enslaving them on the premise that the Negroes were less than human; this was the whites' image of the Negroes. Today—after several hundred years of alleged progress, the Negro is suffering still from the image that white Americans have of him.

Television is the greatest opinion-molding medium yet devised; one does not have to be able to read to be influenced by it. It is ubiquitous; it has been estimated that there are more television sets than toilets in America. What is this most formidable of opinion-molding media promulgating as regards Negroes? By excluding Negroes from what purports to be a true representation of the American scene, television is projecting the image of Negroes as non-existent, except possibly as servants here and there.

The epitome of the damaging image of Negroes projected by the broadcasting industry is the following: I know of only one instance where Negroes appeared in an outer space program—and that time, Captain Video landed on some planet and found it inhabited by Negroes dressed like savages and we made sounds like animals.

This imagery—false imagery of Negroes—affects adversely not only the hiring practices in the broadcasting industry, but *everywhere* that a Negro applies for a job, he not only has to qualify, but also has to get past the white interviewer's image of him (an image preconceived—and reenforced daily by the mass media, the most effective of which is television, effective because "one picture is worth a thousand words").

My campaign to have Negroes presented as they occur on the American scene bears directly on the employment of Negroes in television programs, since it is to be presumed that if Negroes are to be presented fairly, Negro actors would have to be hired to play Negroes.

Negroes do not necessarily play Negroes on radio, however. I cite the following to point up the *extremity*—I repeat, the extremity of the exclusion of Negroes from broadcasting generally—and from radio in particular. On February 4, 1962, the "Eternal Light" radio show did a dramatization of George Washington Carver's life. Five of the characters were Negroes by historical fact—yet four of these five characters were played by white actors. I played George Washington Carver. I assumed that I had been hired because I do the southern accent well (Mr. Carver spoke with the accent of the deep south). I was not allowed to use the southern accent, however, because the little white boy who played Carver as a boy could not do the southern accent. Insult was added to injury, which was compounded with absurdity.

I indicated to the director, when the program was over, my outrage at this ultimate in exclusion of Negroes from employment in broadcasting. The director, Daniel Sutter, an NBC employee, told me that he did not know any Negro actors—he only knew of me because I had been recommended by George Voutsas, previous director of "Eternal Light". Mr. Voutsas, in turn, had only heard of me by asking a Negro secretary at NBC if she knew a Negro actor. Please note, Mr. Chairman, that Negro actors are not sought out in the normal channels. I was at that time listed in Players' Guide as having appeared in more than 150 television shows and more than a dozen Broadway plays. This again demonstrates that, for most white people, Negroes are not actors, or doctors, or lawyers—not really—but are, rather, all members of a secret lodge, domiciled in Harlem or some other Colored Town—all knowing each other, and all experts on each other.

It was ironic. Here I was on February 4, 1962, playing on a radio show not because of my talent or my considerable experience, but because the particular secretary whom Mr. Voutsas had asked earlier if she knew a Negro actor, happened to have gone to college with my wife.

With the route so circuitous, is it any wonder that so few Negroes get work on radio?

Mr. Sutter said that he did not know any Negro actors or actresses. I talked with Ruby Dee that same night and she said that he knew her very well. It turned out that Mr. Sutter had called two Negro actresses who are sisters and live together. For some reason, neither of them could do the show. So—Mr. Sutter expended *one* telephone call in his search for Negro actors.

In a letter dated February 26, 1962, NBC Vice President George Fuchs defended Mr. Sutter thus, and I quote, "The program director then contacted the Jewish Theological Seminary and spoke with Miss Barbara Tillman requesting her assistance in obtaining

Negro children to play parts in the program. Miss Tillman could offer no suggestions in this area." Please note that NBC Vice President Fuchs sees nothing wrong with Mr. Sutter's not finding Negro children since, after all, Mr. Sutter had sought Negro children through the Jewish Theological Seminary. Now isn't that the logical place to inquire if one really wanted to find Negro children? I don't know why Mr. Sutter did not try the Swedish Consulate.

I pointed out to him—and I restate here—that I see nothing wrong with whites playing Negroes on radio, if Negroes are given an opportunity to play anything their voices qualify them to play. But I said that I was bitter if Negroes are restricted to playing Negroes—and then are *even* displaced from roles historically Negro.

Then Mr. Sutter told me that some years ago, a directive was issued to all NBC radio directors that Negroes were to be used wherever they qualified—but he admitted that that directive *had never been implemented*. I have with me a tape recording of that conversation.

I have cited and shall cite my own experiences—not to dramatize myself, but rather because I felt it was better to speak authoritatively about my own experiences, than to conjecture secondhandedly about someone else's experiences.

Since television is visual, the exclusion of Negroes is even more obvious and incontrovertible than on radio. Negroes are not presented in the roles in which they appear in everyday American life. Failure to do so reflects in the almost total lack of employment for Negro actors—and, as might be expected under such circumstances, the minimum wage allowable is almost always the maximum paid to Negro actors.

My campaign to have Negroes presented more fairly first took the form of letter-writing. I got some pious, self-righteous replies—some were evasive—some utterly unresponsive to the issue.

I received one very revealing letter from NBC Director of Broadcast Standards, Carl M. Watson. He insisted that NBC had an iron-clad non-discriminatory policy and went on to prove it by citing the use of Leontyne Price on the NBC Opera. I replied to him that Negro *stars* had never been at a loss for work—but that white performers could get work on NBC without being of star stature. Mr. Watson noted that NBC had been commended by the State Commission Against Discrimination; this, and other facts that I shall bring out, will, I believe, mark the State Commission as NBC-lovers.

From the letter-writing stage, I moved into the more overt stage of my campaign. Lawrence Langner of the Theatre Guild, which produces the U.S. Steel Hour, scrawled an imperious message in pencil on the bottom of a letter I had written to him, and returned it to me. Mr. Langner's message cited a play from the 1930s and one from the 1940s as evidence that I was slandering one of our "few friends in the theatre". With condescending and paternalistic friends like the Theatre Guild, Negro actors don't need enemies.

With the insult of this pencil-written note added to the injury of the almost total exclusion of Negroes from the U.S. Steel Hour's representation of the American scene, I decided to begin my picketing at the Theatre Guild, apropos of the U.S. Steel Hour.

On the second day of picketing, I was asked in to talk with George Kondolf, who produces the U.S. Steel Hour for the Theatre Guild, Armina Marshall, a partner and a co-founder of the Guild,

Warren Caro, a partner in the Guild, and one of the Theatre Guild's attorneys named Forster.

Mr. Caro hastened to reassure me that Miss Marshall was not prejudiced, because "she entertains Negroes in her home." I tried to make clear that the object was getting Negroes represented on the U.S. Steel Hour – not social acceptance by Miss Marshall. Among other things said at that meeting, Mr. Kondolf admitted that many fewer Negroes were being used on the U.S. Steel Hour then (January 17, 1962), than during the years 1954-1956. Mr. Forster urged me to seek relief through the State Commission Against Discrimination; the reason for that will be clearer when I explain why I picketed the State Commission, accusing it of being "a political gimmick to lull Negroes into a sense of false security."

At one point, the Theatre Guild's lawyers, Fitelson and Mayers, attempted to intimidate me into silence by threatening litigation. They sent a three page telegram threatening to sue over the fact that my signs quoted Mr. Caro on Miss Marshall's entertaining Negroes up at the "Big House", and that I quoted what Mr. Langner had scribbled in pencil, and quoted a statement, ascribed by the NEW YORK POST to Mr. Kondolf, to the effect that "there are not too many parts that can be believably played by Negroes." My attorney, Bruce Wright, answered Fitelson and Mayers by return mail, pointing out that not only was I properly exercising my right of free speech with the picket signs, but that quite possibly, the passage of their telegram through so many hands constituted publication of statements that are legally actionable. The fact that Fitelson and Mayers did not bring action on behalf of the Theatre Guild suggests that they merely threatened suit in the hope of silencing my protests.

Next, with some friends, I picketed David Susskind in regard to the failure to show Negroes on the Armstrong Circle Theatre. Mr. Susskind agreed, as did the Theatre Guild, to use Negroes more fairly. And it must be said in his behalf that the Armstrong Circle Theatre has made a more earnest effort than the U.S. Steel Hour.

It became evident that there was not time or energy enough to picket each show. So I approached the State Commission Against Discrimination, now called the State Commission for Human Rights. (I cannot help suspecting that the name was changed because, as shameless as they are, even they became uncomfortable with the "Against Discrimination" in their name when they were and are so patently ineffectual against discrimination – possibly by design.)

On January 31, 1962, I met with Commissioner George Fowler (now chairman). He said that he was so biased in favor of my position that he would turn my complaint over to another commissioner. He suggested, however, that we have lunch the next week.

At lunch, Mr. Fowler all but assured me that the Governor would appoint a committee of "top people" to investigate the exclusion of Negroes from television. (I have recordings of that and other conversations with Mr. Fowler, with the then chairman Ogden Reid, and with vice-chairman Bernard Katzen. These recordings should be required listening for anyone who doesn't yet know the definition of a "snow job".) He suggested that I request an audience with the then chairman Reid.

On March 1, 1962, I, with several others who had interested themselves in my campaign, went to see Mr. Reid. The others were Bruce Wright, Rev. Sidney Lanier, and Jesse Walker of the *Amsterdam News*. I set forth my premise that the Negro people were all being hurt by the image fostered by television's exclusion or misrepresentation of Negroes. I repeatedly asked if this image complaint was within the competence of the State Commission. Repeatedly, Mr. Reid assured me that it was.

I would like to say, in passing, that I am not citing the actions of the State Commission by way of appealing to a higher body for review, but I cite this ignoble history more to indicate the poor prognosis of getting any help – at this level of government – for the grievous plight of Negroes in relation to the broadcasting industry.

Mr. Reid said he would talk to the "top men in television" whom he knew personally. I objected to this "drink at the club" type of law enforcement.

What with Mr. Reid's telling me one thing and telling a New York Times reporter another – it became increasingly clear that I was knee deep in deceptions and misrepresentations at the State Commission.

First I picketed the State Commission, then the Governor's New York office. I wanted some public statement of intent, to correspond to the private (but recorded) representations given me by Messrs. Reid and Fowler. On May 18, 1962, Mr. Fowler (by then, chairman) declared against the damaging image of non-whites put forth by television. The *New York Times* report of the above date quoted Mr. Fowler in what was a recapitulation, almost verbatim, of the complaint I had made to Mr. Fowler on our first meeting. Mr. Fowler did not indicate that the idea did not originate with him; nowhere did he mention my having made the complaint. The *Times* reporter, however, having heard me set forth the ideas before, noted at the end of the article that I had initiated the complaint. It seemed to me important who made the complaint, because that would determine who might *drop* the issue (as apparently Mr. Fowler has done.)

When I went to lunch with Mr. Fowler, he asked me to call him George, and he called me Old Buddy – this was seemingly in lieu of action by him in the area of his competence and responsibility.

The final stroke that made me know I had mistaken the holdup men's hangout for the police station, came when the State Commission rendered a decision on a specific charge that I had leveled against NBC. I complained to the State Commission that I had sought a job "in the production of television shows". In order to find in NBC's favor, the Commission changed "in the production of television shows" to "producer". The producer is the top man, but there are many jobs under him. I should not be such a fool as to apply for a job as producer; but the State Commission made me out such a fool to protect the network. First NBC was commended by Elmer Carter (former chairman, State Commission Against Discrimination), and now Bernard Katzen protects NBC by changing the wording of my complaint. I cannot help wondering if NBC is not a branch of the State Government.

Also, there have been deceptive maneuvers and pronouncements by CBS and ABC. CBS made a big thing of hiring Rex Ingram as a regular on the "Brighter Day" program – only a few weeks before it announced that "Brighter Day" was going off the air

permanently. The NEW YORK TIMES of September 5, 1962, observed that it was going to "be a short day for Mr. Ingram". Since network program plans are made quite far in advance, one cannot help suspecting that Mr. Ingram was installed as a crew member on a ship that was known to be sinking. It is my considered belief that the announcement of Mr. Ingram's employment as a "regular" (which indicated continuing appearances) was made as a publicity gimmick.

At ABC, James Hagerty drew out his alleged search for a Negro newsman for many months. There was a great deal said and written about his intending to hire a Negro newsman. It had a lot of the quality of being the Harlem version of the much-publicized search for someone to play Scarlett O'Hara; it was a propaganda maneuver. Mr. Hagerty acted as if the news department were the *only* area in which Negroes were being excluded by ABC; it was a smoke screen, and not a very successful one.

Unimaginatively, the other networks followed suit and hired a Negro newsman. The fashion in pets changes from time to time. This season, no network worth the mention would want to be caught without a Negro newsman in tow.

It seems to me that in this aping of each other, hiring only newsmen, the networks have displayed no ingenuity – and have been utterly *unresponsive* to the charge of employment discrimination against Negroes. It is too little and much, unconscionably much too late.

Commercials are the "Ole Miss" of the broadcasting industry. I don't know of any commercials that have been made using Negroes, that are shown on television or played over radio stations other than over the so-called Negro stations.

Commercials are perhaps the most lucrative broadcasting activity that a non-star can engage in. And there are no Negroes really in it. Commercials have been made with Negroes but those have not been shown, to the best of my knowledge.

In August, 1961, N. W. Ayer, one of the biggest advertising agencies, called in five or six Negroes to try out for a radio commercial for Feenamint. I was chosen. I made three commercials. I heard no more about them, which is a sign that they were not being used; the big money from commercials comes not from the making of them, but from their re-use.

On March 1, 1962, when I spoke with the then chairman Reid of the State Commission, I told him of my experience with N. W. Ayer. I told him I thought it was a maneuver on N. W. Ayer's part to be able to say, "We used a Negro once; we don't discriminate."

By the oddest coincidence, I got a call the next day from N. W. Ayer. I made some more Feenamint commercials; this time, the man from Pharmaco (they make Feenamint) gleefully assured me that my commercials would be distributed "to all the Negro stations." I speak well enough to have been hired last year to narrate a LIFE Magazine film, in competition with some of the best announcers in television; I narrated a film describing General Dynamics Corporation's commercially available atomic reactor; I narrated a film on the Rehabilitation Program of the State of New Jersey, which won an award; I recently narrated a film commemorating the 150th anniversary of J. P. Stevens Textiles. But according to Pharmaco and N. W. Ayer, I can urge only the colored section to keep regular with Feenamint.

Except for the *Life* Magazine film, the films I listed above were made under the aegis of On Film, Inc. It is a small film producing company, but they were integrated before there was any pressure to be so. But the State Commission has given them no commendation.

I had intended to confine this statement to hiring policies in broadcasting, but there is one section of the theater which I urge this Committee to examine – that is the tax-exempt Ford Foundation grants to repertory theaters that will not hire a Negro as a regular member of the acting company. I protested to Dr. Henry T. Heald of the Ford Foundation earlier this year. The answer I got was that the foundation does not interfere in the internal workings of the recipient companies. However, I take the view that, insofar as and to the extent that the Ford Foundation and the recipient theaters are tax-exempt – to that extent, the Federal Government is subsidizing them; the Federal Government is subsidizing theaters that restrict Negroes to darky parts, or exclude them altogether. Is it possible that the Ford Foundation does indeed exercise some control, detrimental to Negro employment opportunities, by supporting theaters that discriminate, while withholding support from the New York Shakespeare Festival which is eminently fair in its employment of Negroes?

Apropos of the Federal Government's role in discriminatory hiring practices: the Voice of America's broadcast of "The Patriots", May 19, 1962, had a white English actor playing Thomas Jefferson's Negro servant. On May 23, 1962, I sent the following night letter to Edward R. Murrow: "I understand that on a Voice of America broadcast of May 19, 1962, an English actor was used to portray an American Negro servant of Thomas Jefferson. How far can you go in excluding Negroes from your presentation of America?"

In summary, I think that the broadcasting industry is guilty of discrimination against Negroes. I think this discrimination would not be possible in New York without the aid and cooperation of State officials. And finally, I think I have shown that the Federal government aids, abets and indeed, practices the same discrimination against Negro performers.

My campaign has not gone unnoticed in the press – although the networks have tried to pretend that my fight did not exist, or at least, that if they ignored me, I would go away. Recently, a CBS vice president told me he had not heard of my campaign – in spite of the fact that the following publications have carried articles written wholly or in part about it: JOURNAL-AMERICAN, February 20 and 27, March 2, June 19, July 2; TIMES, March 7 and 24, April 7, May 18, June 6 and 10; *Variety*, February 21 (front page), March 7, May 9, May 30 (front page), June 27; *Daily Variety*, May 31 (front page); POST, February 11 and 13, 23 (late city), June 4 and 11; *Herald-Tribune*, June 13; *Amsterdam News*, February 3, March 3, 10, 24 and 31, April 7, May 26, June 2 and 16, July 14; NEWS WEEK, August 20; *Broadcasting* Magazine, September 3, 1962.

No return address

Requiem for Equal Employment Opportunity --

Stillborn at the Pentagon

Executive Order 10925 issued by President Kennedy banned discrimination based on race, creed, color or national origin by those companies that would do business with the federal government. The three previous administrations had promulgated non-discrimination executive orders that were mainly goodwill statements with only passive requirements. Executive Order 10925was a vigorous statement that required "affirmative actions" by the government contractors, provided for a compliance review system and stipulated contract-cancellation sanctions in the event of continued non-compliance.

Executive Order 10925 assigned responsibility to the federal agency (generally with the largest dollar value of contracts with a particular company) to secure compliance with the Executive Order and with the Rules and Regulations of the President's Committee on Equal Employmant Opportunity. Executive Order 11246 extended the coverage of the order to include all facilities of a government contractor whether or not government work was performed at the facility, and changed the name of the President's Committee on EEO to the Office of Federal Contracts Compliance. Executive Order 11246 was issued by President Johnson.

Each major federal agency instituted its own compliance review and investigation procedures, hired or appointed its own compliance specialists, and in varying degrees implemented its responsibility to secure compliance.

The Department of Defense agencies --Air Force, Army, Navy, and Defense Supply Agency(DSA)--had by far the largest number of contractors and the largest Equal Employmant Opportunity(EEO) compliance programs and staffs. EachDOD agency had its own EEO program, EEO director, and EEO staffs. Each DOD agency EEO program was organizationally assigned to that agency's contract management division, Thus, despite this "logical placement," each agency's EEO program, whose function involved bringing drastic change to traditional practices in American industry and to DOD contract management, had to attempt to overcome the contract management division's desire for "smooth" operation of the contract function without the bothersome introduction of new, "extraneous" EEO considerations.

The effectiveness of each Agency's EEO program was soon apparent as differing approaches, strengths, scopes of programs, and rates of progress began to emerge. One DOD agency emerged as the forerunner--recognized by the plaudits of the President's Committee on EEO (later by the Office of Federal Contracts Cpmpliance) and by the protests of its contractors --thanks to a fortuitous combination of a dynamic and able EEO director supported by a strong Assistant Secretary who endorsed the program and aided in its implementation. This agency was the Department of the Navy.

The Navy EEO program, operating with some thirty field EEO specialists, blanketed the country conducting comprehensive compliance reviews and complaint investigations, and maintained effective contact with contractors, minority group agencies, and local civic and governmental agencies. The Navy EEO program began to function fully in late 1963 and flourished for over two years. It operated by reviewing single-establishment contractors as well as facilities of multi-establishment contractors. At the conclusion of the review the Navy specialist--sitting with the company president in the case of a single establishment facility, or, with top corporate representatives in the case of a multi-establishment corporation (and in this case, armed with reports of reviews of a representative sampling of field facilities)--would inicate the contractor's EEO deficiencies and make recommendations for corrective action. The recommendations were designed to help the contractor reach compliance and were to be meaningfully implemented and functioning prior to the return visit.

Special Navy EEO program-extensions were established to deal with Labor groups and problems. There was a Spanish-American program; there was an American Indian program; there was one Navy specialist who dealt primarily with the concentration of multi-establishment coporate offices in New York City. There was no one specialist dealing exclusively with Negro problems since this problem was so all-encompassing that each specialist had this duty built into his job wherever he worked.

In the Fall of 1965 the Department of Defense announced that it was consolidating each agency EEO program into one DOD-EEO program. The new program would organizationally be under the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower, Mr. Tom Morris. It would be supervised by Mr. Jack Moscowitz (Deputy Undersecretary) and would be coordinated by Mr. Ralph Horton who would serve as Director of overall DOD-EEO. Running the substantive aspects of the DOD-EEO program for contractor compliance (soon to be called the Contracts Compliance Office (CCO)) was Mr. Girard P. Clark, the ~~former~~ former Director of the Navy EEO program.

The announced consolidation took nine months to be effected from the date of its announcement late in 1965. During this time the pace of each DOD agency EEO program dwindled rapidly. The morale of many of the EEO specialists suffered as program momentum decreased, and as uncertainty, rumors, passage of time, and inaction at the Pentagon top levels increased. A significant number of key, experienced personnel resigned as the consolidation efforts, inadequately championed by Messrs. Horton and Mosowitz, dragged on. Most key Navy specialists, loyal to Mr. Clark and confident in his ability to direct an effective DOD-EEO program once given the go-ahead, elected to remain. Many Army, Air Force and DSA specialists, aware of Mr. Clark's reputation. also elected to remain.

Finally in August, 1966 the consolidation took effect. Mr. Clark began to direct the DOD Contracts Compliance Office (CCO). under whom close to one hundred field specialists and over a dozen headquarters personnel worked.

Mr. Clark, given assurance that he was in charge of running the DOD-CCO and that he had a free hand, set about to regain the ground and the pace lost during the consolidation period. He patterned the DOD-CCO program--on a largwe scale--after his former Navy program. It featured centralized controlfrom Washington through regional directors; comprehensive, in-depth Compliance Revies and Complaint Investigations; Corporate-Wide Compliance reviews, Corporate headquarters reviews, revisits, and meetings, expanded Special Programs with Spanish-Americans, American Indians, Labor Groups, and Construction Industry problems. For contractors who remained in non-compliance there were confrontations and hearings in Washington headquartes prior to a sanction recommendation. The program was, after a short time, building to a dynamic, result-producing operation for DOD. It was at that point in time when Mr. Clark's superior, Ralph Horton began to take a more active role in Mr. Clarks CCO operation. This was the beginning of the end for the DOD Contracts Compliance Program.

For Mr. Horton toserve as Director of EEO for the DOD was an abomination; Mr. Horton is a bigot! (It would be interesting to note who appointed him to his EEO post) Mr. Horton speaks of and refers to'Niggers, Coons, and Kikes." He refers to DOD-CCO field specialists as "bus riders" alluding to the "freedom bus rides" for integration during the early 1960's. Mr. Horton was also in the strange habit of receiving phone calls from complaining government contractors at his office and at his home. The contractors, then, with apparently renewed confidence would then face their EEO tormentors from Mr. Clark's office. This is a brief portrait of the bigot who began to override and undercut Girard Clark as director of DOD-CCO, eventually reaching the point where Horton felt confident enough to distribute to all regional offices a memo stating that he (Horton) sets policy and Clark merely implements it. Horton encroached further on Clark's effectiveness by prohibiting any meaningful contact between Clark and the outside Office of Federal Contracts Cpmpliance, by communicating directly with regional CCO offices and personnel, by limiting Mr. Clark's ability to travel and to initiate correspondence, and by generally reducing Clark's position to that of figurehead status. Thus was the stage fully set for the nullification of the CCO program.

Yet, Clark remained on the scene preferring to fight to salvage what he could of his CCO program. The next stage was for Horton to eliminate Clark since he refused to leave of his own accord. Clark, however, has Civil Service Career status and would have to be eliminated through chamels rather than simply dismissed.

Late in 1966 a DOD Management Survey team began to study the DOD-CCO operation via intensive interviewing of CCO headquarters personnel, field directors, and Special Programs personnel. The survey team also visited contractor facilities in the field to obtain the contractors' evaluations of the CCO operation but avoided visiting minority group agencies and other civic groups to obtain their evaluations of CCO. Mr. Horton traveled throughout the country with the survey team. Prior to the submission of the survey team's report Mr. Horton issued a series of directives and memoranda which appeared designed to anticipate the recommendations of the survey team and turn them to his advantage. Nor will it ever be known to what extent Mr. Horton prejudiced and influenced the team's point of view.

The main thrust of the Horton memoranda aimed at accomplishing the following points: There was to be a general decentralization of authority away from Clark and out to the field dirctors who would relate directly to Horton when necessary. All compliance review scheduling, which had been centrally handled for maximum timing and impact, was to be done by each regional director, and the review reports were to be retained in the field rather than forwarded to Washington CCO as in the past. This system , or any variation from the CCO method of central control and deadline action , would effectively eliminate the corporate-wide review concept and headquarters conciliation meetings which had proved so effective in moving huge corporations toward compliance. Field specialist qualifications and grade levels were to be revised. Horton had indicated he wanted to be certain he could recruit people with personnel and industrial backgrounds who could understand the contractor's problem rather than being overburdehed with too many, what Horton called. "Urban League and B'nai BRith types." (Many of the specialists and field personnel had civil rights agency backgrounds --Mr. Horton knew of this from having required extensive biographical sketches from each employee) Special Programs operations were to be eliminated as not properly being the concern of DOD. These moves would reduce the headquarters workforce substantially and, in the course, eliminate all Negroes, Jews and female professionals from the scene.

Obviously the DOD management survey team and Mr. Horton subscribed to, and could always take refuge under, the currently fashionable mystique that holds decentralization to be the cure for all organizational ills. They preferred not to realize that DOD-CCO could not be effective without centralized fingertip control. In any event, it is obvious to those who knew motivation, that the recommendations would speed, if not actually designed for, the elimination of Mr. Clark. In fact, during its tour of CCO regional offices, one member of the survey team commentd that there didn't seem to be a need for a Horton and a Clark.

On February 20, 1967 in a surprise development, announced by Mr. Jack Moscowitz, Ralph Horton was relieved as DOD-EEO director and Girard Clark was relieved as CCO director. Mr. Moskowitz, their immediate supervisor, who up to this point had abdicated most of his responsibilities through inaction, was designated to run the CCO operation for an interim period.

Without inside information from those responsible for all these moves one can only conjecture regarding why both Horton and Clark were relieved at the same time. It is not unreasonable to assume that the DOD survey team would have recommended eliminating Mr. Clark's post for Mr. Horton had effectively reduced his authority and role. It is probable, that the survey team, in finding certain CCO areas of operation to be in a disorganized state ascribed blame to Mr. Clark and never realized that the structuring of the program and Horton's deliberate meddling , and Mr. Moskowitz's lack of interest were actually to blame and that Clark had to work to overcome these disabilities.

As to Mr. Horton's discharge, it had become increasingly common knowledge, due to his often compulsively intemperate remarks, that Horton was a bigot. No doubt many of the field specialists, (most of whom were motivated by and committed to equal opportunity and civil rights) had complained of Horton's bigotry; no doubt the leading civil rights agencies (who manifest an uncanny ability to keep up with civil rights developments within the murk of government) had learned to Horton's bigoted nature and voiced their horror over a bigot bearing the title, Director of DOD-EEO.

Nevertheless the machinery for the destruction of the DOD-CCO program had already been set in motion by Horton, had been accelerated by the DOD Management Survey Team, had been allowed to develop by the lack of original interest and abdication of later responsibility by Deputy Secretary Jack Moscowitz and his superior Assistant Secretary Thomas Morris --sothat the momentum once built up, and headed for destruction through nullification, was impossible to slow down. Those who had abdicated responsibility could at this point, only seek to protect themselves and to cover up their original negligence by justifying their own action at this late date. Thus change, for the sake of self-salvation and for justification had to take place.

During the last week in February,1967 another Management Consultant team was brought in --this time a firm headed by a Mr. Blaisdell, a former high-ranking Pentagon official-- to draw up plans to implement the recommendations of the original survey team. This was the escape exit for those responsible for inertia, inaction and deceit; call in the "outside experts," pay a considerable fee(taxpayer's money) for their advice and of course, then follow the advice. But the advice of the experts was pre-determined for the Blaisdell team's mission was to implement the original team's recommendations. And neither team had the slightest knowledge of the techniques and subtleties of the civil rights field, nor of pushing unwilling contractors into compliance with EEO requirements, and their attitudes to responses to their questions indicated they were unwilling to learn about these fields of specialized knowledge. In fact some of their attitudes were hostile to civil rights and EEO and oriented toward and in sympathy with "the problems of industry."

As during the hiatus occurring while the DOD-EEO consolidation took place. so now during this interregnum the Contracts Compliance mission wandered aimlessly, personnel morale ebbed, key specialists resigned, others -- hoping fitfully for the return of sanity, purpose and Mr. Clark-- waited awhile, despaired, and began to seek other positions ~~and~~ as time and stagnation continued.

Those who hoped for the return of Mr. Clark despaired evenmore when they realized that even were he, by some miracle to return to his directorship,what would be left of the program. And what strange form would the "new" but emasculated program assume?

During this time one other important factor emerged. The knowledge of what was happening leaked to the outside and became increasingly common knowledge among the companies which performed as government contractors and became of particular interest to those companies for whom DOD was the Compliance Agency. Many a DOD-CCO specialist in the field, trying to carry on with his review assignments, was startled to encounter refreshed resistance and indeed, arrogance on the part of some contractors he was reviewing or revisiting. It was an understandable reaction on the part of the contractors which, under the DOD-CCO directorshio of Mr. Clark had been pushed firmly and relentlessly toward compliance and providing equality of employment opportunity for all Americans not only, as traditionally, white Americans. The contractors correctly assumed that to suspend Mr. Clark was equivalent to a policy decision that signaled the demise of an effective DOD-EEO Contracts Compliance program.

And they were right.

The only other additional step that needed to be taken would be to place the DOD-CCO program under the control of the contract management function of DOD. On March 21, 1967 a DOD order was issued to begin transfer of the DOD-cco program to the Defense Supply Agency and for it to operate under the Defense Contract Administration Service (DCAS). DCAS is responsible for contract award and management. The rationale for the transfer is that this is a logical placement and will help to strengthen the CCOprogram. In actuality this puts the CCO program under the rule of those who have no sympathy for it and who are hostile to its social purposes and to the fact that the CCO program tends to agitatedly "rock the boat" in the DCAS environment that traditionally had sought a smooth relationship with the contractors.

Thus the elimination of Girard Clark tolls the end of the DOD-CCO program. the transfer to DCAS seals the end of the program.

So, if you will, shed a tear for what might have been. And tremble for the implications of what can be done to a crucial federal program. And shudder at the potential for the evil that can result.

But at least clear the stench from the air by informing of what happened and --hope springs eternal, if enough good men act--maybe rebuild....

What, however, do you tell the people when they again have had their fill of bold promises and stillborn delivery? Burn, baby, burn? Or will the President deliver another Howard University-We shall overcome speech and again set all right in the world? But that won't do. For in the DOD-CCO case the President, the Vice-President could not be reached with the story of what was being doneto the President's Executive Order for their aides would receive the information, check it out with officials at DOD and would be told all is under control....

And what will we tell the children when they ask about deceit, equivocation, and expedience applied in the name of hypocrisy?

To verify the background and the current situation presented herein please consult with the following sources of information (by checking with at least several, the fuller pattern will take shape):

Leaders of the fillowing civil rights and civic organizations:

National Urban League
League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)
Jewish War Veterans of the US
National Congress of American Indians
American GI Forum

Remaining rank-and-file veteran field specialists in ~~regional~~ DOD-CCO regional offices:

Bostoh	W Walley	phone:617-542-6000 Ext 455
Bridgeport	J Leahy	203-367-3345
Atlanta	H Bohannon	404-261-7310
Tampa	F Ridley	813-876-8747
Detroit	W Greene	313-923-0100 Ext 130
San F'risco	A Reeves	415-556-8994
Cleveland	W Thomas	216-241-7900

Those who would know the problems best would, in the regions, tend to be the Specials Programs staff:

New York	E. Heller	212-264-7767
" "	E Cardiel	" " "
Houston	R. Ornelas	713-CA8-~~4861~~ 4921
SaltLakeCity	G. Larsen	801-524-4130

Those to check with in Washington who might cooperate with information are:

Primary source:	Girard P. Clark	202-OX6-6712
	M. Poller	202-OX6-8582
	S. Schwartz	202-OX6-8582
	E. Burch	202-Ox6-8582
	J. Shannon	202-OX6-8582

Other sources that might occur to the reader such as confidential sources in industry who might give the reader corroborative information regarding the recent slowdown and lack of drive to the CCO program. Those industries most sensitive to this would be Big Three autos; Big Steel, Textiles, etc

Crusade For Opportunity /in Syracuse and Onondaga County, Inc.

130 W. Genesee Street/Syracuse, New York 13202/(315) 472-4361

December 13, 1966

MLK

DEC 19 1966

Executive Director
CORE
National Headquarters
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Sir,

The Crusade for Opportunity in Syracuse and Onondaga County, Inc., which is the community action agency for this city and county established under the Economic Opportunity Act, has an opening for the position of Deputy Director for Administration, a job description of which is attached.

We would deeply appreciate any assistance you may be able to give us in helping us to recruit a capable administrator to fill this position.

Please accept our sincere thanks for your assistance.

Sincerely yours,

James A. Tillman/sg

James A. Tillman Jr.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

JATJr/OJD/sg

Enc. a/s

Crusade for Opportunity
130 W. Genesee St.
Syracuse, New York

Job Description

(Deputy Director for Administration)

The Deputy Director for Administration reports to the Executive Director. He provides all necessary administrative support for all program activities of the Community Action Agency. Among other things, he:

(1) Assists the Executive Director in preparing and reviewing operating budgets;

(2) In consultation with the Financial Director, assists the Executive Director in contract negotiations with participating public and private agencies;

(3) Assists in the preparation of new proposals for funding agencies;

(4) Helps develop and implement personnel practices for the agency, and ensures that such practices conform to applicable regulations of funding agencies; staffs Administration committee of the Crusade for Opportunity Board;

(5) Oversees the operations of the Public Affairs and Finance Offices;

(6) Acts as advisor and general assistant to the Executive Director on all administrative matters and staffs, on an ad hoc basis, any committee to which he may be assigned by the Executive Director;

(7) Acts as advisor and consultant to the agency's staff, on request or on his own initiative, in the area of administration to make certain that appropriate and efficient administrative measures are utilized as program supports.

Qualifications

At least an A.B. degree in social science, social administration, business administration or some equivalent field. Candidate must have had at least seven years of continuous experience in top-level administration in a large social welfare or agency setting, preferably in an agency with contract and funding relationships with both federal and state governments. Equivalent or comparable experience may be substituted for any part of the above requirements.

Salary Range

$13,000 to $15,000 per year

JATJr/OJD/sg
12/7/66

Crusade For Opportunity /in Syracuse and Onondaga County, Inc.

130 W. Genesee Street/Syracuse, New York 13202/(315) 472-4361

March 1, 1967

MAR 3 1967

Executive Director
CORE National Headquarters
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Sir:

The Crusade for Opportunity in Syracuse and Onondaga County, Inc., which is the community action agency for this city and county established under the Economic Opportunity Act, has openings for the positions of Program Development Specialist and the Assistant to the Program Development Specialist, job descriptions of which are attached.

We would deeply appreciate any assistance you may be able to give us in helping us to recruit capable personnel to fill these positions.

Please accept our sincere thanks for your assistance.

Sincerely yours,

James A. Tillman Jr.

James A. Tillman Jr.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

JATJr/OJD/sg

Enc. a/s

Crusade for Opportunity
130 W. Genesee St.
Syracuse, New York

Job Description

(Program Development Specialist)

The Program Development Specialist reports to the Deputy Director for Administration. He serves as the primary resource person for development of new programs or modification of existing ones--in response to neighborhood needs. In this capacity, the services of Program Development Specialist are available to Neighborhood Boards and appropriate CFO committees and task forces.

The Program Development Specialist works closely with program specialists (Manpower, Education, etc.) who serve as resources for implementation of the various programs; and with the Research staff, so that relevant feedback data from operating programs and other data are incorporated in the design of new programs.

Among other things, the Program Development Specialist:

1) Develops (and keeps current) an inventory of local, state and federal sources of funds for programs relevant to this CAP; and of the respective guidelines and procedures for obtaining such funds;
2) Assists in preparation of alternative program designs for consideration of appropriate committees and task forces;
3) Assists in preparation of proposals for submission to funding agencies.

Qualifications:

At least an A.B. degree in social service Administration or some related field. Three to five years of progressively complex experience in the areas of responsibility covered by this job description. Alternate experience and/or training will be acceptable where appropriate.

Salary Range:

$8,000 - $10,000

OJD/sg
2/17/67

Crusade for Opportunity
130 W. Genesee St.
Syracuse, New York

Job Description

(Assistant to the Program Development Specialist)

This person, under the director of the Program Development Specialist, will assume the major responsibility for finding, collecting, interpreting, and cataloging data relevant to the funding of ongoing (or potential programs) operated by C.F.O. and other agencies whose activities are relevant to C.F.O.

Education:

Major area of under graduate work in social science

Experience:

Two to three years of demonstrated ability to do independent searching for source material, collection, interpretation and cataloging of material. In lieu of work experience, graduate work, social sciences, or two or more years of law school during which time applicant has done independent research may be acceptable.

Salary Range:

$7,000 to $8,000

2/17/67
sg

Crusade For Opportunity/in Syracuse and Onondaga County, Inc.

130 W. Genesee Street/Syracuse, New York 13202/(315) 472-4361

February 16, 1967

FEB 21 1967

Executive Director
CORE
National Headquarters
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Sir:

The Crusade for Opportunity in Syracuse and Onondaga County, Inc., which is the community action agency for this city and county established under the Economic Opportunity Act, has an opening for the position of Financial Director, a job description of which is attached. We are also enclosing our latest financial statement.

We would deeply appreciate any assistance you may be able to give us in helping us to recruit a capable Financial Director to fill this position.

Please accept our sincere thanks for your assistance.

Sincerely yours,

James A. Tillman Jr.

James A. Tillman Jr.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

JATJr/OJD/sg

Enc. a/s

Crusade for Opportunity
130 W. Genesee St.
Syracuse, New York

Job Description

(Financial Director)

The Financial Director reports to the Deputy Director for Administration and administers and coordinates the operations of his division including:

(1) Maintaining appropriate accounts and procedures to meet requirements of funding agencies;

(2) Preparation of financial reports for these agencies, as well as for Board of Directors and Membership;

(3) Setting up and maintaining appropriate personnel procedures, including payroll and personnel records;

(4) Supervising the "housekeeping" functions of the Crusade for Opportunity: keeping of purchasing and inventory, property management, etc., in connection with its operations;

(5) Serves as financial advisor to the Executive Director and Senior Staff in all matters pertaining to the disbursement of agency funds. This role may be exercised on his own initiative and/or in response to specific requests.

(6) Assisting the Executive Director and the Funding and Finance Committee in development of sources of non-federal contributions.

Qualifications:

At least an A.B. degree in accounting, business management, or some related field. The candidate must have at least three to five years of continuous experience as a financial officer in some large complex social service or government agency, preferably in an agency with contract and funding relationships with both state and federal governments. Equivalent or comparable experience and/or education may be substituted for the above.

Salary Range

$12,500 to $15,000.

OJD/sg
2/15/67

FINANCIAL

Programs Operating During Period
7/1/65 - 6/30/66

Item	Type of Service	Funding Agency	Date of Approval
1.a.	Neighborhood Centers, Youth Workers, Study Centers, Program Development, Administration, Research, CMDC	OEO	3/29/65
1.b.	In-school: Corrective Reading, Guidance, Rehabilitation, Re-entry, Pre-school, Summer Language	OEO	6/22/65
1.c.	LeMoyne College Higher Education Program	OEO	6/65
2.	Head Start 1965	OEO	6/2/65
3.	Neighborhood Youth Corps: Summer 1965, year-round out of School	Dept. of Labor NYC	6/30/65
4.a.	Youth Job Center (Counseling, referral, supplemental education, pre-vocational training).	Dept. of Labor OMAT	12/1/64
4.b.	Job Development	Dept. of Labor OMAT	12/1/64
4.c.	On-the-Job Training	Dept. of Labor OMAT	3/1/65
5.	Legal, Recreation, Jamesville Study Center	Dept. of Labor PCJD	6/29/64
	TOTAL as of 6/30/66		

II. Programs Operating During Period
7/1/66 - 6/30/67

6.	Neighborhood Centers, Study Centers, CMDC, Information & Referral, Home Aides, Research, Administration	OEO	6/25/66
7.	Legal Services	OEO	4/12/66
8.	Special Summer Program	OEO	7/12/66
9.	Head Start 1966	OEO	5/24/66
10.	Manpower Opportunity Program	OEO	9/26/66
11.	OJT – Pre-employment	Dept. of Labor BAT	11/10/66
12.	Job Development On-the-Job Training	Dept. of Labor OMAT	See above
13.	Neighborhood Youth Corps: Summer 1966, year-round In-School and Out-of-School	Dept. of Labor NYC	See above
	TOTAL GRANTS – 7/1/66 - 11/30/66		
	TOTAL I & II		

*Most of these expenditures occurred for programs operating during the period 7/1/64 - 6/30/65.
**Application pending for approximately $372,000 to extend termination date of this grant to 6/30/67.

A financial audit has been conducted by Nicholson and Robinson, certified public accountants, Syracuse, New York, for the period ending 30 June

SUMMARY

Date of Expiration	AMOUNT APPROVED Total	Fed.	Non. Fed.	AMOUNT EXPENDED as of 6/30/66 Total	Fed.	Non. Fed.
6/30/66	820,189			688,521	660,767	27,754
6/30/66	823,097			773,077	635,650	131,421
9/30/66	82,478			79,677	58,896	20,781
	1,725,764	1,521,697	204,067	1,541,275	1,355,313	185,962
9/20/65	334,558	299,938	34,620	308,260	279,894	28,366
3/4/67	837,760	749,510	88,250	366,057	323,903	42,154
9/30/66	466,385	466,385	-0-	321,365	321,365	-0-
6/30/67						
6/30/67	120,000	120,000	-0-	18,121	18,121	-0-
4/30/66	639,437	639,437	-0-	585,336*	585,336	-0-
	4,123,904	3,796,967	326,937	3,140,414	2,883,932	256,482

				AMOUNT EXPENDED as of 11/30/66 (Cumulative)		
6/30/67	1,263,388	1,154,714	108,674	325,482	314,285	11,197
6/30/67	223,620	214,335	9,285	5,901	5,901	-0-
9/30/66	151,849	133,691	18,158	121,931	118,650	3,281
12/31/66	445,447	383,184	62,263	351,880	312,804	39,076
12/31/66**	229,461**	199,193	30,268	39,999	36,926	3,073
12/30/67	357,861	357,861	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
#4b & c	See above			405,066	405,066	-0-
				22,166	22,166	-0-
#3	See above			588,649	535,216	53,433
	2,671,626	2,442,978	228,648			
	6,795,530	6,239,945	555,585			

1966. A copy of this report is available for inspection and review at Crusade for Opportunity headquarters.

The Atom Smashes

Last December, Gov. Kerner told the Atomic Energy Commission that Congress would be given documented evidence of the determination by Chicago's western suburbs to eliminate racial discrimination, especially in housing accommodation.

The governor and his aides met with AEC chairman Glenn T. Seaborg about plans for construction of a $375,000,000 atom smasher in Weston, Ill. Kerner said he would ask the General Assembly to appropriate at least $15,000,000 for the acquisition.

In turn, it was reported that the AEC had received White House assurances that 10,000,000 would be included in President Johnson's budget for preliminary design work at the new high-energy physics laboratory in Du Page County.

Seaborg told Kerner the commission wanted to be prepared for any questions that Congressional committtees might pose concerning racial policies in the Weston area. Congress must approve all expenditures for the project. In his talk with newsmen, Kerner emphasized two points with regard to developments in Weston: Limited housing integration, he said, is under way in the area. Eighteen Negro families have moved into 13 apartment buildings and two houses in Wheaton, and one Negro family is living in Glen Ellyn.

Building trade contractors and unions, the governor said, have pledged not to discriminate against Negro laborers.

However, the Legislature seems to be dragging its feet in the matter of fair housing. In postponing a definitive stand, the state legislators have created much apprehension among Negroes and liberal whites who believe that Illinois should commit itself to open occupancy.

If the Legislature should again defeat fair housing legislation, Kerner said he was confident that the Weston project would not be endangered. He is of the opinion that the work of the Illinois Human Relations Commission has been more effective in promoting integration than any law.

The commission's work cannot be downgraded. But a law is necessary to block the deep-seated racial antagonism from the hearts of the masses of white people whose only contacts with Negroes have been with the servant class.

We disagree with those who believe that the climate for racial tolerance in the Chicago suburban area has improved. We find no evidence to sustain that view.

There is therefore good ground for continuing the resistance to Weston as the location for the multi-million-dollar atom smasher. Though that community has passed a resolution favoring fair housing, there are no teeth in it to prevent negative action by hostile white inhabitants of the surrounding areas. The longer the state Legislature waits to pass an uncompromising open occupancy bill, the greater will be the opposition to Weston.

DAILY DEFENDER — MONDAY, MARCH 20, 1967

1,000 Suburbanites Invited To Open Housing Parley

Governor Otto Kerner has invited 1,000 North and Northwest suburban civic leaders from 78 communities to a conference on equal opportunity in housing.

James W. Cook president of the Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities, will be co-convener of the conference.

It will be held at New Trier West High School, Northfield, Friday March 31 at 1 p.m.

Kerner said this is the second of three such conferences to be held in the metropolitan area. The first was held in Elmhurst in February and attracted 1,000 persons.

The third will be held in April, Kerner said.

Kerner's invitation went to village officials, members of the real estate and housing industry, educators, clergymen, business and labor leaders and representatives of leadership organizations in the North and Northwest suburbs.

He told them there is a statewide "need to achieve equality of opportunity in housing for minority groups."

Conference participants will examine the need for, and implementation of, a comprehensive program and cooperative action at the local level.

Following a brief opening session, the meeting will be organized into discussion groups for public officials, clergy, businessmen, labor leaders, educators, housing industry representatives and human relations groups.

The meeting will adjourn at 5 p.m.

DAILY DEFENDER — MONDAY, MARCH 20, 1967

SEN. PARTEE CHARGES:

Senate Maneuver Thwarts Fair Housing Bill Chance

State Sen. Cecil A. Partee(D-26th) charged that white elements in the State Senate are seeking to thwart by technical means the effort to get an Illinois fair housing law passed this year.

Partee made his charge after a resolution he had offered the Senate had been shelved. The purpose of the resolution, also offered in the House, was to appoint a committee wit hfive House and five Senate members to coordinate the several housing bills now pending.

However, Partee's resolution was postponed until after a hearing on Senate Bill 155, scheduled for April 11. Senate Bill 155, submitted earlier by Partee, is one of the stronger open housing bills and has been given scant chance of passing

Speaking about his resolution that would establish the Senate-House committee, Partee said "It occurred to me that such a committee effort could produce for our state a meaningful, palatable, and acceptable bill in this area and be representative of the concerted thinking of the total legislative membership."

Partee then criticized the postponement of the resolution by remarking that "Though at first blush this seems fair, the postponement was calculated to annihilate any salutary effect which the resolution might produce."

In practice, postponement of the resolution means that the Partee idea for a joint committee won't be in effect until after the strongest of the present fair housing proposals has been considered and perhaps beaten.

Partee urged "fair minded people in our state publicly and privately to express themselves to legislators to cause them to reconsider the decision to shelve the resolution."

YOUTH OPPORTUNITY CENTER

NEW YORK STATE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, DIVISION OF EMPLOYMENT
NEW YORK STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

April 1967

Dear Friend:

Do you know any young men who are interested in preparing for an exciting and rewarding career?

If so, please refer them to the Manhattan Youth Opportunity Center for the Police Cadet Training course.

Our address is 330 West 34th Street, 4th floor, and we are open from 8:45 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., daily.

Enclosed is a poster for your bulletin board, and a "Fact Sheet" which describes the program in detail. Please feel free to contact me at 695-0750, should you have any questions.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Robert Payne
Director

By: Ruth L. Coleman
Community Relations Coordinator

RP:RLC:gs
Enclosures (2)

P 217 (12-65)

YOUTH OPPORTUNITY CENTER
330 WEST 34 STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10001

YOUTH OPPORTUNITY CENTER
330 WEST 34 STREET

YOUNG MAN

YOU CAN BE A

POLICE CADET

while you get TRAINING for the

PATROLMAN or POLICE TRAINEE EXAMINATION

(POLICE DEPT.)

IF YOU ARE

- BETWEEN 18½ and 27
- IN GOOD HEALTH
- AT LEAST 5 FEET, 8 INCHES TALL

YOU MAY BE ELIGIBLE FOR

FREE TRAINING

AT THE POLICE ACADEMY
with CASH ALLOWANCES

If you're not a HIGH SCHOOL graduate, your training will last up to 1 year.	The course for HIGH SCHOOL graduates last 6 months to 1 year.

And even if you don't pass the examination, your training may help you qualify for other good paying jobs.

ASK FOR DETAILS NOW... or APPLY at ONE of these agencies:

- JOIN
- MOBILIZATION FOR YOUTH
- YOUTH IN ACTION
- YOUTH BOARD

or at any YOUTH OPPORTUNITY CENTER *or other office of the*

NEW YORK STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

PM 316(3-67)

YOUTH OPPORTUNITY CENTER
330 WEST 34 STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10001

New York State Department of Labor
Division of Employment

1967 FACT SHEET
Police Cadet Training under the Federal Manpower Development and Training Act

TRAINING

All cadets will receive 6 months of intensive training in preparation for the New York City patrolman or police trainee examination. Training may be extended up to one year for cadets whose progress reports indicate that they are not ready to compete in the patrolman or police trainee examinations at the end of six months but can be expected to be ready by the end of twelve months. Included in the training will be classes in police work, physical training, driver training and basic education skills.

Cadets who lack a high school diploma will be given special training during their regular cadet training to enable them to obtain a high school equivalency diploma. The equivalency diploma will make these cadets eligible to take the Police Department patrolman or police trainee examinations.

All cadets will be expected to attend classes regularly and to show progress in order to remain in the course. Guidance in educational and personal problem areas will be a regular part of the program.

REQUIREMENTS FOR PROGRAM

Age: 18 1/2 through 27 (proof of age will be required)

Sex: Male

Education: Both high school graduates and non-high school graduates will be accepted for the program.

A high school diploma, high school equivalency diploma or an appropriate Armed Forces General Educational Development Certificate is required for enrollment in the high school graduate section of the program.

Non-high school graduates must have been out of school at least oneyear in order to be eligible for the program.

Both high school graduates and non-high school graduates will be given standardized reading and arithmetic achievement tests to gage their chances of passing the high school equivalency and/or the Police Department patrolman examination after completing cadet training. Cadets will be selected from those candidates who meet minimum standards established by the Board of Education.

Physical: Height - 5' 8" or over
Weight - normal for height
Vision - 20/30 in each eye uncorrected
no color blindness

Must pass Police Department physical examination

Personal: Good Character (statements will be checked)

No record of conviction for felony or for petty larceny. (Juvenile delinquent or youthful offender designations will not necessarily disqualify candidates.)

No dishonorable discharge. (Military discharge without honor will not necessarily disqualify candidates.)

Candidates are required to be fingerprinted.

Selective Service: All candidates must have draft cards available.

Candidates with 4F or 1Y classifications must obtain and have available a written statement of the reason for the classification from their local draft board.

UNIFORMS AND EQUIPMENT

Uniforms and necessary equipment will be supplied to trainees.

ALLOWANCES

Cadets may be eligible for training and transportation allowances under the Federal Manpower Development and Training Act.

NOTE: You are not accepted for training until:

1. Your fingerprints have been cleared.
2. You have passed the Police Department physical examination.
3. You receive instructions to report to the Police Academy to begin training on a specific date.

Information
news letter
Advisory Council on Plans for Progress

Number 42 May 1967

Watts Employment Effort Pleases Los Angeles Business Community

MERIT CITATION: *Plans for Progress during its April 14 Advisory Council meeting held at Kaiser Center, Oakland, California, received an award from the National Newspaper Publishers Association, representing 60 Negro-oriented papers. The citation: "for providing leadership, ingenuity and initiative in fostering equal employment opportunities for Negroes in business and industry." Frank L. Stanley (third from right), President of NNPA and Publisher, "Louisville Defender," presents plaque to Charles E. Spahr, Chairman of PfP Council and President of The Standard Oil Company (Ohio). Other participants in the ceremony are (left to right): Dr. Carlton B. Goodlett, Publisher, "San Francisco Sun-Reporter"; G. A. McLellan, Director, Public Affairs, Olin Mathieson Chemical Corporation, and former PfP Administrative Director; Eugene F. Rowan, present PfP Administrative Director; Hobart Taylor, Jr., Director, Export-Import Bank of Washington, long associated with PfP, and Kenneth O. Wilson, Vice President, Afro-American Newspaper Group, who addressed the Advisory Council on the importance of advertising in Negro-oriented media.*

A Way, a Will in Watts . . . Through Corporate Action

☐ Positive results from 85% of Negro employees placed—performance, promotions and raises.

☐ Two-thirds still are on the job and a majority say their present position is better than those they held in the past.

Local Merit Group Cites Placement of 17,800 By 201 Area Companies

Reports from Los Angeles businessmen and community leaders show that in the last two years a concentrated effort to employ Negroes—primarily in the Watts and surrounding south central area—is paying off.

Plans for Progress member companies are engaged in a variety of activities in this program of job placement for qualified unemployed.

Spearheading the Los Angeles program is the Management Council for Merit Employment, Training and Research. Its President is H. C. (Chad) McClellan, former Chairman of the Board, Old Colony Paint & Chemical Co.

A recent Council report states that 201 of its participating companies have placed 17,839 minority employees since the 1965 disturbances.

Mr. McClellan said: ". . . we are getting good reports from the Negro community concerning the job placements which have been accomplished. I sincerely believe that we are beginning to get the message across that there is a real opportunity for the qualified unemployed if proper steps are taken."

The Council, a non-profit, public service corporation formed in March, 1966, has released a survey

(Continued on page 4)

Negro College Students Offered 2,000 Summer Job Opportunities

A total of 2,000 summer jobs, on both professional and non-professional levels, has been offered at this date by 250 Plans for Progress companies for undergraduate students of predominantly Negro colleges and universities.

This is an excellent early response to a letter from Charles E. Spahr, Chairman, PfP Advisory Council, to presidents of all member companies. He requested detailed information about summer employment opportunities throughout member companies' plants or offices for undergraduate students of the colleges participating in the Vice President's Task Force on Youth Motivation Program.

The response included: number of jobs available; geographical location; job description; any specific qualifications of student applicants desired, and names of personnel to be contacted at various company installations.

Employment Listings

These job listings immediately are sent to presidents or other appropriate administrative officers of the 83 predominantly Negro colleges and universities which have been invited to participate in this particular program of the Vice President.

College Placement Services, Inc. will help these institutions try to fill jobs.

The affirmative action function of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the Office of Technical Assistance, is also cooperating in this endeavor by helping to lighten the administrative burden of the colleges.

William J. Kendrick, Director of Technical Assistance has, in this connection, assigned two staff members to canvass the colleges. A number of executives serving on the Task Force will also follow-up with the participating institutions.

Reports Enthusiastic

In recent contacts with college placement officers, the two technical assistants reported that response to job listings from PfP was "enthusiastic."

The listings were welcomed as a new way to answer many unfulfilled student inquiries about summer employment, they said.

In addition, the college placement officers indicated that this PfP service brings "prestige" to their own jobs which usually went to the local state employment bureaus.

HELP, HELP PfP Responds

The Concentrated Employment Program, which will be active in 22 cities and four rural areas, has requested help from groups like Plans for Progress and employers across the board.

This plea was made to the PfP Advisory Council during its recent meeting in Oakland, California, by R. Thayne Robson, Executive Director of the President's Committee on Manpower.

He said that President Johnson's request for $100 million in the 1967-68 budget and efforts to raise $90 million from existing programs for the balance of the fiscal year could create and fill 2,000 to 4,000 jobs in each city.

"Actually knocking on doors to find the jobless and bring them in would be the means to accomplish this goal," he said.

PfP companies actively are backing the program in Cleveland—one of the first cities to receive funds from it. A similar response is anticipated in other cities.

The Advisory Council has urged continued support of the program.

The News Letter is published by Plans for Progress—a voluntary program of American Business—1800 G Street, N.W., Suite 703, Washington, D.C. 20006. Any issue may be reproduced in whole or in part without permission.

Rep. Theodore R. Kupferman

N. Y. Congressman Praises PfP Action

Plans for Progress and the gains it has made through business and industry efforts in merit employment were praised by Representative Theodore R. Kupferman (R., 17th Dist., N.Y.) recently before the House of Representatives.

Representative Kupferman said: "Since its formation in 1961, Plans for Progress has added significantly to the number of minority employees in positions of responsibility in the member companies. The number of white-collar employees, particularly, has increased substantially."

Expressing pride in the large number of PfP companies located within his district, Representative Kupferman stressed the importance of the work being done by local councils in the field of training and employment opportunities. His complete remarks were carried in the March 16 issue of the *Congressional Record.*

Negro College Directory Available

The 1967 Directory of Negro Colleges and Universities is now available from the Washington Plans for Progress office. It gives details on the curricula, degrees, officers and number of graduates of more than 100 institutions.

Distribution of 5,000 copies of the directory already has been made—principally to Plans for Progress companies which stated that previous directories have been extremely useful in the expansion of recruitment on these campuses.

New Companies From Cleveland

Three companies which recently joined Plans for Progress are from Cleveland. They are: The Weatherhead Company; The Steel Improvement and Forge Company, and The Lubrizol Corporation.

Total companies now participating in PfP: 357.

Next issue of the News Letter should bring a substantial increase because several other companies are at one stage or another of joining the program.

President Names Mexican-American Vicente Ximenes EEOC Commissioner

Vicente T. Ximenes, Deputy Director of the United States Agency for International Development (AID) Mission in Panama, has been nominated by President Johnson to the post of Commissioner of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Once confirmed by the Senate, he will succeed Richard A. Graham, whose term expired July 1, 1966.

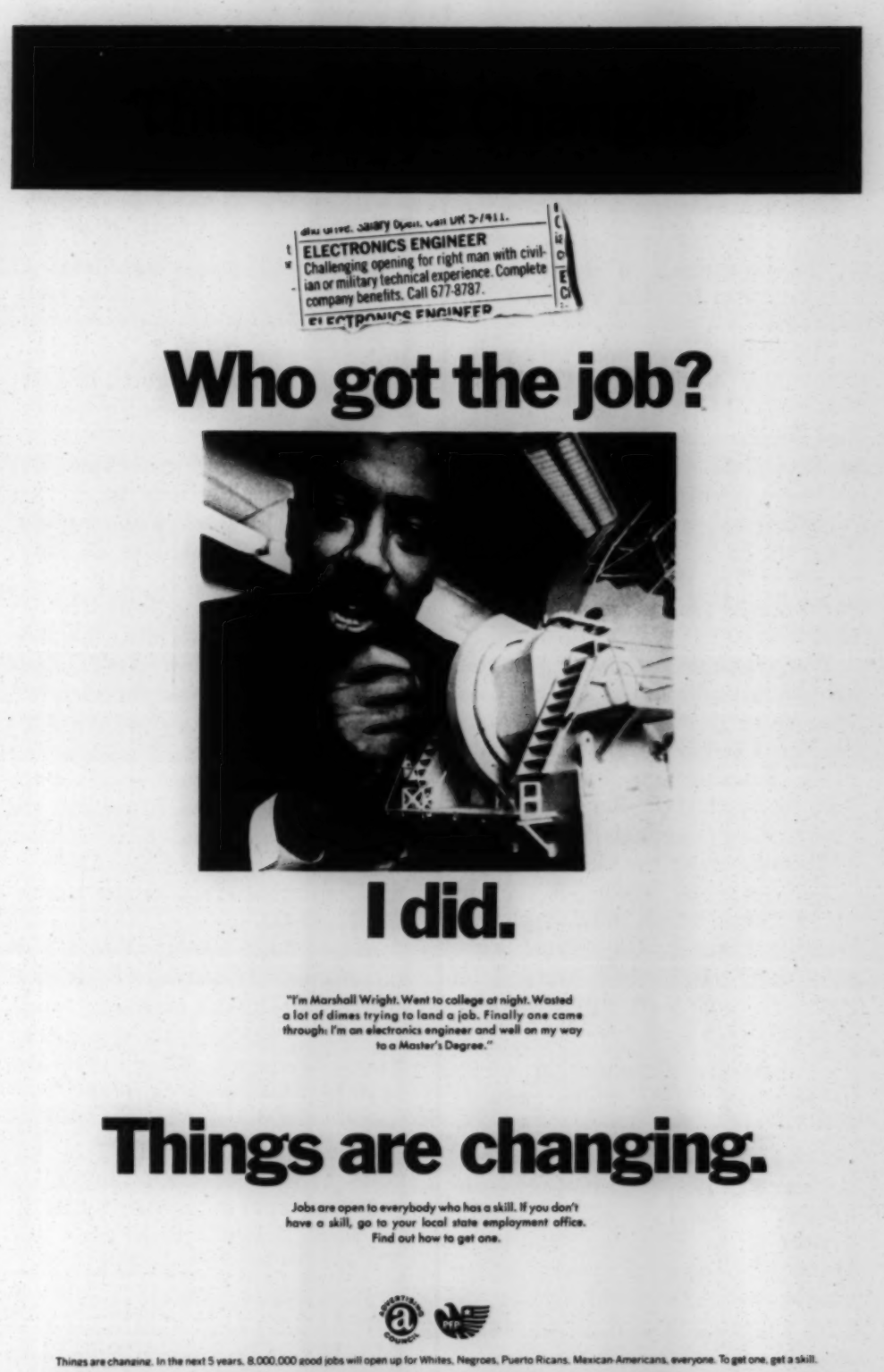
Mr. Ximenes, a native of Floresville, Texas, will be the first Mexican-American to be appointed to the Commission. Mexican-Americans represent the nation's second largest minority group.

He is a former research economist and instructor at the University of New Mexico where he received both his B.A. and M.A. degrees.

Mr. Ximenes has served as program economist with the U.S. AID Mission in Ecuador and as Assistant to the Inspector General of the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, D.C.

He is a former National Chairman of the American GI Forum, a Mexican-American community service organization.

Mr. Ximenes joined the U.S. AID Mission in Panama as Assistant Director for Development Planning and was promoted to his present position in 1966.



Marshall Wright is a real person, holding down this particular job with a Plans for Progress company. So are Bernie Ammons, Joe Bustamente, Ernie Strong, and others whose stories soon will be broadcast nationally on radio and television.

These biographies have been selected from hundreds submitted to PfP by more than 250 cooperating companies.

They constitute the upcoming phase of our "Things Are Changing" campaign. Each story carries the same message—a minority group member who, through his initiative in securing education or training, has been upgraded to a responsible job with a good future.

Through these ads, we try to motivate minority youth to stay in school and consider the benefits of a career in business and industry.

The ads were prepared by Plans for Progress' voluntary advertising agency, The Marschalk Co., Inc., under a grant from the Ford Foundation through the Advertising Council.

These advertisements will be seen in major magazines and newspapers throughout the country as well as on national television.

Results Positive In Recent Survey By S. C. University

(*Continued from page 1*)

of the experience of Los Angeles employers with minority group employees.

The study was conducted by the University of Southern California Research Institute for Business and Economics, the research arm of the USC Graduate School of Business Administration. Purpose: A follow-up of firms which hired Negroes from south central Los Angeles after 1965 and subsequent performance of persons hired at that time.

The employee study: A random sample was drawn of 100 Negroes placed in jobs from the Watts Service Center by the California State Employment Service from 1965 to April 1966. Personal interviews were conducted by Negro staff members of the Center.

The employer study: A sample of 74 firms which had employed Negroes through the Watts Service Center. Interviews were held with 59 personnel directors and 58 supervisors.

Results Encouraging

According to the study, personnel directors and first-line supervisors agree that Negro employees are much like other employees with respect to most measures of job performance. Turnover has been about the same as among other employees. Expected problems with supervision and fellow workers did not materialize.

Employment standards are still a problem, however. Many firms require a high school education or the passing of written tests. The evidence indicates that employers are increasingly recognizing the special cultural problems of the Negro community. Police records, for instance, are beginning to be studied on an individual basis and the nature of the job being applied for taken into account.

Lack of education and training, according to both employers and Negro employees, is the principal factor holding back Negro employment.

COUNCIL ACTIVITIES

Plans for Progress has listed 43 cities where it hopes to form additional merit employment councils this year.

Seven have been formed to date, bringing the total number of current local councils to 56.

PfP formed four of these employer groups in Houston, Texas; Richmond, Virginia; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and Des Moines, Iowa—and learned of three which were started independently in Dayton, Ohio; Wichita, Kansas, and Syracuse, New York. Your company may find these latest council names useful for community contact purposes.

Work is underway in 22 of the remaining 36 listed cities and the PfP Advisory Council is helping to find strong local Plans for Progress representatives in the following 14 cities:

Akron, Ohio; Austin, Texas; Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Charlotte, North Carolina; Columbia, South Carolina; Corpus Christi, Texas; Flint, Michigan; Miami, Florida; Mobile, Alabama; Nashville, Tennessee; Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; St. Louis, Missouri; Tucson, Arizona, and Youngstown, Ohio.

Any companies having locations in these cities which can help Plans for Progress form councils there, please let us know.

Toledo

A centralized program for improvement of job placement for minority applicants is in full-scale operation as the result of initial efforts by the Toledo Employers Equal Opportunity Council.

The council met with the Toledo Office of the Ohio State Employment Service (OSES) and directors of various local agencies involved in training and placement.

Each agency now sends OSES a complete list of their minority applicants. In turn, OSES correlates this into a single inventory—giving a brief resume of education, training and experience of the applicant—as well as name of the referring agency.

This program, titled "Coordinated Employment Referral Procedure," relieves the employer of dealing with many different area agencies (poverty, school, social, welfare, etc.) which already have a program of employing minority persons. On the other hand, it still permits the employer to maintain contact with the referring agency for assistance which might be needed before or during the employment of those referred.

Advisory Council Member Resigns; H. W. Seinwerth Joins Ministry

Herman W. Seinwerth, who has been a member of the Plans for Progress Advisory Council for the past two years, has resigned as General Manager of Industrial Relations, Swift & Company, Chicago, to accept the position of Associate Minister of the Chicago Temple (Methodist). He had been with the company 39 years.

Mr. Seinwerth therefore submitted his resignation as a member of the Advisory Council to Chairman Charles E. Spahr.

Mr. Seinwerth said, "It has been a rare privilege to work (with you) in such an important area of activity."

Mr. Spahr expressed the Advisory Council's appreciation of Mr. Seinwerth's contribution and said his leadership in this field will be missed.

In discussing his new profession, Mr. Seinwerth pointed out that the Temple is the first Methodist church built in the Chicago area. Located in the middle of the Loop, the Temple was described by Mr. Seinwerth as a "... cross-roads church of the world" because of the many international visitors it serves.

JUN 16 1967

file

STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
ALBANY

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER
GOVERNOR

To Employers of New York State:

As school ends and summer begins, thousands of young men and women will be looking for full or part-time summer employment. Many will be financially needy, and whether or not they get a job could make a critical difference in the future course of their lives. Summer is not a vacation -- it's frustration -- for youngsters who want and need employment and can't find it.

The summer months offer industry an opportunity to make a significant contribution to alleviating the social problems of our communities. If we can provide youth a chance to realize their own job potential, we may be giving them what could be their most rewarding experience. At the same time we may be finding a new source of needed manpower.

Many of us in government at all levels are striving to meet the problems facing communities, but the cooperation of employers is vital to success. Industry is in a position to do the most good by providing jobs wherever possible.

Our boys and girls do not choose to wander the streets aimlessly in the coming months. They will do so only if the alternative -- jobs -- does not present itself. I therefore appeal to you, the employers of New York State, to cooperate by hiring young men and women this summer.

If you have work for young persons through age 21, please call your local office of the New York State Employment Service or a Youth Opportunity Center. In New York City, you may place your order by calling 594-9620.

Sincerely,

Nelson A. Rockefeller

June 7, 1967

file

CHILD DEVELOPMENT GROUP OF MISSISSIPPI
203 VINCENT BUILDING
JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI
948-7390 (AC-601)

May 16, 1967

Mr. Floyd McKissick
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Mr. Joseph Morse is being considered for employment in a government sponsored Head Start Program in this State. Under this program it is necessary to know of the applicant named above, in the form of a character reference. It would help us in the process of considering this applicant for the program if you could respond by answering the questions below and returning them in the enclosed envelope as soon as possible:

(1) Would you rehire this person if he or she were to reapply for employment in your organization?

(2) What was the highest salary earned by your former employee?

Thank you very much for your consideration in expediting this request.

Sincerely yours,

Charles J. Wilkins

Charles J. Wilkins
Assistant to Deputy
Director

CJW/jfs

June 23, 1967

Miss Marjorie Bigsby
Personnel Assistant
New York City Youth Board
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Re: Millus Turman

Dear Miss Bigsby:

In regard to the above named person, I have known Millus Turman since his birth and have known his parents for a great number of years. It has been a pleasure working with Millus in community projects and in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Congress of Racial Equality.

Mr. Turman is responsible, entirely stable and committed to helping others less fortunate than he. He has the academic training, received at Livingston College at Salisbury, North Carolina, which can be of immense value to him in his work.

Without hesitation, I recommend Millus Turman for employment with the New York City Youth Board.

Very truly yours,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

FBMcK:ilh

The City of New York

NEW YORK CITY YOUTH BOARD

38 PARK ROW, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10038
Telephone: 433- 2696

June 14, 1967

Mr. Floyd McKissick
414 West 149th Street
New York, N. Y. 10037

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Mr. Millus Turman has applied for the position of Youth Worker with the staff of the New York City Youth Board and has given your name as a reference.

Youth Workers in our program are responsible for contacting and building relationships with youths aged 16-21 and must be mature, emotionally secure young adults, capable of establishing a warm, meaningful association with adolescents and their families.

We would appreciate hearing from you as to Mr. Turman's qualifications for work of this kind.

Sincerely yours,

Marjorie Bigsby

(Miss) Marjorie Bigsby
Personnel Assistant

MB:ll

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

AUG 1 1967

JUL 28 1967

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. McKissick:

I am enclosing a copy of the Commission's most recent publication, Employment Patterns in the Textile Industry. This is a summary of the transcript of the Textile Forum that we convened in Charlotte, North Carolina, January 12 and 13. I think that you will find that it demonstrates not only the extent to which Negroes were limited to jobs in this industry, but also that opportunities for increased utilization of Negroes are expanding.

The Commission is currently engaged in a diversified follow-up effort to assure that textile employers specifically recruit within the Negro community. In addition, we are alerting the total community to its opportunity to assist the industry in this work. Our initial reports are encouraging, but as in all other cooperative ventures by the Federal Government, the local community and industry, we need assistance in achieving the desired result so that statistics published next year will demonstrate a substantial increase in the number of Negroes employed in this industry.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any question about the summary of the Commission's follow-up program.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel C. Jackson
Commissioner

Enclosure

EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS in the TEXTILE INDUSTRY

NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20506

Textile Forum

Help For Negro

By ED FREAKLEY
News Staff Writer

Watts Hill Jr., chairman of the state Board of Higher Education, said today that the white community must emphasize speed and support in helping the Negro in North Carolina.

Mr. Hill spoke at the final day of a textile employment forum sponsored by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) meeting here.

Yesterday's opening session in the public library was marked with numerous allegations of racial discrimination hurled at the textile industry.

THIS MORNING'S
was attended by
persons

"In the white community, the emphasis must be on more speed and support. In the Negro community, the emphasis must be on more understanding that an education cannot be given overnight," Mr. Hill said.

The Durham insurance man said that people must start accepting the fact that the Negro is going to receive an equal educational opportunity. "He does not have that opportunity today, he has never had it, and at our present rate of equal educational opportunity decades away for the majority of Negroes," he said.

WATTS HILL JR.
. Speaks Here

must be
groes that they
making full use of
opportunities which already exist."

Earlier, Clifton M. Craig, commissioner of the North Carolina State Department of Public Welfare, reported on the agencies effort to aid the Negro.

Shortly after he be
speech a Negro
audience rose a
Chairman. I
order, but w
the spe

added that 10 years ago hardly any Negroes were employed at textile mills.

In an interview later, Swaity said the Negroes' inclination to join unions probably makes companies more reluctant to hire them.

Shulman, asked whether this observation by Swaity is true, said, "I hope not."

Shulman said he has to assume that companies willing to obey laws that prohibit discrimination against Negroes and against people sympathetic to unions. He also said he would hate to think that union sympathies by Negroes would hurt their chances of employment in textile mills.

Henderson, A
others said the
needs to ma
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Mill executive doors still closed to Negro

WASHINGTON (AP) — The South Carolina by Donald D. Osdoor is opening to Negroes in borne, an economics professor. Southern textile mills, but not He was formerly at North Caroone leading to the executive lina State and now is at the Univ
versity of Missouri.
The commission reported that
e being hired, but few lina, three-fifths of the 3,near the top, ac in 103 establishments in North qual Employ- Carolina, three-fifths of the pay- mission, 643 employes added to the pay- 406 roll were Negroes. Employment increased by 54.8 per cent for Negro men and 312 per cent for women.
h Carolina textile mills, was up 38.6 per 6 per cent for cent for

other Negro
spokesmen, in-
Charles McLean of
ton-Salem, a full - time
NAACP employe, urged the
commission to find ways to
cut off federal programs to
the textile industry. They re-
ferred to tariff and quota
agreements that restrict im-
ports to protect the domestic
industry, and to defense con-
tracts.

A speaker from the U. S.
Department of Commerce,
also a Negro, said that the
industry is at a disadvantage in competi-
eign firms, and
imports
es for in-

eed In Aiding Negro

ued From Second Front

was mispronouncing the
rd.
EEOC Chairman Stephen N.
hulman told the group when
Mr. Craig finished his speech,
that the following speakers
should remember "this experience so that it will not happen again."

Mr. Craig's speech was favorable to the Negro and he said that the Negroes did not want to be on welfare, but were there by circumstance and in many cases, injustice.

The forum was to end this afternoon. Mr. Shulman said he was pleased with the "exchange of ideas" and the
the meeting.
two textile
tives

the textile industry except in
janitorial positions.
At yesterday afternoon's
meeting Kelly Alexander of
Charlotte, the head of the
North Carolina NAACP, said
that the Carolinas have a
"long, long history of Negroes
being excluded from textile
employment."

Mr. Alexander said the NAACP "will become active in programs to take away the federal protections — such as high tariffs — enjoyed by the textile industry, unless these discriminatory programs stop."

THE CIVIL RIGHTS leader urged the investigation of the State Employment Security Commission, saying that some of its employes are contributing to the exclusion of Negroes from the textile industry.

Neil MacArthur, a represent-
of the Manpower Admin-
of the U. S. Labor
d the commis-
industry
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More Negroes Menial Jo

substantial gains
employment, a
Osborne also
report noted t
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Industry Charged With Discrimination

Henderson was one of 14 speakers at a "forum" on Negro employment in the textile industry of North and South Carolina, sponsored by the U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

clusion of Negroes from the work force" in various plants. Improvement is particularly needed, Henderson said, in the employment of rural Negroes who no longer work on farms. Negroes in larger cit-

uals, companies, or unions can be made in public during the two-day session. About 160 people were at the opening meeting.

Ten leading textile firms, their principal trade asso-
ciate and

boycott the session. tute said it preferred vate meeting.

Although only one indu spokesman, an offi- Du Pont Co.

New In Tight

NEW YORK — A tight labor market is opening textile employment opportunities for Negroes in North and South Carolina.

This is pointed out in a paper by Dr. Donald D. Osburn which will be presented and discussed at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's public forum on minority employment trends in the textile industry.

The forum will be held Ja
13 at the Publi
lotte

can move from
an industrial way of
Historically, Negroes
most totally excluded from
he states. As late as
whites in North and So
lina represented 21.7 per
30 per cent, respectively,
total employment, but only
cent and 5.2 per
of tex

SUMMARY OF THE TRANSCRIPT OF THE PUBLIC FORUM ON EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Charlotte, North Carolina

January 12-13, 1967

SPONSORED BY

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

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FOREWORD

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission was created by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which makes it unlawful to discriminate in employment practices on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. Individuals who believe they have been unlawfully discriminated against have the right to file a complaint with the Commission.

The Commission has two basic responsibilities:

To investigate complaints of discrimination and, if it finds they are justified, to seek remedy through the process of conciliation.

To promote programs of voluntary compliance by employers, unions and community organizations designed to open up new job opportunities for minority group members and women.

TO IDENTIFY THE PROBLEM

The Commission has sponsored a series of studies in various sections of the country, covering diverse industries and companies, including textiles, in an effort to identify patterns of discrimination and develop voluntary programs for their solutions.

A group of studies in ten states and the District of Columbia conducted for the Commission by Wayne State University shows:

A low utilization of Negroes in nearly every case among the 533 companies covered which employ more than 386,000 workers.

Negroes and other minority group members usually confined to the lowest paying and most menial jobs.

Employers who made an effort to recruit minority workers succeeded in finding qualified applicants but only 40 percent of those questioned reported having taken such measures.

Our Commission is now working with state and local fair employment practice commissions in each of these areas in an effort to change this pattern.

A separate study, "Negro Employment in the Textile Industry of North and South Carolina," was prepared for the Commission by Dr. Donald Osburn who at the time was at North Carolina State University in Raleigh and who now is at the University of Missouri.

Dr. Osburn's study showed a low utilization of Negroes in the textile industry and a concentration in the low-paying jobs.

While the official reporting forms, filed with the Commission in 1964-65 and again by the same employees in 1965-66, showed significant increases in the number of Negro workers, they reveal the same pattern in terms of concentration in low-level, low-paying jobs.

PUBLIC FORUM ON TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Based on this factual data, the Commission felt a public forum on the industry would be helpful to all concerned.

Beginning in November, prior to any public announcement of the Forum, EEOC invited ten of the larger textile employers, their principal trade association, state and local government agencies, civil rights, human relations and educational organizations and labor unions to participate, through their representatives, as guest speakers.

The Commission announced in advance that any public charge of discrimination against a specific individual, employer, or union was out of order.

The Forum was held in the Auditorium of the Charlotte Mecklenburg Library, Charlotte, North Carolina, January 12 and 13, 1967.

The Commission is grateful to all of those who cooperated so freely in making the forum possible, especially Mayor Stanford R. Brookshire who welcomed us to his city; the officials who made the public library available for our use, and each of the guest speakers and participants.

The advice and cooperation of Mr. David S. Coltrane, Chairman of the North Carolina Good Neighbor Council, were of great assistance in planning and arrangements.

SHULMAN

HOLCOMB

JACKSON

Much valuable information was shared by participants in the Forum. Through widespread news coverage throughout the state, the Commission enlisted the interest and support of a broad cross-section of the community in a cooperative effort to enlarge job opportunities for Negroes in the Carolinas.

STEPHEN N. SHULMAN, *Chairman*
DR. LUTHER HOLCOMB, *Vice Chairman*
SAMUEL C. JACKSON, *Commissioner*

We are interested not only in equal opportunity for our citizens, we are interested in more and better opportunities for all our citizens, because we can raise the level of citizens here only as we improve the lives of the individuals who comprise that citizenship. It is important for all our citizens to have that opportunity, and to encourage them to make the most of their individual lives; to be self-respecting, self-supporting, contributing members of society instead of wards of society. It is in the spirit of these words that I welcome all of you here today, and I wish for you a very successful meeting in Charlotte.—HON. STANFORD R. BROOKSHIRE—*Mayor,* Charlotte, N. C.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The verbatim transcript of the forum sessions exceeds 400 pages. This brief summary includes the highlights of facts and opinions expressed during the two-day session. A more detailed report is available to interested employers, unions and organizations on request. Copy of the complete transcript is available in the Commission's headquarters in Washington, D. C.

CHARLES B. MARKHAM
Director of Research

Employment Opportunity Is the Law

DISCRIMINATION is PROHIBITED

BY THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964
AND BY EXECUTIVE ORDER NUMBER 11246

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964
Administered by

THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

Prohibits discrimination because of RACE, COLOR, RELIGION, SEX or NATIONAL ORIGIN

By EMPLOYERS with 75 or more employees, by LABOR ORGANIZATIONS with a hiring hall or 75 or more members, by EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES, and by JOINT LABOR-MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES FOR APPRENTICESHIP OR TRAINING. After July 1, 1967, employers and labor organizations with 50 or more employees or members will be covered; after July 1, 1968, those with 25 or more will be covered

Executive Order Number 11246
Administered by

THE OFFICE OF FEDERAL CONTRACT COMPLIANCE

Prohibits discrimination because of RACE, COLOR, CREED or NATIONAL ORIGIN, and requires affirmative action to ensure equality of opportunity in all aspects of employment

By all FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS AND SUBCONTRACTORS, and by CONTRACTORS PERFORMING WORK UNDER A FEDERALLY ASSISTED CONSTRUCTION CONTRACT, regardless of the number of employees in either case

ANY PERSON
who believes he or she has been discriminated against
SHOULD CONTACT

THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
1800 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20506

ANY PERSON
who believes he or she has been discriminated against
SHOULD CONTACT

THE OFFICE OF FEDERAL CONTRACT COMPLIANCE
U.S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C. 20210

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY AND THE CAROLINAS ECONOMY

The textile mill products industry provides 383,000 jobs—about 44 percent of the combined manufacturing employment in North and South Carolina—and dominates the economy of the two states.

The Carolinas' 1,486 textile plants are principally situated in small cities and towns and rural non-farm areas.

Forty-three percent of all U. S. textile mill production was centered in the Carolinas in 1963.

Negroes comprise one-fourth of the Carolinas' population and work force.

Fifty percent of all textile plants employ less than 100 workers and 70 percent less than 250 workers.

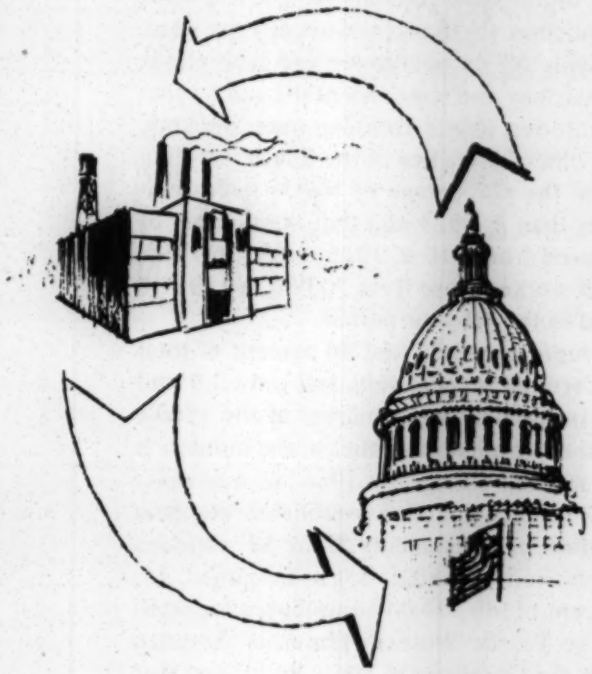
The average U. S. textile wage is the lowest among the nation's manufacturing industries.

Throughout the nation, more than two million workers are directly affected by the domestic textile industry, which utilizes all the domestically-produced raw wool, 60 percent of the raw cotton and a large share of U.S. man-made fibers, dyestuffs and textile machinery.

Electronics, chemicals, metalworking, machinery and other industries which have come to the Carolinas in recent years, are competing successfully for the services of those with advanced skills or the capability of acquiring them. Of necessity, the textile leadership has begun to reappraise the industry's historic wage structure, to seek out new sources of labor, and to seize the opportunities for greater efficiency and productivity afforded by technological change.

Automation in the factory has placed a premium on scientific and technical training, threatening the job security of the semi-skilled who have traditionally formed the bulk of the textile labor pool.

Automation on the farm has accelerated a quarter-century trend of migration from rural areas—particularly among impoverished, often illiterate Negroes—to the urban and rural non-farm sectors.



In the light of these complex factors, the textile industry's role as the principal employer in the Carolinas is rendered precarious. Its opportunity to serve as the gateway to industrial life for the displaced rural Negro is uncertain because of the challenge of foreign competition. The so-called "emerging nations," with lower wage rates, modern machinery and the advantages of economic integration, have poured textile products into the United States in steadily increasing volume in the past decade.

The textile industry's capability for meeting this foreign competition is due largely to Federal Government support through:

- Purchases of textile products for the armed forces
- Restrictions of imports under Long Term Arrangements (LTA's) with major foreign cotton textile producers
- Elimination of the "two-price" cotton program under which domestic textile producers were paying about 30 percent more for their raw materials than foreign competitors
- Changes in Internal Revenue Service guidelines for depreciation (applicable to all industries) which stimulated new investment.

Under the impact of these programs, the U. S. textile industry has grown stronger but still faces serious threats from abroad.

Among the industry's alternatives to meet these threats are the establishment of overseas productive capacity, investment in automated equipment to reduce unit costs, or international cooperation in the man-made fiber area as in cotton. The first two alternatives would reduce the demand for domestic labor. Governmental action would be necessary to accomplish the third alternative..

Dr. Emory Via, Director of Labor Programs, Southern Regional Council notes that . . . "The industry is to be credited for its imagination and skill. However, these attributes afford no excuse for escaping its public responsibilities. And certainly a protection guaranteed by public

policy to the industry gives a special cause not just to meet the minimum requirements of public responsibility, but to seek in every way to measure up to what the present situation requires—including, of course, the eradication of discrimination from the entire industry."

UTILIZATION OF NEGRO EMPLOYEES IN THE CAROLINAS TEXTILE INDUSTRY

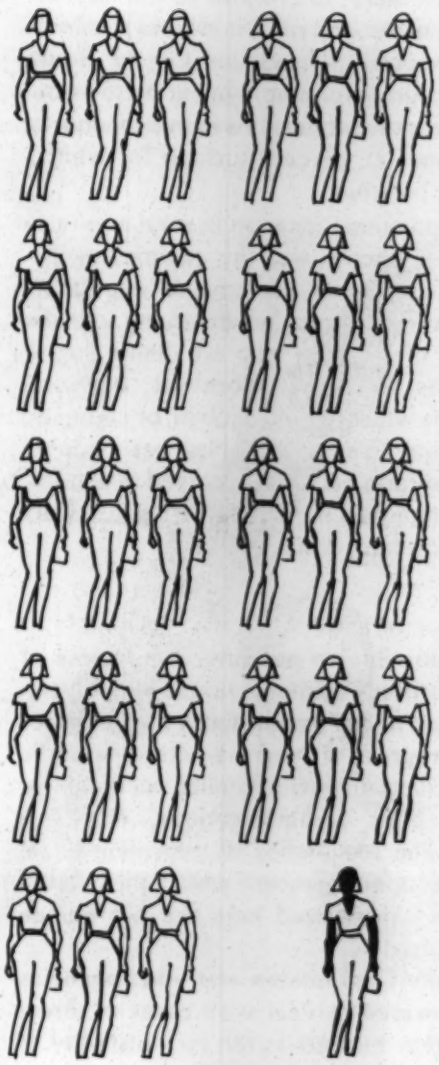
Since 1961 other Federal programs have been initiated which affect the Carolinas' response to the changing patterns of their economy and their major industry. The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and an unprecedented volume of educational and social welfare legislation are designed to achieve full utilization of the nation's human resources, and especially to equip disadvantaged citizens with the job-skills demanded by a rapidly advancing technology. Through a greatly strengthened Executive Order prohibiting discrimination in employment by Government contractors and requiring affirmative action to assure equal opportunity, and through enactment of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, fulfillment of the right of Negroes and other minority groups, and of women, to equal treatment in employment has become a firm and fixed national policy.

This policy has particular significance for the textile mill products industry, which in the Carolinas adhered until very recently to a tradition of near-total exclusion of Negroes or their segregation in menial and service categories. There exists today in the Code of the State of South Carolina an unenforced statute (Sec. 40-452, Code of Laws, 1952) making it "unlawful for any person engaged in the business of cotton textile manufacturing in this state to allow or permit operatives, help and labor of different races (a) to labor and work together in the same room, (b) to use the same doors of entrance and exit at the same time, (c) to use and occupy the same pay ticket windows or doors for paying off its operatives and laborers at the same time, (d) to use the same stairway and windows at the same time, or (e) to use at any time the same lavatories, toilets, drinking water buckets, pails, cups, dippers or glasses." The official statistics of the South Carolina Commissioner of Labor indicate that the percentage of Negro males employed in textiles in 1965 was lower than in 1925 and that the number of Negro females employed had decreased from 916 in 1925 to 897 in 1965, although employment of non-salaried workers rose from 70,000 to 130,000 and product value increased ten fold in the 40-year period.

As recently as 1960 nonwhites represented 22 and 30 percent of total employment in North and South Carolina respectively, but only 3.9 and 5.2 percent of textile employment. In the tight labor market of the 1960's and under the impact of Federal anti-discrimination policies, the industry's employment of Negroes showed a marked change by 1966. In a sample, representative of the industry, of 226 North Carolina establishments from 41 counties and 180 South Carolina establishments from 32 counties filing the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's Employer Information Report EEO-1,* 8.6 percent of the 194,047 employees reported as of early 1966 were Negroes. The Textile Workers Union of America also surveyed its bargaining units in the Carolinas in 1966, and found that among the 30 units responding, Negroes constituted 11.1 percent of the 18,933 workers listed.

The change is even more dramatically demonstrated when the 1966 figures compiled by both TWUA and EEOC are compared with those reported for the same establishments in 1964 or 1965. In seven of the 30 TWUA units where earlier reports were available, the percentage of Negroes rose from 5.5 percent in 1964 to 9.6 percent in 1965. EEOC matched 103 North Carolina establishments and 33 South Carolina

*Sponsored jointly by EEOC, Plans for Progress, and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, U. S. Department of Labor.



establishments reporting in 1964-65 and again in 1966. In the North Carolina plants, 3,043 employees had been added to the payroll, of whom three-fifths (1,887) were Negroes; 42 of the 103 plants which reported no Negro males and/or females in 1964-65 had hired Negro workers in the interim. The South Carolina units had added 2,269 employees, of whom 38 percent (871) were Negroes; 24 plants reported no Negro females employed in 1964-65 but only four were in that category in 1966. The experience of one large mill is illustrative: In a 1966 expansion program involving some 400 jobs, 75 percent of the new hires were Negroes, the majority of them winning production rather than maintenance and custodial jobs.

Two conclusions emerge, however, from analysis of the complete EEO-1 data: first, Negro women are substantially under represented in the work force of the 406 establishments and second, utilization of Negro workers of both sexes in the skilled craftsmen and white collar categories is minimal. Heavy concentration of Negroes in the laborer and service occupations continues.

The national rate of female participation in the textile industry was 44 percent in 1966. About two-fifths of the total number of workers in the EEOC sample are female. Yet there are 27 white female workers employed in the reporting establishments for each Negro female worker. The 2,792 Negro female employees comprise 1.4 percent of all employees but Negro males account for 7.2 percent of the total. In gross figures, there were five times as many Negro males employed as females. In one plant cited by a participant, there are 2,000 white women and eight Negro women employees. In the office of another, there are 300 women workers but only three Negroes. A certain high school regularly graduates 25 to 35 Negro students with commercial training; there are no Negro clerical workers in any textile plant in the county.

Ninety-nine percent of the Negro employees covered in the EEOC sample were in blue collar work, the majority of them in the operative (semi-skilled) and laborer classifications; the pay differential between janitors and hand truckers, occupations where Negroes are likely to predominate, and weavers is 53 cents per hour, according to a recent survey of the Carolinas' cotton textile industry by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Among the 406 establishments, total and Negro employment in the white collar and skilled categories were as follows:

	Total	Negro
Officials and Managers	10,211	11
Professionals	2,338	3
Technicians	2,104	13
Sales Workers	526	0
Office and Clerical	11,784	149
Craftsmen	29,845	690

Statistical aggregates that deal with the industry as a whole, however, often obscure significant relationships between plant size, plant location and sources of labor supply of rural and urban workers.* Of the 1,486 Carolinas' textile plants, 50 percent employ less than 100 workers and 70 percent less than 250 workers.

Most textile plants in the South are located in small towns and cities and in rural non-farm areas, and find the rural non-farm sector to be a basic source of their labor supply.

Employment of rural non-farm Negroes is one of the most serious aspects of the Negro employment problem in the South and particularly in the Carolinas. Between 1940 and 1960, the number of Negroes residing in rural non-farm areas of the South increased from 1.7 to 3.1 million; in North and South Carolina, the proportion of the Negro population there

*The remaining portion of this section is adapted from the statement of Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, President of Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia, an economist whose predominant professional concern has been with the economic and employment problems of Negroes in the South and in the United States.

rose from 20 to 37 and 19 to 44 percent respectively. The fact that Negro migration from the farm does not necessarily end in the city but in those areas where textile plants tend to locate raises significant questions about employment opportunities for the Negro there. In contrast to the national pattern which found 28 percent of both urban and rural non-farm residents engaged in manufacturing in 1960, population statistics for the South show greater dependence upon manufacturing for employment by the rural non-farm resident than by the city dweller; the proportions in manufacturing jobs are 29 percent (rural non-farm) and 22 percent (urban) for whites, and 19 and 14 percent respectively for Negroes.

In view of the textile industry's predominant location in rural non-farm areas, its relatively low entry skill requirements, and the minimal on-the-job training necessary, textile manufacturing in the smaller population centers provides an especially important resource for absorbing into the employed labor force those thousands of Negroes who are continuing to migrate as the demand for farm labor decreases. Moreover, the rural non-farm Negro is far less likely than the white to seek a job in, or commute for work to, the city 25 or 30 miles away. Yet in 1960 Negroes made up only 3.8 percent of the 280,000 rural non-farm persons employed in textiles, as compared to 12.8 percent of those employed in manufacturing generally and 21 percent of all employed rural non-farm residents.

FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR CURRENT NEGRO EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS IN TEXTILES

The extent to which the employment patterns are directly attributable to unlawful employment practices is impossible to measure. Regardless of the effect of present discriminatory attitudes among textile employers, it is clear from the statements presented at the forum that a host of other factors have combined to retard the progress of Negro workers in textile employment and specifically in the skilled and white collar occupations. These include past discrimination, poor communications, employer apathy and lack of sophistication in the techniques of providing equal employment opportunity, and reliance upon agencies which themselves practice discrimination. These factors summarized here are not unique to the textile industry nor to the Carolinas.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and other agencies of the Federal Government are empowered to deal with cases of direct discrimination. The removal of the other barriers is the responsibility of the entire community.

HERITAGE OF THE PAST

David S. Coltrane, Chairman, North Carolina Good Neighbor Council, stated . . . "Negroes are trapped in inherited poverty. They lack training and skills. Their poverty tends to cripple their capacity for development. [There is] the devastating effect of long years of slavery and a century or more of oppression, hatred, and injustice. In many of our schools, Negroes have historically been denied equal opportunities for vocational and technical training, and for general education as well. There existed a feeling that they should not be trained for jobs unless there were job opportunities. But on the other hand Negroes could not be employed because they did not possess the necessary skills. The Negro, therefore, has been caught in a vicious circle."

UNEQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

As recently as two years ago, the Negro high school graduate could expect to earn 55 percent as much as the white, and the Negro college graduate 62 percent as much as the white college graduate.

In 1964, the unemployment rate for North Carolina whites was 2.9 percent; for Negroes, 7.9 percent. Although the average annual wage in the North Carolina textile industry for 1964 was $3,912.00, that figure is about $2,000.00 above the income of one of every two Negro families;

but only one white family in six in North Carolina had an annual income below $2,000.00. About 100,000 South Carolina Negro families subsist below the poverty line of $3,000.00 per year.

FAILURE TO COMMUNICATE

One factor unrelated to outright discrimination was most frequently cited by forum participants as the cause of underutilization of Negroes in textile employment. It is a near-total breakdown in communications between the employer and Negro communities.

The absence of a dialogue has a dual effect:

The industry is deprived of qualified or qualifiable applicants, and the Negro has no motivation to seek entry to doors he assumes to be barred, or to obtain necessary skills or refine those which he already has.

The white executive without direct experience with Negroes, their attitudes, and their environment cannot be effective in hiring them; whites seldom travel through or to the Negro community. Conversely, the Negro guidance counselor often lacks familiarity with industry job requirements.

The failure of communication generally was attributed both to employers and to the responsible leaders of the Negro community who have made little contact with executives at the policy-making or personnel manager level.

The Forum record shows:

The textile industry does not advertise in the Negro press nor does it follow through on the limited contacts it has with organizations such as the local NAACP branch or the American Friends Service Committee, which are in a position to refer Negroes for employment. Instead it relies on referrals from present employees or the local employment service.

The Executive Director of the South Carolina Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Branches stated that he personally knew of no instances where the textile employers of the state had actively recruited Negro workers from its branches or from any other civil rights group. His colleague reported that where the NAACP had been asked for recommendations, it made them, but nothing further was heard from the employer.

The director of labor programs for the Southern Regional Council reported that aggressive programs of Negro recruitment by the textile industry had not come to his attention.

The director of placement for the North Carolina A & T College at Greensboro indicated that his institution plays host to about 200 industrial and government recruiters annually (as compared to four in 1960), and that "two or three" major textile employers have placed its graduates.

The chairman of the North Carolina Conference of NAACP branches has discussed the Negro employment problem with textile industry representatives and finds that there is "a growing number of young textile executives who are concerned about this problem and want to do something about it."

PERSONNEL POLICIES BLAMED FOR EXCLUSION

Hiring attitudes cited by forum participants reflect either subtle forms of discrimination or lack of sophistication in the techniques of administering equal employment opportunity programs, such as:

(1) The "underemployment" policy by which the Negro college graduate is sought to perform work of which the elementary school graduate is capable

(2) The "overqualification" policy, by which the Negro is hired only if he possesses superior qualifications for the position, while a less qualified white is accepted and trained without question

(3) The "showcase" placement, or tokenism

(4) Establishment of unrealistic standards, *e.g.* tests not validated for the position in question

(5) Unrealistic educational and experience requirements. (Negro candidates were rejected for such reasons as "fingernails too long," or "hands too rough." Among common entry requirements are that Negroes be "slender, attractive, light-skinned, have no 'objectionable' body odors.")

The director of a job placement agency in the Negro community of Charlotte stated that 300 applicants had found employment through his organization but that only 10 of 150 persons referred were placed in the textile industry in the area.

EMPLOYER APATHY

The forum record reveals that textile industry employers, individually or collectively, have made very little use of Federal training assistance in on-the-job, institutional or apprentice training.

The record also shows that there are two training programs operating in the textile industry under Federal grants, one in Columbia, South Carolina, and one in Kings Mountain, North Carolina.

ROLE OF STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

Several speakers alleged discriminatory policies of units of the Employment Security Commission in both states. Neither state was represented by E.S.C. speakers at the forum. A statement in the record indicates, however, that the Beaufort, S. C., office of the Employment Security Commission has no Negroes on its staff and has placed only white graduates of MDTA training programs in the area.

COMPLAINTS IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

CHARGES FILED WITH THE COMMISSION

From July 2, 1965, through December 31, 1966, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission received a total of 13,404 charges of discrimination. Of these, 1,119 charges were filed from the Carolinas, 260 of which alleged discriminatory practices in the textile industry. Approximately 75 percent (197) of the Carolina complaints were found to be within the Commission's jurisdiction. The distribution of these charges were: 123 cited employers, 72 were against one state employment service, and two were against a union.

Negroes filed 97.9 percent of the charges, and 185 alleged failure or refusal to hire. The majority of these were initiated by Negro females. Most Negro females charging refusal to hire were seeking positions as industrial trainees. The few Negro males filing complaints alleged discrimination in working conditions, such as unequal pay, unequal application of seniority, discharge, layoff and segregated facilities.

Commission Action as of December 31, 1966

- 170 charges forwarded by investigators for a Commission determination
- Three charges remained under consideration
- 110 resulted in a finding of no reasonable cause, (many of these 110 cases were dismissed by the Commission for various reasons, not necessarily absolving the respondent of discrimination practices)
- 57 charges (involving 16 respondents) on which the Commission found reasonable cause to believe the charges were true were referred for conciliation
- 27 charges successfully conciliated; in one case no agreement was reached
- 35 were in conciliation
- Investigations revealed some instances where Negro women had never been employed in the respondent's establishment.

CHARGE OF DISCRIMINATION

(If you have a complaint, fill in this form and mail it to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's Regional Office in your area as soon as possible. It must be mailed within 90 days after the discriminatory act took place. (See addresses on back page)

This form is to be used only to file a charge of discrimination based on RACE, COLOR, RELIGION, SEX, or NATIONAL ORIGIN.

Case File No. _____

(PLEASE PRINT OR TYPE)

1 Your Name _____ Phone Number _____

Street Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

2 WAS THE DISCRIMINATION BECAUSE OF: (Please check one)

Race or Color ☐ Religious Creed ☐ National Origin ☐ Sex ☐

3 Who discriminated against you? Give the name and address of the employ[illegible] or apprenticeship committee. If more than one, list all.

Name _____

Street Address _____

City _____

AND (other parties if any) _____

4 Have you filed this charge with a state or local government

5 If your charge is against a company or a union, how many [illegible] not know ☐

6 The most recent date on which this discrimination took plac[illegible]

7 Explain what unfair thing was done to you:

8 I swear or affirm that I have read the above charge and that it is tr[illegible]

Date _____

Subscribed and sworn to before me this _____

(Name)

If it is difficult for you to get a Notary Public to sign this, sign your own [illegible] ou to get the form sworn to.

HOW TO FILE A COMPLAINT AGAINST UNLAWFUL JOB DISCRIMINATION

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

DISCRIMINATION IS UNLAWFUL

Discrimination in employment because of *race, color, religion, sex, or national origin*, is prohibited under Title VII of the Civil Rights Law. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission will act on charges of discrimination in employment committed by employers, labor organizations, state and private employment agencies and labor-management apprenticeship programs.

CHARGES MAY BE FILED BY:

Any person who believes he has been discriminated against in an employment situation.

A Commissioner who has reason to believe that an unlawful employment practice has been committed by a company, labor union, employment agency, or an apprenticeship or training program.

The company, union, or employment agency is forbidden by law to punish you for filing a charge, for acting as a witness, or for assisting the Commission to establish the cause for the charge.

EEOC

GENERAL ALLEGATIONS MADE BY FORUM PARTICIPANTS

Dr. Vivian Henderson, President of Clark College, noted that "the textile industry in the South had an extremely poor record on Negro employment. The industry has a vicious history of outright exclusion and sheer discrimination regarding Negroes in the various plants. The only manufacturing industry that parallels the textile industry—and this can be supported by data—in terms of Negro exclusion from employment in the South is apparel, an allied industry.

"In a study prepared for the Commission by Dr. Donald Osburn, emphasis was placed on three reasons for Negro exclusion from the textile industry:

"Social cohesion of small mill town communities and the history of strike violence discouraged integration attempts. I don't know about strike violence; I don't know about the social cohesion; but I do know in the town that I grew up in, Bristol, Tennessee, there's no history of strike violence and cohesion was not that prominent. It was a sheer matter of racial discrimination.

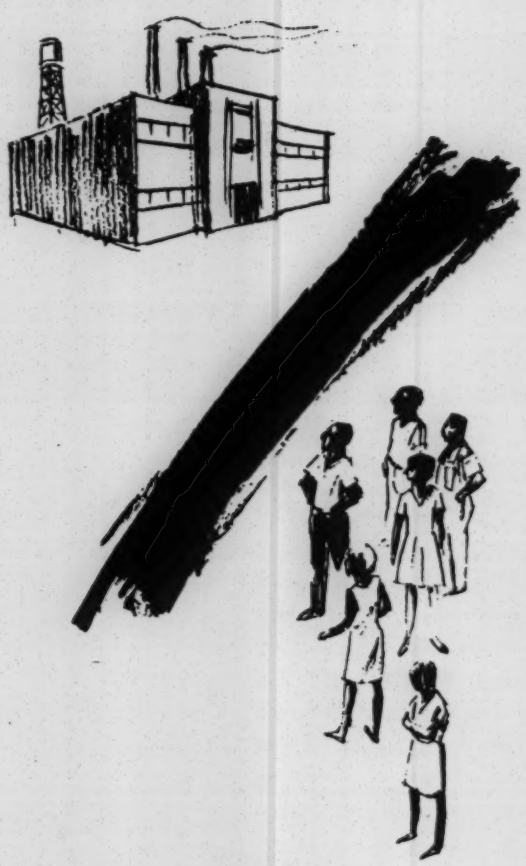
"He suggests further: In their own areas, mills were relatively high-wage employers and could attract all the white labor they needed. This in and of itself is a statement of racial discrimination.

"Many jobs could be done and were done by women, so there was almost always an ample labor supply available. Owners would hire women before Negroes, if at all possible.

"While all the points made by Dr. Osburn are valid, the fact is . . . that they are all variables of one dominating factor under which they can all be subsumed: racial discrimination in employment."

Kelly M. Alexander, President, North Carolina State Branches, NAACP, noted: "We who live in the Carolinas are fully aware of the long, long history of Negroes being excluded from textile employment. We are also aware of how employees of State employment offices contributed to this exclusion by accepting and filling discriminatory job orders received from the textile industry."

Paul Swaity, Vice President, Textile Workers Union of America (AFL-CIO) stated: "We have come to learn over the years that the employer's anti-union campaign is almost invariably accompanied by an appeal to racial prejudice. Again this tactic follows a clear pattern in one organizing campaign after another: First the workers are informed of the union's forthright stand on civil rights and equal job rights, and this is tied with a fear campaign implying that a vote for the union is a vote for racial mixing on a social basis. At the same time the specter is raised that the union will see to it that white workers are replaced by the Negroes. The crucial fact is that the existing racial pattern is solely in the hands of management."



Mrs. Sarah Herbin, Field Representative, North Carolina Fund, stated: "Talking with various textile employees, I find that their biggest complaints include: First, no opportunity for upgrading like their white counterparts; second, whites get promoted with less seniority; third, difference in pay even when whites and Negroes are doing the same jobs; and fourth, many of the textile employees feel there is no one to whom they can turn to talk about their problems or to correct the situation. There is fear of intimidation, fear of job reprisal, and rightly so, because they've seen many persons lose their jobs when some efforts were made to correct the discriminatory practices."

Rev. I. DeQuincey Newman, Executive Director, South Carolina State Conference of Branches, NAACP, stated: "It is doubtful whether there is a manufacturing business any place where the

practice of racial discrimination is more flagrantly pronounced and more deeply embedded in the community than in the Southern textile industry. Historically, it is the only industry that I know of where racial discrimination is encouraged—has been encouraged, rather fostered and upheld, by a State statute."

James Pierce, Coordinator, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, stated: "Nowhere except in the textile industry have I seen such frequent reliance upon inflammatory racial propaganda by employers in industry in their attempt to maintain control of their employees and the community in which they operate. This was true ten years ago; it's still true today. The truth is that racial prejudice and job discrimination pay off for the textile industry in dollars and cents and higher dividends for the stockholders; it keeps the union out and keeps wages low. The textile industry sits like a giant in many Southern communities. It has demonstrated that it can manipulate and even ignore public opinion in these communities. If it decides to open a door more than just a crack or two to equal opportunities for Negro workers, it will encounter no serious trouble from its white workers. Many industries other than textiles have done so. All that is needed is the will of industry to do so."

The record also includes testimony of specific instances of discrimination alleged by these participants:

Miss Willie Mae McCrimmon	The Rev. Omega F. Newman
John L. Caldwell	The Rev. W. B. Knox
Mrs. Annie Louise Harris	The Rev. James O. Rich
Moses Mangrum	The Rev. Andrew Wicker

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS AND TECHNIQUES USED BY TEXTILE EMPLOYERS AND OTHERS

Excerpts from Statement of Leighton C. Dunlap, Industrial Relations Division, E. I. DuPont de Nemours & Co., Inc.

On September 23, 1959, our Executive Committee issued a written policy statement as follows:

> "RESOLVED, that it is the policy of E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Company not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry with respect to hiring, promotion, demotion, transfer, recruitment, termination, rates of pay or other forms of compensation and selection for training."

We found that to be successful in carrying out an effective E.E.O. program, top management had to take a position of responsibility and line organization had to handle the implementation.

In spite of the apprehensions on the part of some people, we have met with very little unfavorable reaction in the implementation of our E.E.O. commitment in our plants. This includes those operating in North Carolina and South Carolina.

We have found that it was imperative that effective, affirmative action be taken to: (1) increase the employment and upgrade the utilization of minority personnel; (2) improve rapport with local minority leaders; and, (3) implement an effective follow-up system. Some of the specific steps that were essential to achieve the above are:

Employment standards at these locations have been reviewed to insure that they are realistic. Employment practices of giving preference to relatives of employees or hiring those who scored highest on pre-employment tests had to be weighed against other aspects of the selection process.

Pre-employment selection procedures are necessarily designed to distinguish between those who can qualify for DuPont starting jobs and

those who cannot, but they are also designed to be as non-discriminatory with regard to race as they can be made. Tests are professionally developed, job-related, and have been validated over a period of years by checking against job performance of employees after they were hired. At the Camden (South Carolina) Plant this has led to the discontinuance of a high school diploma as a requisite for employment.

"Qualification" for DuPont employment does not mean that applicants must be already skilled; it usually means that they must be able to learn the skills needed in a modern chemical plant. In most cases DuPont trains its new employees in the job skills required. What is needed is aptitude and reasonable grounding in fundamentals.

To increase the supply of minority applicants, we are participating in community programs and in some cases have instituted in-plant upgrading efforts. We are working with leaders and organizations in our various employment plants to develop mutual understanding, confidence, and cooperation.

Specifically, contacts have been made with administrative officials of all high schools in the hiring area. Discussions included a review of DuPont employment qualifications, testing requirements, and hiring practices. On one visit, 32 Negroes were given pre-employment tests and ten qualified. Later the guidance counselor accompanied to the plant a group of 40 seniors from a local predominantly Negro high school. These students applied for employment and took pre-employment tests with the high school guidance counselor observing the administration of these tests. During a follow-up visit to the high school, tests were reviewed with the principal and the counselor. Approximately 40 percent of the group qualified.

This program is beginning to bear fruit as the quality and quantity of applicants have improved. Some of the local Negro leaders are assisting interested Negroes in "brushing up" on arithmetic prior to taking the pre-employment test. The plant is continuing to follow up on those Negro job candidates who failed to qualify, explaining areas of weakness and suggesting they obtain outside help and return for re-test.

Encouraging minorities to improve their level of education and establishing effective communications with business schools and colleges stand high on the agenda of our textile operations in the Carolinas. Attempts are also being made to allay the suspicions and distrust that the minorities seem to have for the industrial community.

Personnel officers are constantly reviewing the requirements of various jobs and job categories, to develop training programs, to prepare materials to aid in informing and hopefully motivating these potential employees.

The initial employment of minorities is only a partial solution to the total problem. There remains orientation, training, and the developing of individuals for movement into all job categories. Significant progress has been made in this area. Test-limited employees in the Service Sections at the Kinston Plant have been assisted in qualifying for promotion if they desire. During one month, 21 such employees were transferred, 11 of whom had ten or more years of service. We are breaking down the problem of minority employment into these various components and working with each one separately. Management views this subject of E.E.O. as one of long duration on which we are making progress and expect to devote effort for years to come.

Statement of Joseph J. Vale, Executive Director of the Industrial Association of Kings Mountain, North Carolina

The Industrial Association of Kings Mountain represents 32 industrial plants in the area, of which 26 are engaged in textiles.

Industry has contributed, from the fall of 1965, through March of this year dues of approximately $18,000 to form this program and make it a

success. Our office is located in the heart of Kings Mountain. We do not have an Employment Security office in Kings Mountain—but we work in cooperation with the office in Shelby.

We started an on-the-job training program, where the Association was the prime contractor and we act as an employment agency. We have a full-time executive director and secretary. We probably have as many people come into our office for jobs as the Employment Security office in Shelby. We try to place these people on jobs the day that they come in; we pick up the phone, and we have an availability list which all plants will send into our office and let us know what jobs are available.

I would say that the biggest percentage of job placements in the area have been Negroes. We have put them in on-the-job training as weavers or spinners or whatever job may be available, on a first come, first served basis. We help them fill out their applications in our office. We then call the plant and tell them—we do not say whether they are colored or white—we call the plant and say, "We have Mister John Doe or Miss so-and-so here applying for a job as a spinner or weaver," or whatever the case might be, and we send them down there.

A majority of these people we have put in on-the-job training; those who did not go into on-the-job training were still hired.

Our program went into effect June 13, 1966, runs through July 19 of this year, and can be renewed. Of all the people whom we have signed up for on-the-job training courses, ranging anywhere from six to 26 weeks, those that have completed their courses are still employed in these plants, and are doing well. And again, I must emphasize that there has been no discrimination. I have talked to everyone of these people individually, as they come into the office, on an informal basis, to try to make them feel a little bit relaxed. And I visit the plants and I talk to top management, and we try to make them feel confortable so they can adjust in these plants.

The plants in the area have built new lunch rooms. Both colored and white can go in them; and the rest rooms are open to any one. We have had very good progress in that area. In fact, according to Mr. Archer, the Regional Director of the MDTA of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, we are the only association of this type in the United States that has conducted a training program on a complete area basis where all of the industries participate in the program.

Between 75 and 80 percent of the people that come through our office—and most of them will come through our office to apply for a job—have been Negro people, and they have been hired.

We have Human Relations Committees; we get together now and then to discuss various problems. In fact, there's a lot of information I can get from the Negro leaders in the community. I called Reverend Cook in one day and I tried to ask him if we could talk about the lines of communication; and I think this is very important. We were having some problems there about some of the Negroes that were hired, where they would go to work for two days, and lay out for three or four days or a week, and then expect to go back and get back on the job again.

So we took it upon ourselves to ask him if he would relay the message through the church or the Human Relation meetings to talk to these people, because it was a little embarrassing for me to send them around to various plants and come up with a bad experience. We're there to help them; we're there to train them; and we're very concerned about it. But since that time, we have not had any problems. This has been a very successful program in our area. I think that with a little help from your department, maybe some changes in the MDTA program, in getting together with the North Carolina Human Relations Councils and other organizations, we can get some guidelines where we can help other communities set up a program like this.

It is a lot more effective to work on a community basis than it is on an individual basis in these various areas.

Excerpts from Statement of Donald L. Hollowell, Regional Director, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Atlanta, Georgia

While some employers may feel that the Commission has concentrated on investigating and conciliating complaints, this is not entirely the case.

We have spent considerable time and effort in seeking solutions to the problems of recruitment, training, and apprenticeship programs and in testing and upgrading, to help bring about the change required under Title VII.

In some instances we have found employers sincerely seeking to comply with Title VII, but they report qualified minority group members are in scarce supply. Others have proved, however, that where there is a will there is a way.

In Chicago, for example, more than 216 employers banded together in 1965 to form the Chicago Merit Employment Committee. Non-white employment among these firms rose by 14,000 in the past year, according to a year-end report. This is affirmative action.

Our Commission offers guidelines and a "how to" program for setting up an effective community-wide equal employment council based on the most successful of many industry efforts in this area.

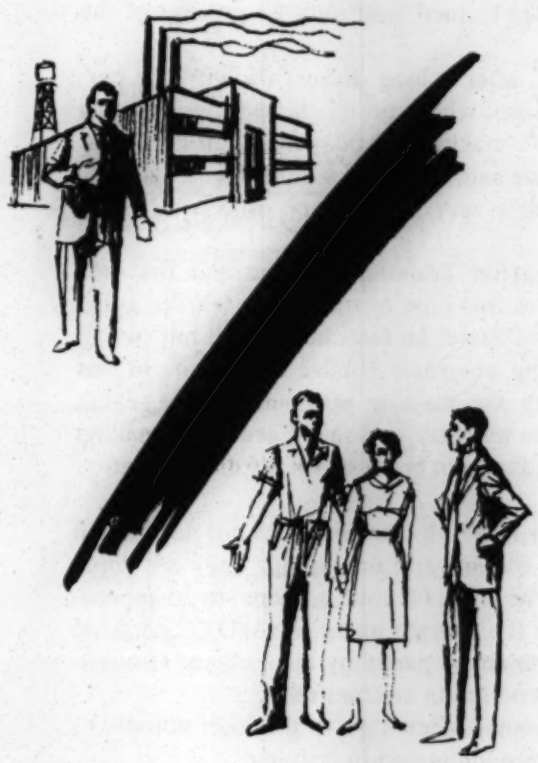
An intensive recruitment drive undertaken by General Dynamics at its Qunicy, Massachusetts, plant is another example of community effort. With the NAACP acting as a catalyst, the program brought company personnel together with some 87 community leaders representing civic, religious, community civil rights and welfare groups. The drive took only 30 days of preparation, and produced 273 applicants from the area's minority neighborhoods during the company-sponsored "Job Opportunity Week" last August. Many were hired right on the spot, others were referred to the plant for further interviews to classify their special skills, and still others were signed up for on-the-job training by a manpower developer of the U. S. Department of Labor. During 1966 General Dynamics' Quincy plant placed 988 workers in on-the-job training programs at a cost to the Federal Government of $730.00 per trainee, an investment that will soon be returned to the Government in tax revenues.

In other instances industry and business have joined with civil rights, religious and community leaders to put on a "Job Fair," usually a two-day centralized recruitment effort to meet industries' growing needs. In Detroit, for example, 15,000 applicants appeared for interviews; 5,000 of them got jobs.

The Commission offers a program based on successful fairs and staff assistance to carry out this project in cooperation with local officials and business groups.

The National Association of Manufacturers is traveling the country urging business and industry leaders to take advantage of NAM's many programs to help fill their manpower needs. One of these, called MIND (Methods of Intellectual Development), tried and proved successful by the NAM, demonstrates that industry can upgrade its work force by helping workers improve their basic reading and arithmetic skills. Only recently Corn Products Company of Argo, Illinois, in cooperation with the NAM, completed its first class of 38 employees, which raised the employees' level of achievement by an average of three and a half grades in reading and in arithmetic.

This achievement took only 73 hours of class work. The company has told the Commission that it was so impressed with the results that it has already scheduled two more in-plant classes to include a high percentage of the plant's minority work force—using plant personnel as voluntary instructors.



The National Association of Manufacturers is happy to furnish information and cooperation in these kinds of projects.

Standard Oil of California, among many, is re-evaluating its testing procedures, based on the Commission's Guidelines on this subject.

In neighboring South Carolina, the Columbia Community Relations Council's Employment Guidance Center has an all-around affirmative action program. The Council recruits minority group members using minority group recruiters and working in minority group neighborhoods. To help place applicants in jobs commensurate with their skills and education, the Council has a professional job counseling service, comprehensive pre-employment conditioning, in-depth interviews with both applicants and employers and job-related testing procedures.

Now this is not to imply that there has been no progress made in the textile industry.

One company, for example, has agreed that it will move Negro employees into openings in its new addition in February 1967 and integrate them into the mending and pairing departments as well as into the shipping and printing departments. The same company has agreed to seek out qualified Negro applicants for positions in office jobs as vacancies arise as the result of a conciliation agreement.

Others have discontinued the use of application forms that seek information in violation of Title VII, and they have racially integrated plant facilities and have agreed to offer specific jobs to Negro women applicants who have filed charges of discrimination.

In two recent instances the companies have agreed that all of the charging parties will be permitted to file applications and will be considered for openings for which they qualify as they occur, while one has agreed to hire individual charging parties immediately.

This is encouraging progress, but it is progress as a result of the complaint procedure and of the conciliation process.

There is other evidence of progress in textiles and in the rest of the industrial South, but it is limited progress in terms of the more significant affirmative action.

Our statutory responsibility mandates the Commission to protect the individual right of all those covered by Title VII through the complaint procedure.

Our efforts here today, however, are in behalf of encouraging and assisting in the kinds of affirmative action that will eliminate the cause of these complaints.

Excerpts from Statement of Leoniver S. James, Field Representative of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations

I have had conversations with three persons who were prepared to explain the new emphasis being given to training opportunities in the textile industry. One of the persons was a senior Negro employee who has been working in a plant for 21 years. Another was the personnel officer of the same industry in a textile plant. The third was our State Director of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training for the Federal Government, who is responsible for approving on-the-job training courses for the Manpower Development Training Act.

It was amazing to note the changes that have taken place in the textile industry, and especially in this plant and in others in the State. This employee had told me before I went down there that he was exceedingly happy and pleased with his position in the mill. He was responsible for operating six machines. He indicated that all of the segregation which he had formerly endured had been eliminated. He was so glad to tell that the MDTA course had been in operation in this plant for nearly a year, where white and Negro employees and prospective employees are being trained for better jobs. He told me how he had been promoted with personal help from fellow employees.

In my conversation with the personnel officer at the textile mill in question, I found out more about their training program for upgrading employees for available jobs. He emphasized the fact that all of the employees and prospective employees regardless of color are being hired and upgraded on the basis of merit only. He gave some interesting facts about the MDTA program. He says there are 293 trainees, both employees for upgrading and prospective employees. Fifty percent of this group in training are Negroes. The Negroes have a better record for staying on the job after they are trained, he said, than the whites. The Negroes by 32 percent hold their jobs after they are trained, and only 24 percent of the whites.

It was also interesting to learn, after a long discussion with the personnel officer, that one of the females who worked there in the training has only been there a year and she's making $90.00 a week, although she was making $20.00 a week when she came there as a domestic. Then they had a loom fixer who is also getting a very good salary, who is a Negro, who just trained there recently.

The Director of the Apprenticeship Training Program was the next man I talked to. He said that he has this type of training in textiles going on in many of the institutions in the State. In fact, he says all but two of the plants in the State have training programs similar to the one in this instance.* He is very pleased with the training programs in the textile industry and he feels that the textile industry in South Carolina is making greater progress than many in the industry to break down the discrimination in employment.

It seems that the textile industry in South Carolina does not need much urging to single out employees for training and upgrading. They are doing this and there is more of it going to be done. Of course, there are no apprenticeship courses being given. All of the courses under the MDTA program or by the Federal Government or financed partly by the Federal Government and the textile industry are production courses only.

I also found out that the personnel officers go to the high schools to try to seek out young people who are interested in training.

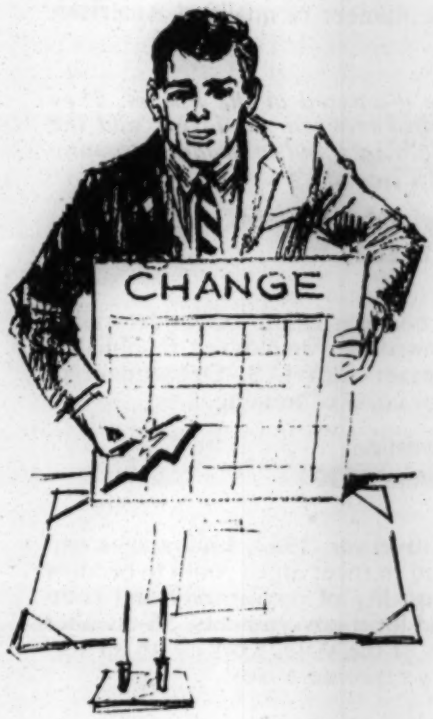
Statement of F. S. Love
Secretary-Treasurer of the American
Textile Manufacturers Institute

ATMI is the central trade association representing the cotton, man-made fibers and silk segments of this industry. Its members are the textile mills of this country.

Some of the statements made in the two-day equal employment opportunities sessions concluded today in Charlotte have contained malicious and irresponsible accusations concerning the employment practices of the textile industry. But it is not our purpose to engage in a contest of charges and counter-charges. In general, these accusations came from individuals who perhaps were less concerned than we with the laudable objective of providing more jobs for more people.

The American Textile Manufacturers Institute and many textile companies have been represented at this meeting, and have followed the proceedings with genuine interest. ATMI congratulates Chairman Stephen N. Shulman, who has done his best to bring out something of value from the sensationalism of the past two days. Prior to the opening of this conference, we pointed out that a public session might be used by individuals who had little regard for the textile industry nor for its approximately one million employees.

*Neil McArthur of the office of Manpower Administration, U. S. Department of Labor, reported to the Forum that there were "only two or three small programs" operating in the textile industry.



The events of the last two days indicate that our concern was not unfounded.

The textile industry's responsibility to this nation, in part, is to provide jobs. Despite its critics at this meeting—most of whom provide few jobs and meet no payrolls—statements presented to this session define the significant progress the industry has made. The figures presented by the Commission in short form on the opening date seem to indicate the textile wages paid in both North and South Carolina are equal to or are above the average for industrial wages paid in both states.

They also show an encouraging increase in textile industry employment of minority groups.

We will not pretend to perfection, but we think it is significant, encouraging, and indicative of the industry's social responsibility that according to the Commission's 1966 employment survey, while total textile employment in North Carolina increased 27 percent, between 1964 and 1965—and I think that's probably a typographical error; I think it should be 1960 and 1965, non-white employment increased 73 percent.

This same survey also reveals substantial progress in the provision of job opportunities for Negro females. In the two years covered by the study, North Carolina textile industry employment of Negro women jumped some 312 percent. In South Carolina, a somewhat similar situation exists, with female Negro employment up 311 percent.

Based on the Commission's figures, therefore, it appears that the textile industry provides jobs for some 35,000 non-whites in North and South Carolina. Can any other industry equal this figure?

It was also gratifying to learn from the Commission that although 1,119 complaints have been filed in the two Carolinas over an 18-month period, only 260 of these were filed against the textile industry. Considering the fact that the textile industry in these two states employs nearly 400,000 people—approximately half of all the industrial employees in these two states—this is a record in which all of us can take considerable pride.

And I might say on the side—and departing from the script, Mr. Chairman—that I believe your compliance representative yesterday said that only 60 of these 260 complaints had been found to have merit. We are proud of this figure; we hope that you share this pride with us.

As a matter of fact, the textile industry is not concerned about race, color, or ethnic background; its concern is to find qualified employees. Also, as was brought out by the representative of the U. S. Department of Commerce, the rising tide of textile imports from low-wage foreign nations may ultimately make hiring practices an academic question.

The American Textile Manufacturers Institute had hoped that more constructive suggestions might have come from the meeting as to ways in which untrained individuals might better be prepared to make the broad jump into industrial employment.

The Commission's figures indicate that the textile industry is meeting the challenge of this decade. But we're disappointed that so few speakers made specific, sincere suggestions which would help either the industry or its prospective employees.

Regardless of its good intentions, the industry must operate in a practical world of intense competition form other industries, both at home and abroad. It trains thousands of people each year, but it does not have the facilities to train the hundreds of thousands of others who lack adequate employment because they lack adequate training.

Some weeks before the public announcement of this Forum, ATMI suggested that if the Commission wished to enlist industry support in its efforts to broaden employment opportunities, the most appropriate way would be through a discussion with the industry's leadership. This we visualized would be a meeting devoted to a practical, realistic approach to the problem. This would be a meeting that would generate not heat but

light, not censure but solutions, not criticism but cooperation. We made that suggestion in good faith. We make it again today.

Representatives of many textile manufacturing companies have attended and have followed these sessions with concentrated interest; and I'm sure you have seen their note-taking. The industry has carefully noted the comments that have been made at this meeting and its representatives return to their plants with renewed determination to provide the best possible jobs for the largest possible number of qualified American people.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS AND EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES

EMPLOYERS IN NORTH AND SOUTH CAROLINA HAVE FOUND THESE RESOURCES HELPFUL IN MEETING THEIR MANPOWER NEEDS

The following community resources were discussed at the Forum. They can be helpful to improve communications between employers and the Negro community to provide qualified applicants and to broaden training opportunities for Negroes.

Charlotte Bureau of Employment, Training and Placement
401 East Second Street, Charlotte, N.C. 28202
Executive Director: James K. Polk

Prior to referral of applicants, the Bureau contacts employers to determine entry requirements; recruits and screens prospective employees. Establishes on-the-job training programs under contract with U.S. Department of Labor to partially reimburse employers for costs of training.

Good Neighbor Council, State of North Carolina
Post Office Box 585, Raleigh, North Carolina 28201
Chairman: David S. Coltrane

Established by Executive Order of the Governor, 1963. Encourages employment of qualified people without regard to race; urges youth to become better trained and qualified; promotes equality of opportunity and communications in cooperation with State and local governments. 56-member interracial group representing all sections of the state, works with all segments of the population including industry representatives.

Industrial Association of Kings Mountain
Box 782, Kings Mountain, North Carolina 28086
Director: Joseph J. Vale

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
112 N. Irwin Street, Charlotte, North Carolina 28202
President: Kelly M. Alexander

125 branches in North Carolina and several in South Carolina. Operates Job Market Information Bureau to distribute information on job openings.

North Carolina Council of Churches—Commission on Christian Social Action
2202 Clarke Avenue, Raleigh, North Carolina 27607
Director: Rev. Jack Crum

Represents 15 major Protestant denominations—from all parts of the state. Cooperates with Catholic and Jewish groups.
Offers aid to textile employers and American Textile Manufacturers Institute in publicizing job and training opportunities.

North Carolina Council on Human Relations
233½ N. Green Street, Greensboro, North Carolina 28206
Executive Director: W. C. Allred

An affiliate of the Southern Regional Council.
Staff in Greensboro and five local affiliates.
Offers assistance to employers, unions and other interested groups or persons to promote equal employment opportunity. Serves employers in referral of minority group applicants.

South Carolina Christian Action Council
907 Richland Street, Columbia, South Carolina 29201
Executive Director: Rev. Howard McClain

A statewide, interdenominational organization.
Offers services in disseminating information on employment to the minority community.

South Carolina Council on Human Relations
204 Columbia Building, Columbia, South Carolina 29201
Director: M. Hayes Mizell
An affiliate of the Southern Regional Council.
Rural Advancement Project operates in 32 counties under direction of field representative.

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Standard Form 100 (Revised)
JANUARY 1967
APPROVED BOB-124-R002.1
100-104

JOINT REPORTING COMMITTEE
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
- Office of Federal Contract Compliance
- Plans for Progress Program

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
EMPLOYEE INFORMATION REPORT EEO-1

IMPORTANT – Read the attached instructions carefully before preparing this report. The form contains references to sections in the instructions. Before March 31, submit all reports in duplicate to: **Joint Reporting Committee, Federal Depot, 1201 East 10th St., Jeffersonville, Indiana, 47130.** If after reading the instructions you find that you are subject to the requirements for reporting employment data, complete the form as instructed and file with the Joint Reporting Committee. If you find that you are not subject to the reporting requirements, return the form, completing only sections A, B and C.

If the reporting unit is part of a multi-establishment company, send your reports to company headquarters for forwarding to the Joint Reporting Committee. Individual unit reports of a multi-establishment company must not be sent directly to individual establishments to the Jeffersonville address. Establishments... than 50 employees, and establishments in certain industries req... to be combined at company headquarters in accordance with ... 8e, f and g.

EMPLOYERS COVERED BY COMMISSION REGULATION MUST FILE THIS REPORT ANNUALLY

See instructions	Section A – ... (To be answered by all employers)	OFFICE USE ONLY
8, 9a(1)	1. Reporting unit for which this report is filed. *(If a combined report is filed, please so indicate and identify the area covered by the combined report)*	
	a. Name of reporting unit	a.
	Address *(Number and street)* / City or town / County / State / ZIP code	b.
11j, 11m	b. Employer Identification No. / c. Reporting Unit No. *(Insert if the unit is a part of a multi-establishment company)*	c.
9a(2), 11n, 11o	2. Principal office or headquarters of company *(Answer only if the reporting unit is part of a multi-establishment company)*	
	a. Name of principal office or headquarters / b. Employer Identification No. *(If different from number listed in 1b above)*	
	Address *(Number and street)* / City or town / County / State / ZIP code	
9a(3), 11j, 11o	3. Parent or affiliated company *(Answer only if your company is a separate corporate entity owned or controlled by, or affiliated with another employer.)*	
	a. Name of parent or affiliated company / b. Employer Identification No.	
	Address *(Number and street)* / City or town / County / State / ZIP code	

	Section B – EMPLOYERS WHO ARE REQUIRED TO FILE *(To be answered by all single establishment employers and on the consolidated report of all multi-establishment employers)*	
5, 9b	**NOTE:** These questions apply to the entire company and not to any individual establishment. If the answer is "Yes" to questions 1, 2, 3 or 4, you are required to complete all questions on this form unless otherwise instructed. If your answer is "No" to all these questions, mark the box for item 5, complete section C and return the form. If you have answered "Yes" to either of questions 1–4 but contend that you are not covered by the reporting requirements, return the form with a statement in section F indicating specifically why you claim to be exempt.	
11e(1), 11f	1 ☐ Yes 2 ☐ No 1. Does the entire company have at least 100 employees in the payroll period for which you are reporting?	
5a, 9b	1 ☐ Yes 2 ☐ No 2. If your answer to (1) is "No," is your company affiliated through common ownership and/or centralized management, with other entities in an enterprise with a total employment of 100 or more?	
5b, 11e(3), 11f, 12	1 ☐ Yes 2 ☐ No 3. Does the company or any of its divisions or establishments: a. Have a prime contract, a first-tier subcontract, or a purchase order with any agency of the Federal Government or a Federal or Federally-assisted construction contract or subcontract at any tier; and b. Have at least one such contract or order amounting to $50,000 or more, or serve as a depositary of Federal Government funds in any amount; and c. Have at least 50 employees in the payroll period for which you are reporting? **NOTE:** *The answer to question 3 is "YES" only if a, b and c are all true.*	
5c, 11e(2)	1 ☐ Yes 2 ☐ No 4. Is the company a member of the national Plans for Progress program (a voluntary organization through which it has signed a pledge with the Vice-President of the United States to carry out the principles of equal employment opportunity)? IF A MEMBER ONLY OF A STATE OR LOCAL GROUP USING THE NAME "PLANS FOR PROGRESS," ANSWER "NO."	
5	1 ☐ 5. Company does not meet filing requirements set forth in questions 1–4 *(If marked, complete section G and return to the Joint Reporting Committee)*	

Section C – REPORTING UNIT INFORMATION

9c, 11k, 11l — 1. *Indicate by marking in the appropriate box the unit for which this copy of the form is submitted (MARK ONLY ONE OF BOXES (a) THROUGH (j)).*

SINGLE ESTABLISHMENT UNIT

8a, 11p — 1 ☐ (a) Employer has no more than one establishment

MULTI-ESTABLISHMENT EMPLOYER

11q, 8b — 2 ☐ (b) Consolidated Report *(Filing of a consolidated report for the entire company is required)*

INDIVIDUAL REPORTING UNIT OF MULTI-ESTABLISHMENT EMPLOYER

8c, 11n — 3 ☐ (c) Principal or headquarters office *(A separate report is required in all cases)*

8d — 4 ☐ (d) Individual establishment with 50 or more employees at one location only *(Separate report required unless special rules apply)*

8e–8i, 11o, 11w — COMBINED REPORTING UNIT OF MULTI-ESTABLISHMENT EMPLOYER – The following types of reports must include the attachments described in the instructions: Note that (e), (f) and (g) apply to all establishments in the Retail Trade, Wholesale Trade, Finance, Insurance, Real Estate, and Service Industries as well as establishments with less than 50 employees in other industries.)

8e, 8f, 16 — 5 ☐ (e) Combined unit of two or more establishments located at same city

8e, 8f, 15 — 6 ☐ (f) Combined unit of two or more establishments located in the same Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area

8e, 8f, 15 — 7 ☐ (g) Combined unit of two or more establishments located within the same State outside of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas

8g, 8i — 8 ☐ (h) Combined "small establishment report" of units located in two or more States and qualifying for special reporting method *(List showing employment figures by occupation and State must be attached as instructed.)*

9 ☐ (i) Combined reporting unit of establishments located in two or more States with permission from the Joint Reporting Committee to report in this manner

0 ☐ (j) Other – *Explain* _____

			OFFICE USE
9c(2)	2. *If this reporting unit is an individual establishment ((a), (c) or (d) above)* a. Is its location the same as that reported last year? 1 ☐ Yes 2 ☐ No 3 ☐ No report last year	b. Is the major activity at this unit the same as that reported last year? 1 ☐ Yes 2 ☐ No 3 ☐ No report last year	d.
11r	3. What is the major activity at this reporting unit? (Be specific, i.e., manufacturing steel castings, retail grocer, wholesale plumbing supplies, title insurance, etc. Include the type of product or type of service provided. "Manufacturing," "Wholesale," "Retail," "Processing," "Sales," etc., are not sufficient.		e.
	Answer only if this is the consolidated report of a multi-establishment employer		
	4. How many separate reports are you submitting? ..... _____ reports		f.

See instructions	Section D – FOR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS AND FEDERALLY ASSISTED CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTORS ONLY This section must be filled out by all single establishment employers and on the consolidated report of all multi-establishment employers who answered "Yes" to section B, question 3. All other employers should proceed to section E.
9d, 12, 13 12b–d	1. Is the employer – *Mark one only* 1 ☐ A prime contractor of the Federal Government? 2 ☐ A first-tier subcontractor of the Federal Government? 3 ☐ A Federal or Federally-assisted construction contractor or subcontractor at any tier? 2. Is the equal employment opportunity clause included in all your contracts subject to Executive Order 11246? 1 ☐ Yes 2 ☐ No 3. Have you informed your subcontractors of their responsibilities under Executive Order 11246? 1 ☐ Yes 2 ☐ No
12g	4. **Compliance Agency** – Note: A Compliance Agency is the Federal Government agency responsible for the employer's compliance with Executive Order 11246. *(It is NOT the prime contractor, a State or local governmental body or the Joint Reporting Committee.)* a. If the employer has been informed that a particular Federal Government agency has been named as his Compliance Agency, what is that Compliance Agency? _____ a. b. If the employer is a prime contractor for nonconstruction contracts of the Federal Government, with which Federal Government agency does the employer have the largest dollar volume of contracts? ..... _____ b. c. If the employer is a first-tier subcontractor for nonconstruction contracts of the Federal Government – (1) What is his prime contractor with which he has the largest dollar volume of subcontracts? ..... _____ i. (2) What is that prime contractor's Compliance Agency? ..... _____ j. d. If the employer is a Federal Government construction contractor or subcontractor or is a Federally-assisted construction contractor or subcontractor, from what Federal Government agency does the employer receive the largest dollar volume of contracts and assistance? ..... _____ k.
	OFFICE USE ONLY

1, 2, 3, 9e, 14	Section E – EMPLOYMENT DATA Please note that these data may be obtained by visual survey or post-employment records. Neither visual surveys nor post-employment records are prohibited by any Federal, State or local law. All specified data are required to be filled in by law.
9e(3)	1. How was information as to race or ethnic group in section E5 obtained? 1 ☐ Visual Survey 3 ☐ Other – *Specify* _____ 2 ☐ Employment Record
9e(2)	2. Dates of payroll period used – You should gather and report employment data at the reporting unit during only one payroll period in December, January or February. Multi-establishment employers need not use the same payroll period for all units. _____
	3. Date of last report submitted for this reporting unit _____ 4. Are there any employee facilities (i.e., drinking fountains, rest rooms, recreational areas, lunchrooms, etc.) at this reporting unit which are provided for employees on a racially separate basis? 1 ☐ Yes 2 ☐ No

5. **Employment at this reporting unit** – Report all permanent, temporary, or part-time employees unless specifically excluded as set forth in section 11f of the instructions. Enter the appropriate figures on all lines and in all columns. Blank spaces will be considered as zeros. *(See section 9e of the instructions on how to fill out this table, and section 10 for a description of the job categories.) In columns 1, 2 and 3, include all employees in the reporting unit, not merely those in minority groups.*

Job categories	ALL EMPLOYEES			MINORITY GROUP EMPLOYEES							
				Male				Female			
	Total (Col. 2+3)	Male	Female	Negro	Oriental 1	American Indian 1	Spanish American 1	Negro	Oriental 1	American Indian 1	Spanish American 1
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Officials and managers											
Professionals											
Technicians											
Sales workers											
Office and clerical											
Craftsmen (Skilled)											
Operatives (Semi-skilled)											
Laborers (Unskilled)											
Service workers											
TOTAL →											
Total employment from previous report *(If any)*											
(The data below shall a... ...in the figures for the appropriate occupational categories above)											
Apprentices											
On-the-job trainees 2 White collar											
On-the-job trainees 2 Production											

THIS REPORT TELLS YOUR STORY OF EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY. IT ALSO GIVES EMPLOYERS AN OPPORTUNITY TO MEASURE THEIR PROGRESS EACH YEAR TOWARD THE NATIONAL GOAL

1 See explanation of "minority group identification" in section 9 of the instructions. 2 Report only employees enrolled in formal on-the-job training programs.

Section F – REMARKS

Use this item to give any identification data appearing on last report which differs from that given above, explain major changes in employment, changes in composition of reporting units, and other pertinent information.

Section G – SIGNATURE AND IDENTIFICATION *(To be answered by all respondents)*

Name *(Signature)*	Address *(Number and street)*		Date		
Name *(Type or print)*	City	County	Telephone		
Title	State	ZIP code	Area code	Number	Extension

WILLFULLY FALSE STATEMENTS ON THIS REPORT ARE PUNISHABLE BY LAW, U.S. CODE, TITLE 18, SECTION 1001
See section 2 of instructions for penalties for failure to file

Major

B+C Assoc. file — Employ

BUILDERS AND DEVELOPERS USING
F H A FINANCING IN THE IMMEDIATE CHICAGO AREA

B+C Assoc.
First Union Nat'l Bank Bldg
PO Box 1569
High Point, NC

	Community	Builders	
1.	Elk Grove Village	Centex	Elk Grove Village Centex Corporation Chicago, Illinois
2.	Hoffman Estates	F & S	Hoffman Estates Village Higgins & Roselle Rds. Chicago, Illinois
3.	Butterfield	F & S	Butterfield Route 53 One Mile north of Butterfield Road Chicago, Illinois
4.	Weathersfield	Campenelli	Weathersfield 240 Fairlane Drive Schaumburg, Illinois
5.	Winston Park	Winston Muss	Winston Park 1060 E. Chicago Ave. Palantine, Illinois
6.	Brandywine	K & B	Brandywine One Mile West of Route 83 on Roosevelt Rd. Oakbrook, Illinois
7.	Drumcastle	K & B	Drumcastle Route 19 at Wise Rd. Schaumburg, Illinois
8.	Greenbriar	Miller	Greenbrier Greenbrier, Illinois
9.	Ballantree	Meritex	Ballantree Arlington Heights Rd. Buffalo Grove, Ill.

Mayor

BUILDERS AND DEVELOPERS USING
F H A FINANCING IN THE IMMEDIATE CHICAGO AREA

	Community	Builders	
1.	Elk Grove Village	Centex	Elk Grove Village Centex Corporation Chicago, Illinois
2.	Hoffman Estates	F & S	Hoffman Estates Village Higgins & Roselle Rds. Chicago, Illinois
3.	Butterfield	F & S	Butterfield Route 53 One Mile north of Butterfield Road Chicago, Illinois
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information
from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
1800 G St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE JUL 13 1967 Phone: 343-5621

COVERAGE OF EQUAL EMPLOYMENT LAW EXPANDED

More than 44,500 employers will be added to those already covered under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act beginning July 2, 1967. Until now some 88,000 companies have been under the jurisdiction of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, which administers Title VII and receives complaints of alleged discrimination in hiring, promotion, and all other aspects of employment.

On July 2, Title VII banning discrimination in employment applies to employers of 50 or more persons, labor unions with 50 or more members and employment agencies dealing with employers of 50 or more persons. Prior to July 2, Title VII applied to these same groups with 75 or more employees or members.

All employers with 50 or more employees are required to display the equal employment poster. Posters are available on request from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1800 G Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506. They are jointly sponsored by EEOC and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, U.S. Department of Labor.

By Commission regulation, the official reporting form (EEO-1) must be filed annually by those employers with 100 or more employees. Firms with 50 or more employees are required to file EEO-1 only if they are Federal Government Contractors or first-tier sub-contractors of $50,000 or more under Executive Order 11246.

##########

7-1-67-52

OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND REPORTS
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
1800 G Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20506

NINE CITY MINORITY GROUP EMPLOYMENT PROFILE

Research Report 1967-19-A
August 6, 1967

This is the first analysis of the official reports (EEO-1) filed by employers covered under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Title VII, which EEOC administers, bans discrimination in employment based on race, color, religion, sex or national origin.

This preliminary analysis shows the pattern of minority group employment in the nine metropolitan areas where the Commission has field offices and where the population is over 500,000.

It covers employer reports from these nine standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSA) and details of the fifteen industries with the largest number of employees in each area.

The nine metropolitan areas are Atlanta, Chicago, Cleveland, Kansas City (Mo.), Los Angeles, New Orleans, New York, San Francisco and Washington, D. C.

The EEO-1 reporting form was jointly developed by EEOC, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance of the Department of Labor and Plans for Progress. Filing is required of all private employers with 100 or more employees and of holders

of Federal government contracts of $50,000 or more with 50 or more employees. Each employer covered is required to submit annually to the Joint Reporting Committee in Washington statistics on total employment, occupation, sex and ethnic origin (Negro, Oriental, American Indian and Spanish American).

The figures released today cover 1966 reports. They refer to employment reported to the EEOC on the EEO-1 form and not to the total persons employed in the areas and industries listed.

In view of the high response rate to the EEO-1 survey (exceeding 90 percent of multi-establishment national firms), the Commission considers the areas and industries analyzed to be a representative sample of employment.

The analysis reveals a fairly consistent minority employment picture in the North, South, East and West. Negroes and Spanish speaking Americans, the two largest minority groups, are largely under-represented in the labor force and generally heavily concentrated in the lowest paying blue collar jobs.

Those industries which do employ somewhat higher percentages of minority white collar workers place them in the lower paying categories of sales, clerical and technician positions.

The statistical data of this initial report for nine areas covers more than five million employees. The labor markets range from predominantly white collar to heavily blue collar.

Attached for each of nine areas are:

1. An EEO-1 employment profile.
2. A table listing the top fifteen industries, Negro and Spanish American employment, and percentages of these workers in various job classifications.
3. A table showing the occupational mix for minority group workers (a breakdown of white collar and blue collar job categories).

The preliminary analysis was completed through computer print-outs of the EEO-1 forms. Analyses of other covered employers by cities and states will be released later.

Attachments

ATLANTA STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA (SMSA)
(5 counties - Cobb, Fulton, Clayton,
DeKalb, Gwinnett)

Employment Profile

Based on EEO-1 data, Negroes represent:

15.2 percent of the total employment of 221,021.

2.3 percent of the total 106,859 white collar jobs.

(83.0 percent of the Negro white collar workers are in lower paying sales and clerical jobs.)

6.4 percent of the total 27,248 craftsmen's jobs.

33.8 percent of the total 86,914 blue collar jobs excluding craftsmen.

The top 15 industries in terms of employment represent 71.1 percent of the total SMSA employment. See table for industries.

TOP FIFTEEN (15) INDUSTRIES IN THE ATLANTA SMSA, 1966[a]

INDUSTRY	Total Employment	Negro Employment	% Negro Empl.	Total White Collar	Negro White Collar	% Negro W.C.	Total Craftsmen	Negro Craftsmen	% Negro Crafts	Total Blue * Collar	Negro Blue * Collar	% Negro* B.C.
Retail Trade General	22,920	2,946	12.9	16,574	615	3.7	592	67	11.3	5,754	2,264	39.3
Communication	17,960	567	3.2	12,911	339	2.6	4,773	32	0.7	276	196	71.0
Wholesale Trade	16,566	1,568	9.5	12,200	152	1.2	818	107	13.1	3,548	1,309	36.9
Transportation Equipmt.	14,364	1,897	13.2	2,702	37	1.4	803	49	6.1	10,859	1,811	16.7
Food & Kindred Prod.	11,417	2,833	24.8	4,425	157	3.5	1,159	199	17.2	5,833	2,477	42.5
Railroad Trans.	9,820	1,967	20.0	3,357	30	0.9	2,789	79	2.8	3,674	1,858	50.6
Air Travel	9,317	406	4.4	5,217	25	0.5	2,121	1	--	1,925	380	19.7
Insurance Carriers	9,108	188	2.1	9,047	151	1.7	14	--	--	47	37	78.7
Textile Mill Products	8,248	1,060	12.9	1,682	32	1.9	842	18	2.1	5,724	1,010	17.6
Motor Freight & Warehousing	7,160	950	13.3	1,628	9	0.6	385	15	3.9	5,174	926	17.9
Educational Services	7,042	1,463	20.8	4,735	189	4.0	299	4	1.3	2,008	1,270	63.2
Food Retailing	6,235	767	12.3	626	1	0.2	701	33	4.7	4,908	733	14.9
Paper & Like Products	5,864	880	15.0	1,789	26	1.5	1,117	122	10.9	2,958	732	24.7
Apparel & Finished Prod.	5,828	889	15.3	710	31	4.4	1,099	102	9.3	4,019	756	18.8
Banking	5,233	333	6.4	4,884	106	2.2	11	--	--	338	227	67.1
TOTAL	157,082	18,714	11.9	82,487	1,900	2.3	17,523	828	4.7	57,045	15,986	28.0
Atlanta SMSA [a]	221,021	33,622	15.2	106,859	2,460	2.3	27,248	1,744	6.4	86,914	29,418	33.8
15 Industries % of SMSA	71.1	55.7		77.2	77.2		64.3	47.5		65.6	54.3	

(a) Based on EEO-1 Reports

* Excludes craftsmen

OCCUPATIONAL MIX FOR MINORITY GROUP WORKERS IN THE ATLANTA SMSA, 1966 a/

SMSA	Total Empl.	WHITE COLLAR	(breakdown of white collar) Off. Mgrs.	Prof.	Technic.	Sales Workers	Clerical
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
ATLANTA							
NEGRO	33,622	2,460	168	121	129	513	1,529
% of column total	15.2	2.3	0.8	1.0	2.2	2.3	3.1
ORIENTAL	108	70	4	28	9	4	25
% of column total	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0
AMER. IND.	187	109	19	7	11	52	20
% of column total	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.0
SPAN. AMER.	477	300	21	77	35	31	136
% of column total	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.6	0.6	0.1	0.2
TOTAL	221,021	106,859	18,962	11,658	5,794	21,933	48,512

	BLUE COLLAR	(breakdown of blue collar) Craftsmen	Operatives	Laborers	Service Workers
NEGRO	% 31,162	% 1,744	% 10,334	% 9,909	% 9,175
% of column total	27.2	6.4	21.7	49.4	47.2
ORIENTAL	38	5	24	5	4
% of column total	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
AMER. IND.	78	42	10	20	6
% of column total	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
SPAN. AMER.	177	32	64	28	53
% of column total	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2
TOTAL	114,162	27,248	47,472	20,032	19,410

a/ Based on EEO-1 Reports

CHICAGO STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA (SMSA)
(6 counties - Cook, DuPage, Kane, Lake,
McHenry and Will)

Employment Profile

Based on EEO-1 data, Negroes represent:

13.5 percent of the total employment of 1,304,825.

4.7 percent of the total 586,810 white collar jobs.

(79.6 percent of the Negro white collar workers are in lower paying sales and clerical jobs.)

7.1 percent of the total 164,062 craftsmen's jobs.

24.7 percent of the total 553,953 blue collar jobs excluding craftsmen.

The top 15 industries in terms of employment represent 70.1 percent of the total SMSA employment. See table for industries.

TOP FIFTEEN (15) INDUSTRIES IN THE CHICAGO SMSA, 1966[(a)]

INDUSTRY	Total Employment	Negro Employment	% Negro Empl.	Total White Collar	Negro White Collar	% Negro W.C.	Total Craftsmen	Negro Craftsmen	% Negro Crafts	Total Blue* Collar	Negro Blue* Collar	% Negro* B.C.
Electric Mach. Equipmt. & Supplies	146,646	19,031	13.0	42,043	830	2.0	14,867	1,246	8.4	89,736	16,956	18.9
Retail Trade General Merchandise	111,046	18,731	16.9	78,385	9,407	12.0	3,501	585	16.7	29,160	8,739	30.0
Mach. Not Electrical	94,454	7,669	7.8	33,755	312	0.9	21,413	989	4.6	43,286	6,367	14.7
Wholesale Trade	67,724	5,107	7.5	44,033	1,264	2.9	4,684	341	7.3	19,007	3,502	18.4
Food & Kindred Prod.	65,270	14,688	22.1	22,363	681	3.0	6,465	735	11.4	36,442	13,272	36.4
Fab. Metal Prod.	64,541	8,305	12.9	18,063	171	1.0	12,065	741	6.4	34,413	7,392	21.5
Primary Metal Indus.	59,188	12,969	21.9	15,116	404	2.7	11,914	1,484	12.5	32,158	11,081	34.5
Printing & Pub.	48,059	5,269	11.0	20,113	714	3.5	12,786	276	2.2	15,160	4,279	28.2
Railroad Trans.	46,084	7,727	16.8	16,016	284	1.8	11,520	888	7.7	18,549	6,557	35.3
Medical Services	42,792	8,442	19.7	23,783	1,873	7.9	863	55	6.4	18,146	6,514	35.9
Trans. Equipmt.	38,600	5,909	15.3	9,479	211	2.2	6,549	326	5.0	22,172	5,372	24.2
Misc. Business Serv.	36,173	4,230	11.7	22,622	911	4.0	1,684	91	5.4	11,867	3,228	27.2
Insurance Carriers	34,607	1,614	4.7	33,769	1,519	4.5	120	8	6.7	718	87	12.1
Communication	34,090	2,459	7.2	24,446	1,844	7.5	8,157	124	1.5	1,487	491	33.0
Motor Freight & & Warehousing	25,023	1,573	6.2	6,435	74	1.1	1,934	202	10.4	16,834	1,297	7.7
TOTAL	914,297	123,723	13.5	410,421	20,499	5.0	118,522	8,091	6.8	389,135	95,134	24.4
Chic. SMSA[(a)]	1,304,825	175,814	13.5	586,810	27,508	4.7	164,062	11,573	7.1	553,953	136,233	24.7
15 Industries % of SMSA	70.1	70.4		69.9	74.5		72.2	69.9		70.2	69.5	

(a) BASED ON EEO-1 REPORTS.

* EXCLUDES CRAFTSMEN

OCCUPATIONAL MIX FOR MINORITY GROUP WORKERS IN THE CHICAGO SMSA, 1966 [a/]

SMSA	Total Empl.	WHITE COLLAR	(breakdown of white collar) Off. Mgrs.	Prof.	Technic.	Sales Workers	Clerical
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
CHICAGO							
NEGRO	175,814	27,508	1,430	1,549	2,651	2,810	19,068
% of column total	13.5	4.6	1.3	2.0	5.0	3.1	7.3
ORIENTAL	5,884	3,776	225	1,680	850	117	894
% of column total	0.4	0.6	0.2	2.1	1.5	0.1	0.3
AMER. IND.	1,934	533	60	53	80	108	232
% of column total	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0
SPAN. AMER.	47,178	4,945	387	529	793	434	2,802
% of column total	3.6	0.8	0.3	0.6	1.4	0.4	1.0
TOTAL	1,304,825	586,810	105,455	78,660	53,601	88,668	260,426

	BLUE COLLAR	(breakdown of blue collar) Craftsmen	Operatives	Laborers	Service Workers
	%	%	%	%	%
NEGRO	148,306	11,573	65,169	44,326	27,238
% of column total	20.6	7.0	20.2	31.0	30.4
ORIENTAL	2,118	339	701	424	654
% of column total	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.7
AMER. IND.	1,401	281	646	366	108
% of column total	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1
SPAN. AMER.	42,233	4,447	21,169	13,301	3,316
% of column total	5.8	2.7	6.5	9.3	3.7
TOTAL	718,015	164,062	321,558	142,831	89,564

a/ Based on EEO-1 Reports

CLEVELAND STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA (SMSA)
(4 counties - Cuyahoga, Geauga, Lake and Medina)

Employment Profile

Based on EEO-1 data, Negroes represent:

11.2 percent of the total employment of 381,627.

3.2 percent of the total 157,319 white collar jobs.

(64.3 percent of the Negro white collar workers are in lower paying sales and clerical positions.)

5.0 percent of the total 64,091 craftsmen's jobs.

21.5 percent of the 160,217 blue collar jobs excluding craftsmen.

The top 15 industries in terms of employment represent 74.9 percent of the total SMSA employment. See table for industries.

TOP FIFTEEN (15) INDUSTRIES IN THE CLEVELAND SMSA, 1966 (a)

INDUSTRY	Total Employment	Negro Employment	% Negro Empl.	Total White Collar	Negro White Collar	% Negro W.C.	Total Craftsmen	Negro Craftsmen	% Negro Crafts	Total* Blue Collar	Negro* Blue Collar	% Negro* Blue Collar
Trans. Equipmt.	50,240	6,218	12.4	11,926	205	1.7	9,908	285	2.9	28,406	5,728	20.2
Primary Metal Industries	35,052	6,550	18.7	8,854	117	1.3	6,744	502	7.4	19,454	5,931	30.5
Machinery Not Electrical	28,704	1,688	5.9	9,772	180	1.2	8,901	321	3.6	10,031	1,187	11.8
Fabricated Metal Prod.	27,998	2,737	9.8	8,457	108	1.3	6,282	398	6.3	13,259	2,231	16.8
Elec. Mach. Equip. & Supplies	25,870	1,843	7.1	9,388	131	1.4	4,099	162	4.0	12,383	1,550	12.5
Medical Services	18,016	5,736	31.8	10,264	1,213	11.8	227	22	9.7	7,525	4,296	57.1
Chemicals, etc.	16,432	843	5.1	8,477	87	1.0	1,895	65	3.4	6,060	691	11.4
Wholesale Trade	14,869	990	6.7	9,876	168	1.7	1,091	126	11.5	3,902	696	17.8
Railroad Trans.	13,086	803	6.1	4,657	32	0.7	4,564	247	5.4	3,865	524	13.6
Communication	12,894	718	5.6	9,307	541	5.8	3,186	80	2.5	401	97	24.2
Retail Trade Gen'l Merchandise	12,038	994	8.3	8,958	345	3.9	443	22	5.0	2,637	627	23.8
Printing & Publ.	8,555	526	6.1	4,276	74	1.7	916	22	2.4	3,363	430	12.8
Air Transportation	8,326	482	5.8	2,209	52	2.4	528	12	2.3	5,589	418	7.5
Food & Kindred Prod.	7,346	702	9.6	3,249	111	3.4	738	73	9.9	3,359	518	15.4
Motor Freight & Warehousing	6,545	204	3.1	1,500	7	0.5	451	11	2.4	4,594	186	4.0
TOTAL	285,971	31,034	10.9	111,170	3,371	3.0	49,973	2,348	4.7	124,828	25,110	20.1
Cleveland SMSA(a)	381,627	42,708	11.2	157,319	5,012	3.2	64,091	3,181	5.0	160,217	34,515	21.5
15 Industries % of SMSA	74.9	72.7		70.7	67.3		78.0	73.8		77.9	72.7	

(a) BASED ON EEO-1 REPORTS

* EXCLUDES CRAFTSMEN

OCCUPATIONAL MIX FOR MINORITY GROUP WORKERS IN THE CLEVELAND SMSA, 1966 [a/]

SMSA	Total Empl.	WHITE COLLAR	(breakdown of white collar) Off. Mgrs.	Prof.	Technic.	Sales Workers	Clerical
CLEVELAND	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
NEGRO	42,708	5,012	381	283	1,139	622	2,587
% of column Total	11.1	3.1	1.2	1.3	6.8	2.5	4.1
ORIENTAL	546	388	20	256	56	12	44
% of column Total	0.1	0.2	0.0	1.1	0.3	0.0	0.0
AMER. IND.	297	96	8	6	20	15	47
% of column Total	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
SPAN. AMER.	1,496	323	23	101	35	59	105
% of column Total	0.3	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.1
TOTAL	381,627	157,319	31,646	21,727	16,657	24,734	62,555

	BLUE COLLAR	(breakdown of blue collar) Craftsmen	Operatives	Laborers	Service Workers
	%	%	%	%	%
NEGRO	37,696	3,181	17,893	6,928	9,694
% of column Total	16.8	5.0	17.2	24.0	34.6
ORIENTAL	158	34	75	15	34
% of column Total	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
AMER. IND.	201	24	89	38	50
% of column Total	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1
SPAN. AMER.	1,173	204	628	273	68
% of column Total	0.5	0.3	0.6	1.0	0.2
TOTAL	224,308	64,091	103,429	28,794	27,994

a/ Based on EEO-1 Reports

KANSAS CITY STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA (SMSA)
(6 counties - Cass, Clay, Jackson, and Platte in Missouri; Johnson and Wyandotte in Kansas)

Employment Profile

Based on EEO-1 data, Negroes represent:

8.9 percent of the total employment of 205,748.

2.1 percent of the total 92,038 white collar jobs.

(69.0 percent of the Negro white collar workers are in lower paying sales and clerical jobs.)

5.3 percent of the total 21,811 craftsmen's jobs.

17.6 percent of the total 85,819 blue collar jobs excluding craftsmen.

The top 15 industries in terms of employment represent 66.5 percent of the total SMSA employment. See table for industries.

TOP FIFTEEN (15) INDUSTRIES IN THE KANSAS CITY SMSA, 1966 (a)

INDUSTRY	Total Employment	Negro Employment	% Negro Empl.	Total White Collar	Negro White Collar	% Negro W. C.	Total Craftsmen	Negro Craftsmen	% Negro Crafts	Total Blue* Collar	Negro Blue* Collar	% Negro* B.C.
Transportation Equipt.	15,733	1,177	7.5	2,819	50	1.8	959	9	0.9	11,955	1,118	9.3
Elect. Mach., Equipt. and Supplies	15,611	947	6.1	4,812	53	1.1	2,037	5	0.2	8,762	889	10.1
Retail Trade Gen'l. Merchandise	13,236	751	5.7	9,838	233	2.4	366	11	3.0	3,032	507	16.7
Food and Kindred Prod.	12,360	1,591	12.9	3,993	36	0.9	1,388	177	12.8	6,979	1,378	19.7
Wholesale Trade	10,218	386	3.7	6,861	43	0.6	573	14	2.4	2,784	326	11.7
Medical Services	9,953	2,627	26.4	5,347	788	14.7	191	30	15.7	4,415	1,809	41.0
Insurance Carriers	9,838	158	1.6	9,728	130	1.3	20	-	-	90	28	31.1
Printing and Publishing	8,485	398	4.7	4,717	81	1.7	1,371	9	0.7	2,397	308	12.8
Machinery Not Electrical	7,642	330	4.3	2,671	13	0.5	1,311	33	2.5	3,660	284	7.8
Railroads	6,817	1,001	14.7	1,315	23	1.7	3,197	220	6.9	2,305	758	32.9
Fabricated Metal Prod.	5,824	303	5.2	1,820	21	1.2	1,128	38	3.4	2,884	244	8.5
Chemicals, etc.	5,713	202	3.5	3,426	23	0.7	448	7	1.6	1,839	172	9.3
Elect., Gas and Sanitary Services	5,364	111	2.1	2,688	15	0.6	1,352	23	1.7	1,324	73	5.5
Food Retailing	5,053	368	7.3	984	16	1.6	420	4	1.0	3,649	348	9.5
Primary Metals Industry	4,965	615	12.4	1,160	9	0.8	1,446	130	9.0	2,359	476	20.2
Total	136,811	10,965	8.0	62,179	1,534	2.5	16,207	710	4.4	58,434	8,718	14.9
Kansas City SMSA (a)	205,748	18,223	8.9	92,038	1,962	2.1	21,811	1,157	5.3	85,819	15,104	17.6
15 Industries % of SMSA	66.5	60.2		67.6	78.2		74.3	61.4		68.1	57.7	

(a) Based on EEO-1 Reports.

*EXCLUDES CRAFTSMEN

OCCUPATIONAL MIX FOR MINORITY GROUP WORKERS IN THE KANSAS CITY SMSA, 1966 [a/]

SMSA		Total Empl.		WHITE COLLAR	(breakdown of white collar) Off. Mgrs.		Prof.		Technic.		Sales Workers		Clerical	
	%		%		%		%		%		%		%	
KANSAS CITY														
NEGRO		18,223		1,962		124		197		506		195		940
% of column total	8.9		2.1		0.7		1.9		6.6		1.1		2.4	
ORIENTAL		278		184		3		77		54		18		32
% of column total	0.1		0.2		0.0		0.8		0.7		0.1		0.1	
AMER. IND.		615		204		38		15		6		62		83
% of column total	0.3		0.2		0.2		0.1		0.1		0.3		0.2	
SPAN. AMER.		2,945		608		53		58		43		74		380
% of column total	1.4		0.7		0.3		0.6		0.6		0.4		1.0	
TOTAL		205,748		92,038		16,949		10,194		7,611		17,813		39,471

		BLUE COLLAR	(breakdown of blue collar) Craftsmen		Operatives		Laborers		Service Workers	
	%		%		%		%		%	
NEGRO		16,261		1,157		6,186		2,708		6,210
% of column total	14.3		4.1		11.9		18.9		32.0	
ORIENTAL		94		26		30		7		31
% of column total	0.1		0.1		0.1		0.0		0.2	
AMER. IND.		411		81		135		102		93
% of column total	0.4		0.3		0.3		0.7		0.5	
SPAN. AMER.		2,337		408		921		596		412
% of column total	2.1		1.5		1.8		4.2		2.1	
TOTAL		113,710		27,891		52,039		14,360		19,420

[a/] Based on EEO-1 Reports.

LOS ANGELES STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA (SMSA)
(Los Angeles County)

Employment Profile

Based on EEO-1 data, Negroes represent:

6.9 percent of the total employment of 1,035,496.

2.8 percent of the total 528,306 white collar jobs.

(64.1 percent of the Negro white collar workers are in lower paying sales and clerical jobs.)

4.1 percent of the total 161,365 craftsmen's jobs.

14.5 percent of the total 345,825 blue collar jobs excluding craftsmen.

Spanish Americans represent:

9.7 percent of the total employment of 1,035,496.

4.0 percent of the total 528,306 white collar jobs.

(68.3 percent of the Spanish American white collar workers are in lower paying sales and clerical jobs.

9.9 percent of the total 161,369 craftsmen's jobs.

18.5 percent of the total 345,825 blue collar jobs excluding craftsmen.

The top 15 industries in terms of number employed represent 68.1 percent of the total SMSA employment. See table for industries.

TOP FIFTEEN (15) INDUSTRIES IN LOS ANGELES SMSA, 1966 (a)
(TABLE 1)

INDUSTRY	Total Employment	Negro Employment	% Negro Empl.	Total White Collar	Negro White Collar	% Negro W. C.	Total Craftsmen	Negro Craftsmen	% Negro Crafts	*Total Blue Collar	*Negro Blue Collar	*% Negro Blue Collar
Electrical Mach. Equipmt. & Supplies	152,897	7,736	5.1	92,155	1,628	1.8	20,788	938	4.5	39,954	5,170	12.9
Transportation Equip.	124,898	8,328	6.6	49,720	732	1.4	34,449	1,735	5.0	40,729	5,861	14.4
Wholesale Trade	39,075	1,347	3.4	25,825	423	1.6	2,994	62	2.1	10,256	862	8.4
Retail Trade-General Merchandise	58,860	4,411	7.5	45,649	2,392	5.2	2,319	130	5.6	10,892	1,889	17.3
Medical Services	35,625	4,828	13.6	21,129	1,793	8.5	520	19	3.7	13,976	3,016	21.6
Misc. Business Serv.	44,498	5,602	12.6	27,179	943	3.5	5,239	392	7.5	12,080	4,267	35.3
Food & Kindred Prod.	34,420	2,408	7.0	12,912	249	1.9	4,184	289	6.9	17,324	1,870	10.8
Machinery; Not Electrical	33,895	1,841	5.4	13,914	183	1.3	9,100	326	3.6	10,881	1,332	12.2
Electrical, Gas & Sanitary Services	31,101	2,625	8.4	16,171	775	4.8	8,078	214	2.6	6,852	1,636	23.9
Fabricated Metal Prod.	28,881	1,696	5.9	7,698	53	0.7	8,174	345	4.2	13,009	1,298	10.0
Educational Services	27,068	1,601	5.9	22,473	817	3.6	895	15	1.7	3,700	769	20.8
Insurance Carriers	26,023	1,406	5.4	25,428	1,315	5.2	71	4	5.6	524	87	16.6
Food Retailing	24,684	1,515	6.1	3,760	60	1.6	1,878	38	2.0	19,046	1,417	7.5
Communications	22,400	395	1.8	14,058	276	2.0	6,991	58	0.8	1,351	61	4.5
Instruments Inc. Watches & clocks	20,455	468	2.3	10,505	79	0.8	3,373	46	1.4	6,577	343	5.2
TOTAL	704,780	46,207	6.6	388,576	11,718	3.0	109,053	4,611	4.2	207,151	29,878	14.4
Los Angeles SMSA(a)	1,035,496	71,410	6.9	528,306	14,541	2.8	161,365	6,628	4.1	.345,825	50,241	14.5
15 Industries % of SMSA	68.1	64.7		73.6	80.6		67.6	69.6		59.9	59.5	

* EXCLUDES CRAFTSMEN

(a) BASED ON EEO-1 REPORTS

TOP FIFTEEN (15) INDUSTRIES IN LOS ANGELES SMSA, 1966 (a)
(TABLE II)

INDUSTRY	Total Employment	Sp.Am. Employment	% Sp.Am. Empl.	Total White Collar	Sp.Am. White Collar	% Sp.Am. W.C.	Total Craftsmen	Sp.Am. Craftsmen	% Sp.Am. Crafts	*Total Blue Collar	*Sp.Am. Blue Collar	* % Sp. Am. B. C.
Electrical Mach. Equipmt. & Supplies	152,897	10,966	7.2	92,115	2,244	2.4	20,788	1,698	8.2	39,954	7,024	17.6
Transportation Equip.	124,898	9,633	7.7	49,720	1,103	2.2	34,449	2,356	6.8	40,729	6,174	15.2
Wholesale Trade	39,075	3,400	8.7	25,825	882	3.4	2,994	314	10.5	10,256	2,204	21.5
Retail Trade Gen'l Merchandise	58,860	5,090	8.6	45,649	2,941	6.4	2,319	278	12.0	10,892	1,871	17.2
Medical Services	35,625	2,669	7.5	21,129	897	4.2	520	27	5.2	13,976	1,745	12.5
Misc. Business Serv.	44,498	2,203	5.0	27,179	750	2.8	5,239	321	6.1	12,080	1,132	9.4
Food & Kindred Prod.	34,420	6,302	18.3	12,912	444	3.4	4,184	733	17.5	17,324	5,125	29.6
Mach. Not Electrical	33,895	2,850	8.4	13,914	401	2.9	9,100	806	8.9	10,881	1,643	15.1
Electrical, Gas and Sanitary Services	31,101	1,431	4.6	16,171	634	3.9	8,078	346	4.3	6,852	451	6.6
Fabricated Metal Prod.	28,881	5,634	19.5	7,698	315	4.1	8,174	1,409	17.2	13,009	3,910	30.1
Educational Services	27,068	818	3.0	22,473	430	1.9	895	40	4.5	3,700	348	9.4
Insurance Carriers	26,023	2,072	8.0	25,428	1,965	7.7	71	6	8.5	524	101	19.3
Food Retailing	24,684	1,489	6.0	3,760	114	3.0	1,878	134	7.1	19,046	1,241	6.5
Communications	22,400	723	3.2	14,058	389	2.8	6,991	299	4.3	1,351	35	2.6
Instruments Including Watches & Clocks	20,455	1,085	5.3	10,505	306	2.9	3,373	225	6.7	6,577	554	8.4
TOTAL	704,780	56,365	8.0	388,576	13,815	3.6	109,053	8,992	8.2	207,151	33,558	16.2
Los Angeles SMSA(a)	1,035,496	100,792	9.7	528,306	20,895	4.0	161,365	16,034	9.9	345,825	63,863	18.5
15 Industries % of SMSA	68.1	55.9		73.6	66.1		67.6	56.1		59.9	52.5	

(a) BASED ON EEO-1 REPORTS

* EXCLUDES CRAFTSMEN

OCCUPATIONAL MIX FOR MINORITY GROUP WORKERS IN THE LOS ANGELES SMSA, 1966 [a/]

SMSA		Total Empl.	WHITE COLLAR	(breakdown of white collar) Off. Mgrs.	Prof.	Technic.	Sales Workers	Clerical
	%		%	%	%	%	%	%
LOS ANGELES								
NEGRO		71,410	14,541	744	1,636	2,850	1,958	7,353
% of column Total	6.8		2.7	0.8	1.4	4.7	2.7	3.7
ORIENTAL		18,786	10,878	730	3,302	1,988	453	4,405
% of column Total	1.8		2.0	0.8	2.8	3.2	0.6	2.2
AMER. IND.		2,765	832	130	91	135	78	398
% of column Total	0.2		0.1	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.2
SPAN. AMER.		100,792	20,895	1,852	2,039	2,731	2,609	11,664
% of column Total	9.7		4.0	21.	1.7	4.5	3.7	6.0
TOTAL		1,035,496	528,306	86,502	116,631	60,497	70,008	194,668

		BLUE COLLAR	(breakdown of blue collar) Craftsmen	Operatives	Laborers	Service Workers
	%		%	%	%	%
NEGRO		56,869	6,628	22,459	11,628	16,154
% of column Total	11.2		4.1	11.4	16.0	21.0
ORIENTAL		7,908	2,081	2,724	1,323	1,780
% of column Total	1.5		1.2	1.3	1.8	2.3
AMER. IND.		1,933	606	797	344	186
% of column Total	0.3		0.3	0.4	0.4	0.2
SPAN. AMER.		79,897	16,034	35,893	20,216	7,754
% of column Total	15.7		10.0	18.2	28.0	10.0
TOTAL		507,190	161,365	196,264	72,345	77,216

a/ Based on EEO-1 Reports

NEW ORLEANS STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA (SMSA)
(4 parishes - Jefferson, Orleans,
St. Bernard and St. Tammany)

Employment Profile

Based on EEO-1 data, Negroes represent:

20.1 percent of the total employment of 145,470.

3.0 percent of the total 65,242 white collar jobs.

(61.0 percent of the Negro white collar workers are in lower paying sales and clerical jobs.)

10.2 percent of the total 25,045 craftsmen's jobs.

44.8 percent of the total 55,183 blue collar jobs excluding craftsmen.

The top 15 industries in terms of number employed represent 65 percent of the total SMSA employment. See table for industries.

TOP FIFTEEN (15) INDUSTRIES IN THE NEW ORLEANS SMSA, 1966[a]

INDUSTRY	Total Employment	Negro Employment	% Negro Empl.	Total White Collar	Negro White Collar	% Negro W.C.	Total Craftsmen	Negro Craftsmen	% Negro Crafts	Total Blue * Collar	Negro Blue * Collar	% Negro* B.C.
Food & Kindred Prod.	9,925	3,770	38.0	2,489	75	3.0	1,050	163	15.5	6,386	3,532	55.3
Communication	9,920	423	4.3	7,312	181	2.5	2,319	19	0.8	289	223	77.2
Transportation Equipmt.	9,104	1,400	15.4	1,289	11	0.9	4,149	246	5.9	3,666	1,143	31.2
Retail Trade General Merchandise	8,229	1,097	13.3	5,980	225	3.8	431	44	10.2	1,818	828	45.5
Crude Petroleum & Natural Gas	7,689	74	1.0	3,617	31	0.9	1,758	4	0.2	2,314	39	1.7
Water Transportation	7,060	2,159	30.6	2,269	42	1.9	494	86	17.4	4,297	2,031	47.3
Misc. Business Serv.	6,471	1,230	19.0	3,818	148	3.9	301	30	10.0	2,352	1,052	85.5
Wholesale Trade	6,318	1,253	19.8	3,750	50	1.3	537	73	13.6	2,031	1,130	55.6
Food Retailing	5,358	1,076	20.1	589	22	3.7	323	7	2.2	4,446	1,047	23.6
Elec., Gas, & Sanitary Service	5,352	398	7.4	2,162	9	0.4	1,387	46	3.3	1,803	343	19.0
Medical Services	5,094	2,050	40.2	3,065	567	18.5	116	17	14.7	1,913	1,466	76.6
Apparel & Finished Prod.	3,789	1,809	47.7	557	36	6.5	1,830	904	49.4	1,402	869	62.0
Stone, Clay,& Glass Prod.	3,599	1,197	33.3	744	12	1.6	927	181	19.5	1,928	1,004	52.1
Railroad Transportation	3,302	779	23.6	704	6	0.9	1,052	5	0.5	1,546	768	49.7
Bldg. Construction	3,286	962	29.3	1,171	55	4.7	1,035	141	13.6	1,080	766	70.9
TOTAL	94,496	19,677	20.8	39,515	1,470	3.7	17,709	1,966	11.1	37,271	16,241	43.6
New Orleans SMSA[a]	145,470	29,204	20.1	65,242	1,938	3.0	25,045	2,567	10.2	55,183	24,699	44.8
15 Industries % of SMSA	65.0	67.4		60.6	75.9		70.7	76.6		67.5	65.8	

(a) BASED ON EEO-1 REPORTS

* EXCLUDES CRAFTSMEN

OCCUPATIONAL MIX FOR MINORITY GROUP WORKERS IN THE NEW ORLEANS SMSA, 1966 a/

SMSA		Total Empl.		WHITE COLLAR	(breakdown of white collar) Off. Mgrs.		Prof.		Technic.		Sales Workers		Clerical	
	%		%		%		%		%		%		%	
NEW ORLEANS														
NEGRO		29,204		1,938		140		152		463		257		926
% of column Total	20.0		3.0		1.2		1.4		5.8		3.0		3.4	
ORIENTAL		206		114		5		51		32		4		22
% of column Total	0.1		0.1		0.0		0.4		0.4		0.0		0.0	
AMER. IND.		106		82		9		17		28		8		20
% of column Total	0.0		0.1		0.0		0.1		0.3		0.0		0.0	
SPAN. AMER.		2,097		875		63		115		215		94		388
% of column Total	1.4		1.3		0.5		1.0		2.7		1.1		1.4	
TOTAL		145,470		65,242		11,128		10,607		7,942		8,467		27,098

		BLUE COLLAR	(breakdown of blue collar) Craftsmen		Operatives		Laborers		Service Workers	
	%		%		%		%		%	
NEGRO		27,266		2,567		7,320		9,421		7,958
% of column Total	34.0		10.2		29.0		65.5		51.0	
ORIENTAL		92		9		67		2		14
% of column Total	0.1		0.0		0.2		0.0		0.0	
AMER. IND.		24		8		7		5		4
% of column Total	0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0		0.0	
SPAN. AMER.		1,222		304		537		139		242
% of column Total	1.5		1.2		2.1		1.0		1.5	
TOTAL		80,228		25,045		25,187		14,369		15,627

a/ Based on EEO-1 Reports

NEW YORK STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA (SMSA)
(5 counties - New York City, Nassau,
Rockland, Suffolk, Westchester)

Employment Profile

Based on EEO-1 data, Negroes represent:

10.0 percent of the total employment of 1,465,732.

5.7 percent of the total 951,809 white collar jobs.

(76.5 percent of the Negro white collar workers are in lower paying sales and clerical jobs.)

5.8 percent of the 139,326 craftsmen's jobs.

22.3 percent of the 374,597 blue collar jobs excluding craftsmen.

Spanish Americans represent:

5.7 percent of the total employment of 1,465,732.

2.6 percent of the 951,809 white collar jobs.

(77.9 percent of the Spanish American white collar workers are in lower paying sales and clerical jobs.)

4.5 percent of the total 139,326 craftsmen's jobs.

14.1 percent of the total 374,597 blue collar jobs excluding craftsmen.

The top 15 industries in terms of number employed represent 66.8 percent of the total SMSA employment. See table for industries.

(a)

TOP FIFTEEN (15) INDUSTRIES IN THE NEW YORK SMSA, 1966
(TABLE 1)

INDUSTRY	Total Employment	Negro Employment	% Negro Empl.	Total White Collar	Negro White Collar	% Negro W. C.	Total Craftsmen	Negro Craftsmen	% Negro Crafts	*Total Blue Collar	*Negro Blue Collar	*% Negro Blue Collar
Retail Trade General Merchandise	99,157	11,916	12.0	78,865	7,132	9.0	2,027	111	5.5	18,265	4,673	25.6
Communication	89,247	9,139	10.2	69,168	8,278	12.0	16,848	323	1.9	3,231	538	16.7
Banking	86,601	5,613	6.5	80,874	5,084	6.3	375	6	1.6	5,352	523	9.8
Wholesale Trade	83,983	3,689	4.4	70,594	1,891	2.7	4,002	326	8.1	9,387	1,472	15.7
Medical Services	83,060	23,899	28.8	48,091	8,034	16.4	1,706	405	23.7	32,263	15,460	47.9
Insurance Carriers	75,234	4,241	5.6	72,031	4,055	5.6	488	8	1.6	2,715	178	6.6
Misc. Business Serv.	71,367	8,192	11.5	52,178	3,372	6.5	1,863	122	6.5	17,326	4,698	27.1
Electrical Mach., Equipmt. & Supplies	65,817	6,697	10.2	36,868	1,035	2.8	7,480	489	6.5	21,469	5,173	24.1
Chemicals, etc.	62,596	3,674	5.9	45,456	1,022	2.2	3,121	184	5.9	14,019	2,468	17.6
Printing & Publ.	58,020	3,001	5.2	36,375	1,197	3.3	11,424	414	3.6	10,221	1,390	13.6
Trans. Equipmt.	48,096	3,596	7.5	24,121	437	1.8	13,186	712	5.4	10,789	2,447	22.7
Food & Kindred Prod.	45,814	2,718	6.1	24,247	698	2.9	3,159	152	4.8	18,408	1,928	10.5
Air Transportation	39,105	1,776	4.5	23,458	492	2.1	6,435	343	5.3	9,212	941	10.2
Security & Commodity Brokers, Dealers Exchanges & Serv.	35,819	1,207	3.5	35,230	1,199	3.4	74	2	2.7	515	66	12.8
Electrical, Gas & Sanitary Serv.	35,171	1,702	4.8	17,546	411	2.3	9,266	465	5.0	8,359	826	9.9
TOTAL	979,087	91,180	9.3	715,102	44,337	6.2	81,454	4,062	5.0	181,531	42,781	23.6
New York City SMSA (a)	1,465,732	146,490	10.0	951,809	54,707	5.7	139,326	8,089	5.8	374,597	83,694	22.3
15 Industries % of SMSA	66.8	62.2		75.1	81.0		58.5	50.2		48.5	51.1	

(a) BASED ON EEO-1 REPORTS

* EXCLUDES CRAFTSMEN

TOP FIFTEEN (15) INDUSTRIES IN THE NEW YORK SMSA, 1966 (a)

(TABLE 2)

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION	Total Employment	Span. Amer. Empl.	% Sp.Am. Empl.	Total White Collar	Sp.Am. White Collar	% Sp.Am. W.C.	Total Craftsmen	Sp.Am. Craftsmen	% Sp.Am. Crafts.	*Total Blue Collar	*Sp.Am. Blue Collar	* % Sp.Am. B. C.
Retail Trade General Merchandise	99,157	4,088	4.1	78,865	2,619	3.3	2,027	72	3.6	18,265	1,397	7.6
Communication	89,247	904	1.0	69,168	757	1.1	16,848	51	0.3	3,231	96	3.0
Banking	86,601	4,053	4.7	80,874	3,795	4.7	375	6	1.6	5,352	252	4.7
Wholesale Trade	83,983	2,258	2.7	70,594	1,309	1.9	4,002	110	2.7	9,387	839	8.9
Medical Services	83,060	7,338	8.8	49,091	2,266	4.6	1,706	203	11.9	32,263	4,869	15.1
Insurance Carriers	75,234	2,120	2.8	72,031	1,925	2.7	488	12	2.5	2,715	183	6.7
Misc. Business Serv.	71,367	3,509	4.9	52,178	1,689	3.2	1,863	66	3.5	17,326	1,754	10.1
Electrical Mach. Equipmt. & Supplies	65,817	4,824	7.3	36,868	507	1.4	7,480	383	5.1	21,469	3,934	18.3
Chemicals, etc.	62,596	2,540	4.1	45,456	1,011	2.2	3,121	131	4.2	14,019	1,398	10.0
Printing & Publishing	58,020	2,419	4.2	36,375	788	2.2	11,424	297	2.6	10,221	1,334	13.1
Transportation Equipment	48,096	1,836	3.8	24,121	152	0.6	13,186	391	3.0	10,789	1,293	12.0
Food & Kindred Prod.	45,814	2,073	4.5	24,247	438	1.8	3,159	132	4.2	18,408	1,503	9.2
Air Transportation	39,105	1,394	3.6	23,458	707	3.0	6,435	232	3.6	9,212	455	4.9
Securities & Commodities Brokers, Dealers and Exchanges	35,819	796	2.2	35,230	757	2.1	74	3	4.1	515	36	7.0
Electrical, Gas & Sanitary Serv.	35,171	514	1.5	17,546	159	0.9	9,266	138	1.5	8,359	217	2.6
TOTAL	979,087	40,666	4.2	716,102	18,879	2.6	81,454	2,227	2.7	181,631	19,560	9.2
NYC SMSA(a)	1,465,732	83,679	5.7	951,809	24,649	2.6	139,326	6,302	4.5	374,597	52,728	14.1
15 Industries % of SMSA	66.8	48.6		75.2	76.6		58.5	35.3		48.5	34.5	

(a) BASED ON EEO-1 REPORTS

* EXCLUDES CRAFTSMEN

OCCUPATIONAL MIX FOR MINORITY GROUP WORKERS IN THE NEW YORK SMSA, 1966 [a/]

SMSA	Total Empl.	WHITE COLLAR	(breakdown of white collar) Off. Mgrs.	Prof.	Technic.	Sales Workers	Clerical
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
NEW YORK							
NEGRO	146,490	54,707	2,571	3,626	6,648	4,345	37,517
% of column Total	10.0	5.7	1.6	2.5	9.0	3.6	8.1
ORIENTAL	7,571	5,563	374	2,158	897	330	1,804
% of column Total	0.5	0.5	0.2	1.4	1.2	0.2	0.3
AMER. IND.	938	355	56	45	25	42	187
% of column Total	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
SPAN. AMER.	83,676	26,469	1,562	2,019	2,257	2,209	18,422
% of column Total	5.7	2.7	1.0	1.3	3.0	1.8	4.0
TOTAL	1,465,732	951,809	155,072	144,752	73,464	118,862	459,659

	BLUE COLLAR	(breakdown of blue collar) Craftsmen	Operatives	Laborers	Service Workers
	%	%	%	%	%
NEGRO	91,783	8,089	24,835	21,258	37,601
% of column Total	17.8	5.8	16.0	25.8	27.2
ORIENTAL	2,008	590	620	167	631
% of column Total	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.4
AMER. IND.	583	73	81	127	302
% of column Total	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2
SPAN. AMER.	57,207	6,302	20,816	14,244	15,845
% of column Total	11.1	4.5	13.4	17.3	11.5
TOTAL	513,923	139,326	154,698	82,121	137,778

a/ Based on EEO-1 Reports

SAN FRANCISCO STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA (SMSA)
(5 counties - Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, San Mateo, and San Francisco County and City)

Employment Profile

Based on EEO-1 data, Negroes represent:

8.0 percent of the total employment of 409,035.

3.0 percent of the total 219,902 white collar jobs.

(72.4 percent of the Negro white collar workers are in lower paying sales and clerical jobs.)

4.5 percent of the total 54,997 craftsmen's jobs.

17.7 percent of the total 134,136 blue collar jobs excluding craftsmen.

Spanish Americans represent:

6.7 percent of the total employment of 409,035.

2.9 percent of the total 219,902 white collar jobs.

(75.3 percent of the Spanish American white collar workers are in lower paying sales and clerical jobs.)

6.3 percent of the 54,997 craftsmen's jobs.

13.2 percent of the 134,136 blue collar jobs excluding craftsmen.

The top 15 industries in terms of total employment represent 63.9 percent of the total SMSA employment. See table for industries.

(a)

TOP FIFTEEN (15) INDUSTRIES IN THE SAN FRANCISCO SMSA, 1966
(TABLE 1)

INDUSTRY	Total Employ-ment	Negro Employ-ment	% Negro Empl.	Total White Collar	Negro White Collar	% Negro W.C.	Total Crafts-men	Negro Crafts-men	% Negro Crafts	*Total Blue Collar	*Negro Blue Collar	*% Negro Blue Collar
Retail Trade & General Merchandise	26,481	1,631	6.2	21,024	956	4.5	687	44	6.3	4,759	631	13.3
Food & Kindred Prod.	26,192	2,113	8.1	1,008	133	1.3	2,759	171	6.2	13,345	1,809	13.5
Wholesale Trade	22,599	774	3.4	16,314	165	1.0	1,837	68	3.7	4,448	541	12.2
Educational Serv.	19,986	1,611	8.1	16,781	780	4.6	586	19	3.2	2,619	812	31.0
Misc. Business Serv.	16,689	3,413	20.5	7,098	418	5.9	392	92	23.5	9,199	2,903	31.6
Medical Services	16, 463	2,907	17.7	9,220	566	6.1	323	37	11.5	6,920	2,304	33.3
Communication	16,425	922	5.6	12,486	766	6.1	3,675	109	3.0	264	47	17.8
Air Travel	16,296	759	4.7	7,338	130	1.8	5,829	143	2.5	3,129	486	15.5
Insurance Carriers	16,611	688	4.1	16,257	615	3.8	28	--	--	326	73	22.4
Electrical Mach. Equipmt. & Supplies	15,660	717	4.6	7,462	76	1.0	1,940	51	2.6	6,258	590	9.4
Fabricated Metal Products	14,197	968	6.8	3,363	33	0.9	3,482	161	4.6	7,052	774	11.0
Banking	14,106	685	4.9	13,615	629	4.6	45	4	8.9	444	52	11.7
Water	13,329	3,649	27.4	3,087	51	1.7	994	192	19.3	9,248	3,406	36.8
Trans. Equipmt.	13,400	1,984	14.8	2,766	100	3.6	3,068	473	15.4	7,566	1,411	18.6
Railroad	12,953	999	7.7	5,600	99	1.8	3,154	71	2.3	4,199	829	19.7
TOTAL	261,387	23,820	7.1	143,419	5,517	3.8	28,799	1,635	5.7	79,776	16,668	20.9
San Francisco SMSA[a]	409,035	32,897	8.0	219,902	6,630	3.0	54,997	2,483	4.5	134,136	23,784	17.7
15 Industries % of SMSA	63.9	72.4		65.2	83.2		52.4	65.8		59.5	70.1	

(a) BASED ON EEO-1 REPORTS

* EXCLUDES CRAFTSMEN

TOP FIFTEEN (15) INDUSTRIES IN THE SAN FRANCISCO SMSA, 1966 (a)
(TABLE II)

INDUSTRY	Total Employment	Sp. Am. Employment	% Sp.Am. Empl.	Total White Collar	Sp. Am. White Collar	% Sp.Am. W.C.	Total Craftsmen	Sp.Am. Craftsmen	% Sp.Am. Crafts	*Total Blue Collar	*Sp.Am. Blue Collar	* % Sp.Am. B.C.
Retail Trade & General Merchandise	26,481	1,300	4.9	21,024	782	3.7	687	49	7.0	4,759	469	9.8
Food & Kindred Prod.	26,192	3,385	12.9	1,008	324	3.2	2,759	397	14.4	13,345	2,664	20.0
Wholesale Trade	22,599	865	3.8	16,314	318	1.9	1,837	97	5.3	4,448	450	10.1
Educational Serv.	19,986	267	1.3	16,781	168	1.0	586	18	3.1	2,619	81	3.1
Misc. Business Serv.	16,689	1,822	10.9	7,098	251	3.5	392	38	9.7	9,199	1,533	16.7
Medical Services	16,463	758	4.6	9,220	198	2.1	323	14	4.3	6,920	546	7.9
Communication	16,425	220	1.3	12,486	180	1.4	3,675	33	0.9	264	7	2.6
Air Travel	16,296	507	3.1	7,338	136	1.9	5,829	165	2.8	3,129	206	6.6
Insurance Carriers	16,611	941	5.7	16,257	869	5.3	28	2	7.1	326	70	21.5
Electrical Mach. Equipmt. & Supplies	15,660	722	4.6	7,462	122	1.6	1,940	123	6.3	6,258	477	7.6
Fabricated Metal Prod.	14,197	1,851	13.0	3,363	89	2.4	3,482	306	8.8	7,052	1,456	20.6
Banking	14,106	945	6.7	13,615	868	6.4	45	4	8.2	444	73	16.4
Water	13,329	784	5.9	3,087	109	3.5	994	33	3.3	9,248	641	6.9
Transportation Equip.	13,400	1,565	11.7	2,766	110	4.0	3,068	261	8.5	7,566	1,194	15.8
Railroad	12,953	740	5.7	5,600	129	2.3	3,154	149	4.7	4,199	462	11.0
TOTAL	261,377	16,672	6.4	143,419	4,653	3.2	28,799	1,689	5.9	79,776	10,330	12.9
San Francisco SMSA (a)	409,035	27,498	6.7	219,902	6,382	2.9	54,997	3,456	6.3	134,136	17,660	13.2
15 Industries % of SMSA	63.9	60.6		65.2	72.9		52.4	47.9		59.5	58.5	

(a) BASED ON EEO-1 REPORTS

* EXCLUDES CRAFTSMEN

OCCUPATIONAL MIX FOR MINORITY GROUP WORKERS IN THE SAN FRANCISCO SMSA, 1966 [a/]

SMSA	Total Empl.	WHITE COLLAR	Off. Mgrs.	Prof.	Technic.	Sales Workers	Clerical
		(breakdown of white collar					
SAN FRANCISCO	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
NEGRO	32,897	6,630	270	435	1,063	959	3,903
% of column Total	8.0	3.0	0.7	1.0	5.7	2.8	4.3
ORIENTAL	12,616	7,535	523	1,619	864	451	4,078
% of column Total	3.0	3.4	1.3	4.0	4.6	1.3	4.4
AMER. IND.	1,269	359	56	37	38	70	158
% of column Total	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.1
SPAN. AMER.	27,498	6,382	553	505	516	864	3,944
% of column Total	6.7	2.9	1.4	1.2	2.7	2.5	4.3
TOTAL	409,035	219,902	37,495	39,963	18,451	33,269	90,724

	BLUE COLLAR	Craftsmen	Operatives	Laborers	Service Workers
	(breakdown of blue collar)				
	%	%	%	%	%
NEGRO	26,267	2,483	7,146	7,203	9,435
% of column Total	13.8	4.5	11.0	24.0	23.8
ORIENTAL	5,081	1,043	1,259	675	2,104
% of column Total	2.6	1.8	2.0	2.2	5.3
AMER. IND.	910	213	344	123	230
% of column Total	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.5
SPAN. AMER.	21,116	3,456	8,502	4,821	4,337
% of column Total	11.1	6.2	13.1	16.0	11.0
TOTAL	189,133	54,997	64,594	30,064	39,478

a/ Based on EEO-1 Reports

WASHINGTON, D.C. STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREA (SMSA)
(District of Columbia, Montgomery County, Md., Prince Georges County, Md., Alexandria City, Va., Fairfax City, Va., Falls Church City, Va., Arlington County, Va., Fairfax County, Va.)

Employment Profile

Based on EEO-1 data, Negroes represent:

22.0 percent of the total employment of 264,925.

8.4 percent of the total 155,735 white collar jobs.

(67.2 percent of the Negro white collar workers are in lower paying sales and clerical jobs.)

10.7 percent of the total 28,014 craftsmen's jobs.

51.9 percent of the total 81,176 blue collar jobs, excluding craftsmen.

The top 15 industries in terms of number employed represent 68.4 percent of the total SMSA employment. See table for industries.

Washington SMSA figures do not include Federal or other government employees. Government -- Federal, state and local -- is the largest single employer in the area.

TOP FIFTEEN (15) INDUSTRIES IN THE WASHINGTON, D. C., SMSA, 1966[(a)]

INDUSTRY	Total Employment	Negro Employment	% Negro Empl.	Total White Collar	Negro White Collar	% Negro W.C.	Total Craftsmen	Negro Craftsmen	% Negro Crafts	Total Blue * Collar	Negro Blue * Collar	% Negro* B.C.
Retail Trade General Merchandise	24,154	4,583	19.0	18,055	1,686	9.3	879	90	10.2	5,220	2,807	53.8
Misc. Business Serv.	18,199	3,402	18.7	13,267	903	6.8	650	96	14.8	4,582	2,403	52.4
Educational Serv.	16,734	3,996	23.9	13,591	1,978	14.6	645	116	18.0	2,498	1,902	76.1
Communication	13,990	1,782	12.7	9,905	1,347	13.6	3,577	120	3.4	508	315	62.0
Food Retailing	13,135	2,765	21.1	2,032	107	5.3	1,299	154	11.9	9,804	2,504	25.6
Medical Services	12,093	4,031	33.3	7,475	1,218	16.3	208	35	16.8	4,410	2,778	63.0
Misc. Services	11,008	1,523	13.8	9,666	688	7.1	207	46	22.2	1,135	789	69.5
Construction - Spec. Trade Contractors	10,021	2,336	23.3	1,326	27	2.0	5,599	568	10.1	3,096	1,741	56.2
Wholesale Trade	10,617	1,493	14.1	7,274	253	3.5	949	125	13.2	2,394	1,115	46.6
Nonprofit Membership Organizations	9,180	1,285	14.0	8,002	527	6.6	82	21	25.6	1,096	737	67.2
Eating & Drinking	9,178	5,522	60.2	1,925	278	14.4	148	58	39.2	7,105	5,186	73.0
Insurance Carriers	8,500	754	8.9	8,235	595	7.2	24	1	4.2	241	158	65.6
Hotels, Rooming Houses, Camps, Etc.	8,215	3,854	46.9	2,175	270	12.4	435	148	34.0	5,605	3,436	61.3
Printing & Publishing	8,198	943	11.5	3,975	265	6.7	2,444	60	2.5	1,779	618	34.7
Elec.Mach.Eqpmt.& Sup.	7,862	548	7.0	5,331	176	3.3	585	42	7.2	1,946	330	17.0
TOTAL	181,084	38,817	21.4	112,234	10,318	9.2	17,731	1,680	9.5	51,419	26,819	52.2
Washington SMSA[(a)]	264,925	58,212	22.0	155,735	13,132	8.4	28,014	2,989	10.7	81,176	42,091	51.9
15 Industries % of SMSA	68.4	66.7		72.1	78.6		63.3	56.2		63.3	63.7	

(a) BASED ON EEO-1 REPORTS

* EXCLUDES CRAFTSMEN

OCCUPATIONAL MIX FOR MINORITY GROUP WORKERS IN THE WASHINGTON, D. C. SMSA, 1966 [a/]

		Total Empl.	WHITE COLLAR	Off. Mgrs.	Prof.	Technic.	Sales Workers	Clerical
			(breakdown of white collar					
WASHINGTON, D.C.	%		%	%	%	%	%	%
NEGRO		58,212	13,132	900	1,411	1,990	2,157	6,674
% of column Total	22.0		8.4	3.7	4.5	11.9	8.5	11.4
ORIENTAL		1,333	995	47	416	244	38	250
% of column Total	0.5		0.6	0.2	1.3	1.5	0.1	0.4
AMER. IND.		402	141	38	19	22	20	42
% of column Total	0.2		0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
SPAN. AMER.		2,396	1,395	65	316	179	152	683
% of column Total	0.9		0.9	0.3	1.0	1.1	0.6	1.2
TOTAL		264,925	155,735	24,125	31,181	16,688	25,372	58,369

	BLUE COLLAR	Craftsmen	Operatives	Laborers	Service Workers
	(breakdown of blue collar)				
	%	%	%	%	%
NEGRO	45,080	2,989	9,586	8,523	23,982
% of column Total	41.3	10.7	37.2	61.9	57.6
ORIENTAL	338	33	91	21	193
% of column Total	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.5
AMER. IND.	261	53	25	68	115
% of column Total	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.3
SPAN. AMER.	1,001	116	201	59	625
% of column Total	0.9	0.4	0.8	0.4	1.5
TOTAL	109,190	28,014	25,756	13,762	41,658

a/ Based on EEO-1 Reports

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information
from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
1800 G St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506

RELEASE FOR AM NEWSPAPERS, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 19: Phone: 343-5621

EEOC ANALYSIS SHOWS FEW WOMEN IN TOP JOBS

Chairman Clifford L. Alexander, Jr., of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission released today preliminary figures indicating that while women may fill nearly one half of the total white collar jobs in a given area, their representation is very small in higher echelon managerial and professional jobs.

This conclusion is based on the first analysis by sex of statistical data from the 1966 official employer reporting forms (EEO-1) filed with the Commission. EEOC administers Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which bans job discrimination based on sex as well as on race, color, religion, or national origin. Approximately 30 percent of all complaints about job discrimination received by the Commission have been based on sex.

"Sex discrimination is a serious matter," Chairman Alexander said. "This study indicates that women are seriously underutilized in many top management and professional jobs. The Commission intends to continue its vigorous efforts to eliminate discrimination on the basis of sex, as well as discrimination on the basis of race, religion, and national origin. Women, as well as others, are victims of discrimination, and their complaints deserve our attention and action."

Nine Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's) with populations over 500,000 and in which EEOC has regional offices provided the basis for this first analysis. The Metropolitan areas are Atlanta, Chicago, Cleveland, Kansas City, Los Angeles, New Orleans, New York, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C.

In these areas women make up from one-fourth to one-third of the total work force and from one-third to nearly one-half of the total white collar work force.

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When clerical jobs are excluded, however, women's share of white collar jobs in these Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas is cut nearly in half. When the retail trade-general merchandise category of businesses (with large numbers of low-paying sales positions) is also deleted from the computation women's share of white collar jobs is cut sharply again. This drop can be charted as follows:

	% Female of Total White Collar Force	% Female of W.C. force excluding clerical jobs	% Female of W.C. force excluding clerical jobs and retail trade-gen'l mdse firms
Highest of nine SMSA's	47.2	28.1	21.8
Lowest of nine SMSA's	37.8	18.2	12.7

Negro women are better represented in white collar jobs in the nine SMSA's than are Negro men. Nevertheless, it is clear that neither Negro men nor Negro women are significantly represented in these jobs, when figures on total Negro employment in these SMSA's (released earlier by the Commission) are considered. This may be seen in the following table:

	Negro % Total Employment	Negro % of All Male White Collar Jobs	Negro % of All Female White Collar Jobs
Atlanta	15.2	1.9	2.8
Chicago	13.5	2.4	7.6
Cleveland	11.2	1.8	5.4
Kansas City	8.9	1.0	3.5
Los Angeles	6.9	1.9	4.1
New Orleans	20.1	2.1	4.2
New York	10.0	3.1	8.9
San Francisco	8.0	1.8	4.6
Washington,D.C.	22.0	5.9	11.4

The EEO-1 reporting form was jointly developed by EEOC, the Office of Contract Compliance of the Department of Labor and Plans for Progress. Filing is required of all private employers with 100 or more employees and holders of Federal government contracts of $50,000 or more and with 50 or more employees. Each employer covered is required to submit annually to the Joint Reporting Committee in Washington employment statistics by occupation, sex and ethnic origin (Negro, Oriental, American Indian and Americans of Spanish Surname).

The preliminary analysis for the nine SMSA's was completed through computer print-outs of EEO-1 forms. The Commission is preparing a compilation of EEO-1 data covering 123 SMSA's which will include employment analysis of ethnic groups and women.

Attached is a table showing: percentage of women in the total work force, the white collar work force, white collar excluding clerical, and white collar excluding clerical and retail trade-general merchandise businesses in the nine SMSA's. In addition the table shows Negro male white collar and Negro female white collar representation in these areas.

#####

Attachment

EEO-1 REPORTING

	Total* Reported Employment	Total Male	Total Female	% Female of Total	Total White Collar	% White Collar of Total
Atlanta	221,021	145,011	76,010	34.4	106,859	48.3
Chicago	1,304,825	854,097	450,728	34.5	586,810	45.0
Cleveland	381,627	277,970	103,657	27.2	157,319	41.2
Kansas City	205,748	140,406	65,342	31.8	92,038	44.7
Los Angeles	1,035,496	730,764	304,732	29.4	528,306	51.0
New Orleans	145,470	105,995	39,475	27.1	65,242	44.8
New York	1,465,732	910,673	555,059	37.9	951,809	64.9
San Francisco	409,035	279,313	129,722	31.7	219,902	53.8
Washington, D.C.	264,925	165,872	99,053	37.4	155,735	58.8

* From employers subject to the EEO-1 reporting system. The figures sh

** Officials, Managers, Professionals, Technicians, and Sales Workers.

*** The last three columns show "White Collar Except Clerical" figures wh
Trade-General Merchandise (SIC 53), in view of the large number of lo
tion. They represent, therefore, a more accurate reflection of the
collar jobs.

GSA DC 68-5291

M: FEMALE EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS, NINE METROPOLITAN AREAS, 1966

Male White Collar	Female White Collar	% Female of Total W.C.	Negro Male White Collar	% Negro of All Male White Collar	Negro Female White Collar	% Negro of All Female W.C.	** W.C. Except Clerical
56,440	50,419	47.2	1,067	1.9	1,393	2.8	58,347
325,653	261,157	44.5	7,669	2.4	19,840	7.6	326,429
96,555	60,764	38.6	1,759	1.8	3,253	5.4	94,747
51,764	40,274	43.8	543	1.0	1,419	3.5	52,557
328,691	199,615	37.8	6,300	1.9	8,242	4.1	333,654
37,707	27,535	42.2	793	2.1	1,145	4.2	38,144
519,226	432,583	45.4	16,173	3.1	38,534	8.9	492,151
122,932	96,970	44.1	2,160	1.8	4,470	4.6	129,150
83,225	72,510	46.6	4,891	5.9	8,241	11.4	97,366

shown here are not total employment in the areas involved.

which have been adjusted to exclude employment in Retail
low-paying sales positions in this industrial classifica-
distribution of female employees in higher-paying white

OURCE: Office of Research & Reports
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

** W.C. Except Clerical	Female W.C. Except Clerical	% Female W.C. Exc. Cler. to All W.C. Except Clerical	Excluding*** Retail Trade-General Merchandise		
			W.C. Except Clerical	Female W.C. Except Clerical	% Female W.C. Exc. Cler. to All W.C. Exc. Clerical
58,347	14,650	25.1	46,742	6,479	13.9
326,429	71,113	21.8	279,994	41,771	14.9
94,747	17,342	18.3	87,857	12,700	14.5
52,557	12,226	23.3	46,274	7,618	16.5
333,654	60,840	18.2	300,080	38,141	12.7
38,144	8,230	21.6	33,744	5,063	15.0
492,151	113,063	23.0	437,310	76,409	17.5
129,150	30,321	23.5	113,575	19,309	17.0
97,366	27,352	28.1	83,649	18,233	21.8

Reid 1-2-68

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

OFFICE OF
THE CHAIRMAN

December 27, 1967

File

Mr. Floyd McKissick, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030

Dear Mr. McKissick:

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is holding hearings in New York City on discrimination in white collar employment beginning January 15, 1968.

At these hearings the Commission will present its findings from special studies of minority (and women s) employment patterns in white collar jobs. These findings will provide the backdrop for dialogue between the Commission and major employers of white collar workers in the New York area. Employer testimony and dialogue with the Commission, which will occupy the bulk of time at the hearings, will hopefully demonstrate the kinds of employer policies and practices which create truly equal job opportunity as opposed to those which prevent or retard it. The Commission's statistical data will show that many major companies in many key industries (such as banking, insurance, brokerage, advertising, radio/television, publishing and major corporations in a variety of manufacturing industries with New York headquarters), currently utilize minorities at rates which can only reflect exclusionary practices - whether intentional or inadvertent. It is hoped that testimony from companies who have been relatively successful in utilizing minorities will be instructive to those who have not, and that dialogue between the Commission and employers - both those who have been successful and those who have not — will carry the exploration of discrimination in white collar employment well beyond surface assessment of the problem.

Major focus of the hearings will be on discrimination on the basis of race and national origin. Covered too, however, will be the problems of religious and sex discrimination in higher level white collar jobs.

We believe these hearings will be of particular relevance to you in view of your interest and concern relating to the achievement of equal employment opportunity in business and industry generally and in white collar industries under particular scrutiny at these hearings.

I would therefore like to extend an invitation for you to attend these hearings as an observer and to submit, if you so desire, a written statement to help create a comprehensive and insightful record from these hearings. Your statement may consist of any information or perspective which grows out of your particular experience, expertise, or information relating to the problem of an solutions to discrimination in white collar employment.

The record will be open until January 31 to receive written statements. We ask that they be double-spaced, not in excess of fifteen pages, and mailed in three copies to the Office of Public Affairs, EEOC, 1800 G Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20506.

Enclosed with this letter you will find a card entitling the bearer to one of the seats we shall reserve at the hearings for invited observers. Space limitations preclude us from reserving more than one seat for organizations/individuals we invite. If your organization intends to send more than one person to attend the hearings, we would advise they appear early in the morning of the day(s) they want to come, in order to secure a place in a section of seats which will be left open to the public on a first-come first-served basis.

For your information, following is the planned order for coverage of various industries at the hearings. While appearance by major employers in these industries will not follow exactly in this sequence, it represents the approximate structure of the hearings.

Monday, January 15: "Finance" (banking, insurance, brokerage and related businesses)

Tuesday, January 16: Major Corporate Headquarters in a variety of manufacturing and service industries

Wednesday, January 17: "Communications" (radio/television broadcasting, advertising agencies, publishing)

Thursday, January 18: Additional companies from within the above categories.

If you have any questions, please contact Michael Blumenfeld, EEOC, Director of Education, at the above address or by phone at (202) 343-3871.

I believe you will find the Commission's New York City hearings instructive and constructive as an instrument in eliminating discrimination in white collar employment.

Sincerely,

Clifford L. Alexander, Jr.

Clifford L. Alexander, Jr.
Chairman

Enclosure

UNITED STATES
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

WHITE-COLLAR HEARINGS

Admit Bearer
to Reserved Section

Room 110, U. S. Courthouse, Foley Square
January 15th thru 18th, 1968

243

February 6, 1968

Mr. Kenneth W. Smallwood
Equal Opportunity Coordinator
Small Business Administration
Office of the Area Administrator
61 Broadway
New York, New York 10006

Dear Mr. Smallwood:

Thank you for your note of January 24 in which you requested our cooperation.

I have turned your request over to Mr. Roy Innis, Associate National Director of CORE and to Mr. Tony Perot, Program Director.

Yours truly,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

FBMcK:pr

Telephone
264-4390

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION
OFFICE OF THE AREA ADMINISTRATOR
61 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10006

January 24, 1968

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, N. Y., 10030

Dear Mr. McKissick:

The Equal Opportunity Coordinator and his staff, an arm of the Small Business Administration's "outreach" program is currently engaged in compiling a directory of Negro owned businesses in New York City. We are calling upon you to assist us in this matter by your sending us the names and addresses of established Negro businesses or new business which you believe have considerable growth potential for providing employment.

We hope that our "outreach" program with your cooperation will be the gateway through which more minority group persons can get into the mainstream of our system of free enterprise.

We intend to make all Negro businesses and prospective business-aware of SBA's financial assistance and economic opportunity loan programs.

Sincerely yours,

Kenneth W. Smallwood

Kenneth W. Smallwood
Equal Opportunity Coordinator
New York Area Office

RECEIVED
JAN 26 1968
Per ajh

file

LISTER HILL, ALA., CHAIRMAN
WAYNE MORSE, OREG.
RALPH YARBOROUGH, TEX.
JOSEPH S. CLARK, PA.
JENNINGS RANDOLPH, W. VA.
HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR., N.J.
CLAIBORNE PELL, R.I.
EDWARD M. KENNEDY, MASS.
GAYLORD NELSON, WIS.
ROBERT F. KENNEDY, N.Y.
JACOB K. JAVITS, N.Y.
WINSTON L. PROUTY, VT.
PETER H. DOMINICK, COLO.
GEORGE MURPHY, CALIF.
PAUL J. FANNIN, ARIZ.
ROBERT P. GRIFFIN, MICH.

STEWART E. MC CLURE, CHIEF CLERK
JOHN S. FORSYTHE, GENERAL COUNSEL

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

Equal Emp. Opt. Comm.

March 4, 1968

RECEIVED
MAR 6 1968
Per apl

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
200 W. 135th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Thank you for letting me know of your concern that the right of private suit be retained in legislation strengthening the powers of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

As you may know, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights has endorsed a bill, now pending before the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, which would grant cease-and-desist power to the Commission while restricting the right of an aggrieved individual to seek help in the Federal District Courts in cases in which the Commission has dismissed a charge after determining that there is not reasonable cause to believe that the charge is true.

Although I am far from happy about this restriction on the right to sue, it was the Leadership Conference's judgment that the present bill is the best attainable under the circumstances, and is far preferable to no bill at all. I am inclined to accept this view, particularly since it seems clear to me that insistence on preserving private suits would, because of opposition from organized labor, doom any hopes for passing legislation to give the Equal Employment Opportunity Com-

mission the cease-and-desist power which I know you agree it so badly needs.

Sincerely,

Joseph S. Clark

JOSEPH S. CLARK

JSC:hsp

file

LISTER HILL, ALA., CHAIRMAN
WAYNE MORSE, OREG.
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STEWART E. MC CLURE, CHIEF CLERK
JOHN S. FORSYTHE, GENERAL COUNSEL

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

Equal Emp Opt. Comm.

March 26, 1968

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Thank you for your recent telegram urging that the right of private suit be maintained in S. 1308, the bill to give the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission power to issue cease-and-desist orders.

While I am fully aware of the value of individual suits in this area, and the significant progress in eliminating discrimination which has been achieved through individual suits over the years, I also believe that granting the Commission power to issue effective cease-and-desist orders is crucial if the promise of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act is to be fulfilled. Hence, when the compromise was proposed allowing individuals to sue the Commission to review its failure to issue a complaint, instead of the respondent, it was my opinion that although the price to be paid was high, it was worth it, if, as a result, the Commission could gain the power to issue cease-and-desist orders. My opinion was considerably influenced by the fact that at that time, all interested civil rights groups had indicated their willingness to go along with the compromise.

The full Committee has already considered the bill several times in executive session and it is my hope that the bill will be reported to the Senate within the very near future. The Leadership Conference, so far as I am aware, is committed to the bill in its present form. While, as I have indicated, I have great sympathy for your views, it is clear that if the right to bring individual suits is restored, the prospects for passage of the bill would be considerably diminished, to say the least. On balance, I continue to believe, with the Leadership Conference, that the bill in its present form is better than no bill at all. I assure you, however, that I shall continue to give this whole question the most serious consideration as the bill is before the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and the Senate.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Jacob K. Javits

RECEIVED
MAR 29 1968
Per

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
New York, New York

1st ANNUAL REPORT

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

"I enlist every employer, every labor union, and every agency of the government . . . in the task of seeing to it that no false lines are drawn in assuring equality of the right and opportunity to make a decent living."

JOHN F. KENNEDY
JUNE 19, 1963

"Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964—guaranteeing equal employment opportunities—is a key to hope for millions of our fellow Americans. With that key we can begin to open the gates that now enclose the ghettoes of despair."

LYNDON B. JOHNSON
AUGUST 20, 1965

"Freedom from discrimination is not enough. There must be freedom from the disadvantage that 200 years of discrimination helped create. There must be freedom of opportunity, freedom to work."

LYNDON B. JOHNSON
APRIL 28, 1966

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STEPHEN N. SHULMAN, *CHAIRMAN*
DR. LUTHER HOLCOMB, *VICE CHAIRMAN*
SAMUEL C. JACKSON, *COMMISSIONER*
1800 G Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506

Facts About Title VII

On July 2, 1964, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Title VII of this Act, "Equal Employment Opportunity," prohibits discrimination because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin, in hiring, upgrading and all other conditions of employment. It became effective on July 2, 1965.

Title VII established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission composed of five members appointed by the President and approved by the Senate.

The Commission is concerned with discrimination by four major groups—employers, public and private employment agencies, labor organizations and joint labor-management apprenticeship programs. During the first year, Title VII applied to employers of 100 or more persons, labor unions with 100 or more members or which operate hiring halls, and employment agencies dealing with employers of 100 or more persons. The coverage under the law drops to 75 persons July 2, 1966, to 50 persons July 2, 1967, and to 25 persons July 2, 1968.

The Commission investigates complaints of discrimination and, if it finds they are justified, seeks a full remedy by the process of conciliation. The Commission promotes programs of voluntary compliance to put the principle of equal employment opportunity into actual operation.

Individual Commissioners may initiate complaints if they receive information which indicates that the law has been violated. In certain cases, where the Commission finds a pattern or practice of discrimination exists, it advises the Justice Department and the Attorney General may undertake action in U.S. District Court.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Washington, D. C.
March 1, 1967

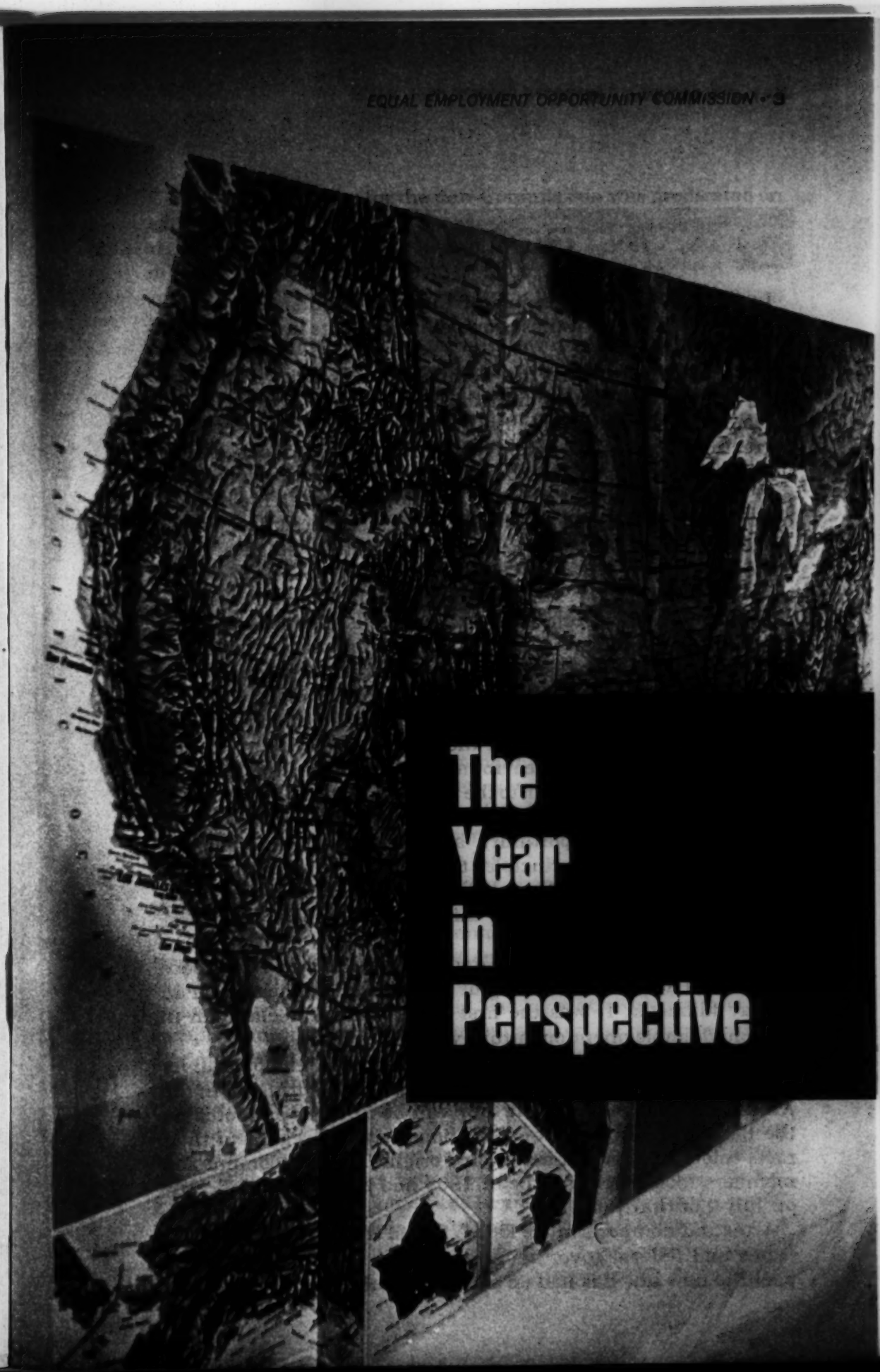
Hon. John W. McCormack
Speaker, House of Representatives
Congress of the United States
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. Speaker:

In accordance with Section 705(d) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, I have the honor to submit herewith the First Annual Report of the work and operations of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission covering the fiscal year ended June 30, 1966.

Respectfully,

STEPHEN N. SHULMAN
Chairman



The Year in Perspective

INTRODUCTION

In the legislative beginning of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Congress had before it these compelling findings in the report of one of its committees:

"The evidence before the Committee makes it abundantly clear that job opportunity discrimination permeates the national social fabric – North, South, East and West. The act is directed at correcting such abuses wherever found and is not focused upon any single section of the country. An unequivocal declaration and implementation of a national policy on equal employment opportunity, predicated upon individual merit, competence and capability, is of paramount importance at this stage of U. S. history.

"Job discrimination . . . ranges in degrees from patent absolute rejection to more subtle forms of invidious distinctions. Most frequently, it manifests itself through relegation to 'traditional' positions and through discriminatory promotional practices. The maxim, 'last hired, first fired,' is applicable to many minority groups, but most particularly to Negroes, as is evidenced by the greater unemployment rate for these groups. . . .

"In brief, the Committee found that employment practices commonly failed to conform to the written tradition and professed position of our Nation as regards the venerable principles of liberty, equality of opportunity, and the immutable dignity of man. To restore these principles to practice, to transform theory into reality, to assure that great words become implemented acts, is substantially the purpose of this act with respect to employment opportunities. . . ."

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was born from these beginnings against a backdrop of police dogs, fire hoses and an 83-day filibuster. It was the first Congressional declaration in the equal employment opportunity field.

The new law established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and gave it the responsibility of assuring all in the American labor market that they will be hired or promoted on the basis of ability and qualifications without regard to their race, color, religion, sex or national origin. The five Commission members took office in June of 1965 and began work officially on July 2 of that year.

A textual comparison of Title VII and its forerunners in the states and federal government gives no real picture of the impact the new law has had on the employment scene.

Budget and staffing for the new Commission was predicated on estimates that 2,000 job discrimination complaints would be received in the first year. By June, 1966, the Commission had been deluged with 8,854 individual complaints—more than twice the number all state fair employment practice agencies receive in a year.

This dramatic response to the new law reflected the confidence of civil rights organizations and minority persons in this new avenue to relief from discrimination. It also almost swamped the small Commission staff. In the midst of establishing investigation procedures and organizing the new agency, thousands of hours of uncompensated overtime were devoted to the flood of charges. Despite these dedicated efforts—and the co-operation of charging parties and parties charged—the Commission's first year ended with many hundred unreached cases. Even though this backlog bore heavily on limited resources, the Commission and staff, nevertheless, did accomplish noteworthy results with the new law—many of which were far-reaching and precedent-setting.

The enactment of Title VII did not create new responsibilities for the major employers in the nation, except in respect to sex discrimination. For years they had been subject to fair employment practice laws in one or more of the 25 states which had such laws. If they were government contractors—and most of the major employers were—they were committed by their contracts to avoid discrimination and, indeed, to engage in affirmative action to provide equal opportunity in employment. Further, the sanctions under most state laws and under the federal executive order were more stringent than those available under Title VII.

Title VII added to the traditional list of prohibited discriminations—race, color, religion, national origin—discrimination because of sex. The case against the standard discriminations had been documented over and over. The legislative history was less complete insofar as discrimination based on sex was concerned. Sex discrimination was real enough, but the intent and reach of the amendment were shrouded in doubt.

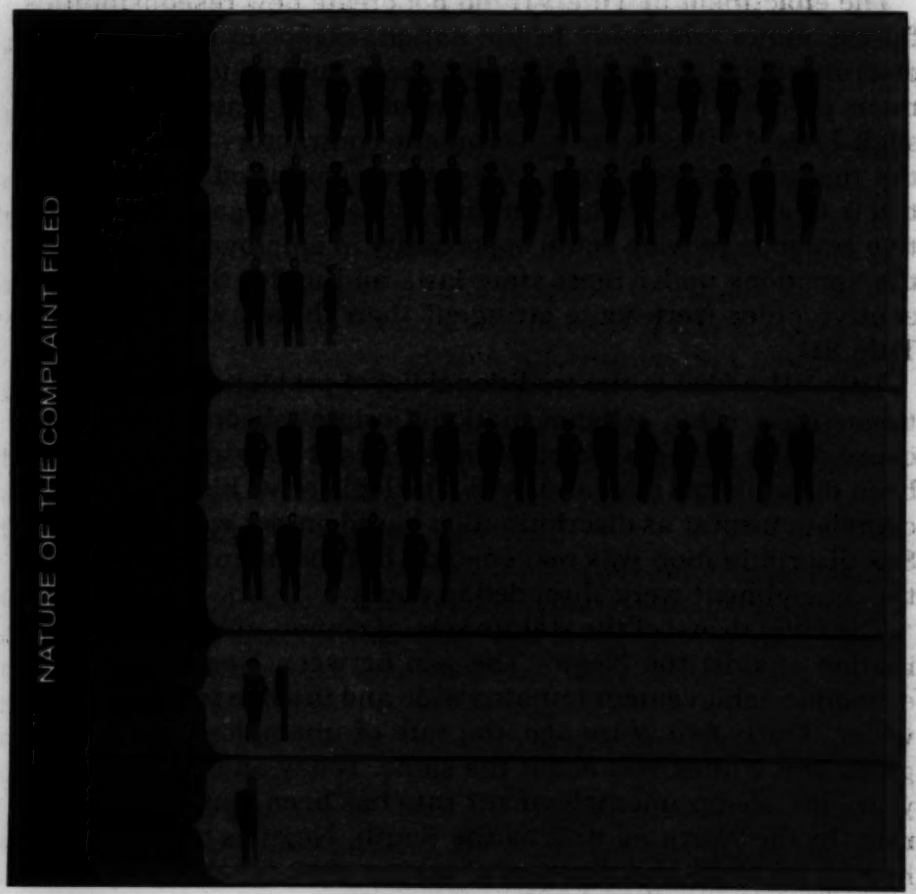
The chief thrust of the statute was, of course, aimed at discrimination against the Negro. The gap between Negro and white economic achievement remains wide and in some respects grows wider. Thirty-five years ago, the rate of unemployment for Negroes and whites was about the same. Today and for almost 20 years the Negro unemployment rate has been double the white rate. In the North as well as the South, Negroes tend to be the hewers of wood and drawers of water; they are *de facto* segre-

gated in the lowest-paying jobs.

The gap between economic achievement of men and women is equally wide. In 1964, the median wage or salary income for men was $61.95 a week and for women $36.90. With few exceptions, there is as little rationality in different rates for men and women or in the designation of some jobs as men's or women's jobs as there is in designating jobs as white or colored, as some Southern help-wanted columns still do.

The composition and direction of the charges contained some surprises. Race was the basis of charges in nearly 60% of the cases. Sex was the discrimination charged in about 37%, with most charges by women but some by men. Mexican Americans, despite the fact of widespread discrimination and disadvantage, produced little more than 1% of the charges. Religion was the basis for about 2%.

Employers were the target of 87% of the cases; labor unions of



almost 21%. (The figures total more than 100% because frequently the labor organization was named as a joint respondent with the employer.) Private employment agencies produced fewer than 1% of the charges; state employment services slightly more than 1%.

Refusal to hire was the single largest source of the grievances. Promotion and seniority were fairly close second and third. Wage differentials were charged in about 10% of the cases and segregated facilities in about 4%.

The eleven Southern states accounted for almost half of the total charges received. North Carolina led with 709, followed by Alabama with 531 and Tennessee with 352. It would be a mistake to draw conclusions about the relative extent of discrimination in Southern states based on these figures because they reflect special organized campaigns by civil rights organizations in certain Southern states and areas.

The specific statutory responsibility of the Commission is to handle complaints—within unusually tight time limits prescribed by the statute. The statute contemplates that the Commission will have 60 days to screen, investigate, judge and conciliate a charge. In fact, most cases have taken far longer to process through conciliation. If conciliation has failed, the charging party has 30 days to take his case to court.

But, while in this sense the Commission is a complaint-centered agency, the Commission emphasizes that it is mindful of the other tools that an effective and coordinated program to counter discrimination must take into account.

The starting point for an effective program must, of course, be the fact of discrimination in the American economy. Some of it is deliberate, even willful; much of it is institutionalized, an almost unconscious acceptance of habitual ways of recruiting and promoting. The Commission's specific tools to cope with this problem are vigorous investigation and resourceful conciliation. Where conciliation fails in a case involving a pattern of discrimination, the case may be referred to the Attorney General with a request that he institute suit. Also, in the case of government contractors, there will be reference to the Office of Federal Contract Compliance with a view to cancelling the contract and barring the contractor from future contracts.

No less real than the fact of discrimination has been the existence of a large measure of good will or at least of cooperation, in important segments of industry and labor. This has permitted the Commission to move beyond the retail prosecution of retail complaints and to address itself to the patterns of discrimination. For many years, the most enlightened and resourceful industries

have been pioneering in equal employment opportunity. They have developed the whole package of programs which have come to be known as affirmative action—broadened recruiting sources and aggressive hiring, training and promotion practices. The technical assistance side of the Commission's operation consists largely of persuading laggard companies and unions to adopt the practices of the most progressive and successful employers and labor unions.

And finally, effective counteraction must address itself to the stubborn fact of inherited poverty and disadvantage—the fruits of many decades of discrimination. It is a sobering thought that if tomorrow employers and trade unions opened their doors and extended a genuine welcome to all minorities, large numbers of persons would be unable to take advantage of the opportunity. In bald terms, they are not qualified. In a more meaningful sense, however, they are under-qualified but qualifiable. There is a wealth of experience accumulated by industry which shows what may be done with the uneducated and unqualified when personnel officers get away from rote reliance on written tests and turn to the new and proven techniques of education and training.

During the Commission's first year, all the moral, civic and economic considerations which urged the adoption of more liberal hiring policies and training programs were fortified by the growing stringency of the labor market and the availability of government funding for training programs.

The Commission faced up to the matter of drawing a reasonable line between remedy and preference, between affirmative action and reverse discrimination. There is little quarrel about affirmative action when it involves merely broadening recruitment sources; but it has been found that purely formal affirmative actions may not produce affirmative results—and it is results that are needed. Negro discrimination is generally discrimination against a class. Certainly, where a pattern of previous discrimination is established, the Commission felt it should not be diffident about seeking effective relief for those who have been its victims.

When a finding of such discrimination is made in accordance with the provisions of Title VII, should not the remedy require specific results—immediate hiring and promotion of Negroes in appropriate cases—rather than procedures that offer them equal opportunity in the future? In the precedent-making case involving the Newport News Shipbuilding Company, the Commission spelled out the detailed requirements of remedial action.

The Newport News conciliation agreement, negotiated in

March, 1966, was perhaps the most comprehensive and exemplary settlement in the history of fair employment practice legislation. Because the company waived the rule of confidentiality which applies generally to the Commission's proceedings, the terms may be reported in detail. This agreement illustrates the varieties of discrimination that may be encountered in industry and the effective remedies that a company wholeheartedly committed to equal opportunity will institute for their correction. The plant employs about 19,000 of whom some 5,000 are Negroes. There were 41 Negro complainants, but thousands will benefit directly.

• One major charge alleged that qualified Negroes were discriminatorily passed over for appointment to supervisory positions. The remedy provides that a composite profile will be developed of the last 100 appointments to supervisors, identifying the factors—seniority and qualifications—which led to the promotions. A list then was to be compiled of Negroes who exceed the standards in the promotion profile and these are to have priority in filling supervisory vacancies. The profile was to be developed jointly by the company and a team of experts from the Department of Defense.

• To the charges that Negroes were discriminatorily passed over for promotions to higher job ratings, a similar profile remedy was established. This time the profile was to be developed by an outside expert in job evaluation, selected and paid by the company, but approved by the Commission.

• A related charge alleged that rates in departments which were predominantly manned by Negroes were discriminatorily depressed because of race. Here again, the outside expert is charged to make a job study and evaluation. The company agreed to adjust rates in accordance with the study.

• Another charge alleged that Negroes were denied opportunity to enroll in the apprenticeship school, the gateway to the best jobs and supervisory promotions. The remedy was to liberalize entry requirements (age, marriage) and to broaden recruitment sources in Negro schools so that the school enrollment will reflect the plant population and the community. The company also agreed to integrate the faculty of the school.

• The charge that segregated facilities were provided for whites and Negroes was remedied by extensive structural changes—walls came down, old signs were replaced.

Since the firmness of top corporate officials is a key element in a plant's successful implementation of equal employment opportunity, the president was requested to issue a statement to all employees. The president's statement was clear, firm, and per-

suasive, including a provision to discipline violators of the agreement.

The Newport News agreement became effective on March 30, 1966, By the end of the next quarter, June 30th, Negroes still accounted for about one quarter of the total 19,599 employees, but of 1,028 new employees, 35% were Negro, and of that group, 64% were employed in previously all-white departments. Before the agreement was signed, only 6 out of 506 apprentices enrolled were Negroes. By June 30, 19 more apprenticeships were offered —5 of which went to Negroes.

* * * * *

The very fact of 8,854 job discrimination complaints was a landmark. These complaints came from every state in the Union, and from the District of Columbia. Five races and more than eight national origins were represented. The Commission's investigators in search of facts went into shipyards in Alabama and oil fields in Texas, textile plants in the Carolinas and packing houses in Iowa, construction sites in Memphis and public utilities in Chicago. Where discrimination was found, the Commission conciliators looked for a complete and practical remedy—not promises, not new procedures merely—but concrete results.

Conciliation agreements produced some dramatic firsts:

• Negroes in supervisors jobs in shipbuilding plants in the South;

• Negroes hired as tellers in state banks in North Carolina;

• Women, once limited to a dozen job classifications in a Southern tobacco manufacturing plant, now given opportunity at 90 different classifications;

• Mexican Americans in Texas and Negroes in Alabama reinstated with back pay after being fired for filing charges with the Commission; and the list grows.

An early case in the EEOC files shows an aircraft plant in the South, where there were only 30 Negroes among more than 3,000 employees. These Negroes all worked as laborers. The Commission received a discrimination charge and conciliation resulted in the establishment by this company of a training program. The program, financed by the U.S. Department of Labor, resulted in placing 246 Negroes in 40 different job classifications with total annual wages running to almost a million dollars.

In the difficult field of remedying discriminatory seniority systems, a useful precedent was set in the Crown-Zellerbach plant in Bogalusa, La. In two departments of this plant, whites and Negroes doing work that was functionally related were segregated in lines of progression and seniority.

EEOC's Chairman called together representatives of the company, the white and Negro union locals and representatives of the United Papermakers and Paperworkers International in the Federal Building in New Orleans on a Saturday morning in December 1965, and secured agreement to a merger which provided that the formerly segregated lines would be dovetailed horizontally—with every job classification within the promotion line open to whites and Negroes without discrimination. The local unions had first contended—in line with a Court decision in another case—that Negroes had to go to the bottom of the white line.

And finally, to collect the most comprehensive and authoritative body of information about the employment patterns of the larger American employers, the Commission designed EEO-1—a joint reporting form filed during the year by more than 40,000 employers representing 140,000 separate establishments. Facts about the racial and ethnic composition of these establishments are being shared by the Commission, the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, and Plans for Progress.

* * * * *

During the last session of Congress the House of Representatives passed the Hawkins Bill (HR 10065) which contained two principal amendments to Title VII. It would have expanded coverage to include employers and labor organizations with eight or more employees or members. Also, it would have revised the enforcement procedures to give the Commission cease-and-desist powers. Where efforts to secure voluntary compliance are unsuccessful the Commission could hear and determine cases of alleged discrimination and order appropriate relief, subject to judicial review in the same manner as the orders of other regulatory agencies. The Commission continues to support these legislative proposals. The proposed expansion of coverage would bring under Title VII employers of approximately six and one-half million employees, including many in the service industries, one of the most significant areas of expanding employment today. It should be noted that most State FEP laws cover employers with eight or even fewer employees. The Commission recognizes that there may be somewhat greater difficulty in enforcing the statute with respect to smaller employers, but the mere fact that discrimination is made illegal frequently has a salutary effect, particularly where the employer's policy of discrimination is a response to presumed customer, employee, or community pressures or preferences.

Likewise the Commission believes that revising Title VII to provide for enforcement through a quasi-judicial administrative agency would be a desirable improvement in the statute. This has become the standard approach in State FEP laws. The Commission believes that it would provide a faster, more efficient method of resolving disputes. More important, it would do much to bolster the authority of the Commission in the earlier stages of investigation and conciliation, and thus facilitate the conciliation process. The experience of State FEP's shows that under the cease-and-desist approach, nearly all cases are disposed of without court proceedings.

* * * * *

As the Commission addressed its tasks in the first weeks of its existence, a White House Conference on Equal Employment Opportunity convened in Washington, D. C. with 600 representatives from business, labor, government and various minority and civil rights groups. They provided the Commission with practical counsel that was of great value in planning its program.

As the Commission's first year closed, the flow of charges was still increasing, but the new job in America—for the Negro, for the Mexican American, for the woman—was a more visible, attainable reality.

This was made possible because:

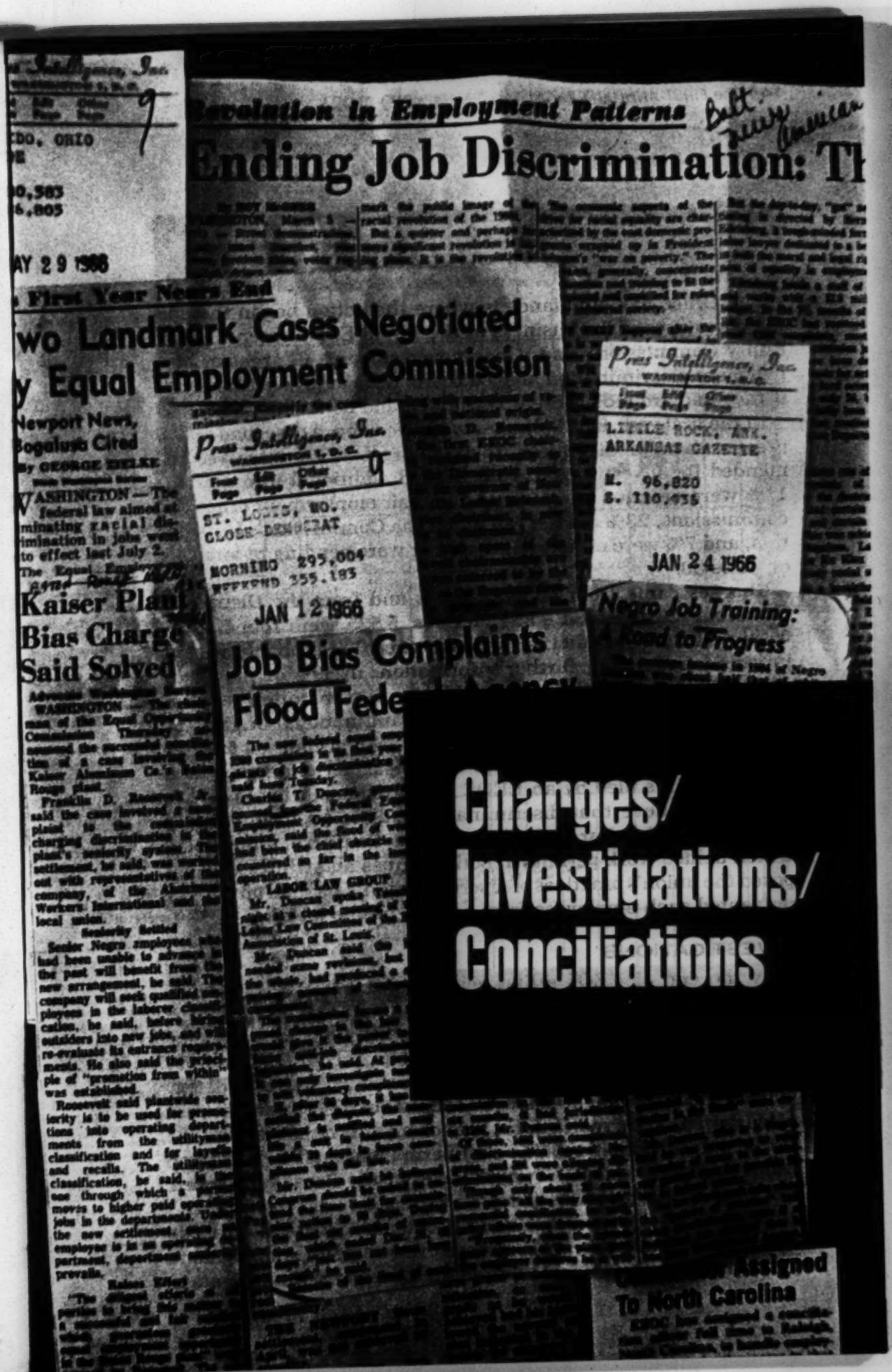
—The minority public exhibited faith and confidence in the new Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and Title VII—demonstrated by the unprecedented flow of charges filed.

—Civil Rights groups encouraged their constituents to seek relief before the Commission.

—Many employers and labor organizations displayed a clear desire to comply with the law, to work out reforms and innovations which will break down unfair employment practices and give disadvantaged Americans fair consideration.

—Goodwill and enlightened self-interest motivated many agreements, and the scarcity of labor in the expanding economy prompted recruitment of qualified minority persons and the training of those who are underqualified—but qualifiable.

From a sudden and unrehearsed start, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and Title VII came a long way during its first year. This report chronicles that journey.


Revolution in Employment Patterns
Ending Job Discrimination: Th
First Year Nears End
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Newport News, Bogalusa Cited
WASHINGTON — The federal law aimed at eliminating racial discrimination in jobs went to effect last July 2.
Kaiser Plant Bias Charge Said Solved
Job Bias Complaints Flood Fede
Negro Job Training: A Road to Progress
Charges/
Investigations/
Conciliations
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COMPLIANCE

The Office of Compliance is where the action began the day the doors opened for business at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission—and it has never stopped. Charges of employment discrimination arrived there, were analyzed there and, if they had grounds, were investigated and conciliated there.

In the first year, 8,854 charges were received, a case load 400% greater than predicted. Of these charges, 43% were recommended for investigation, 16% needed additional information, 11% were deferred to state and local fair employment practices commissions, 23% did not fall under the Commission's jurisdiction, and 7% were either withdrawn or were pending re-analysis on June 30.

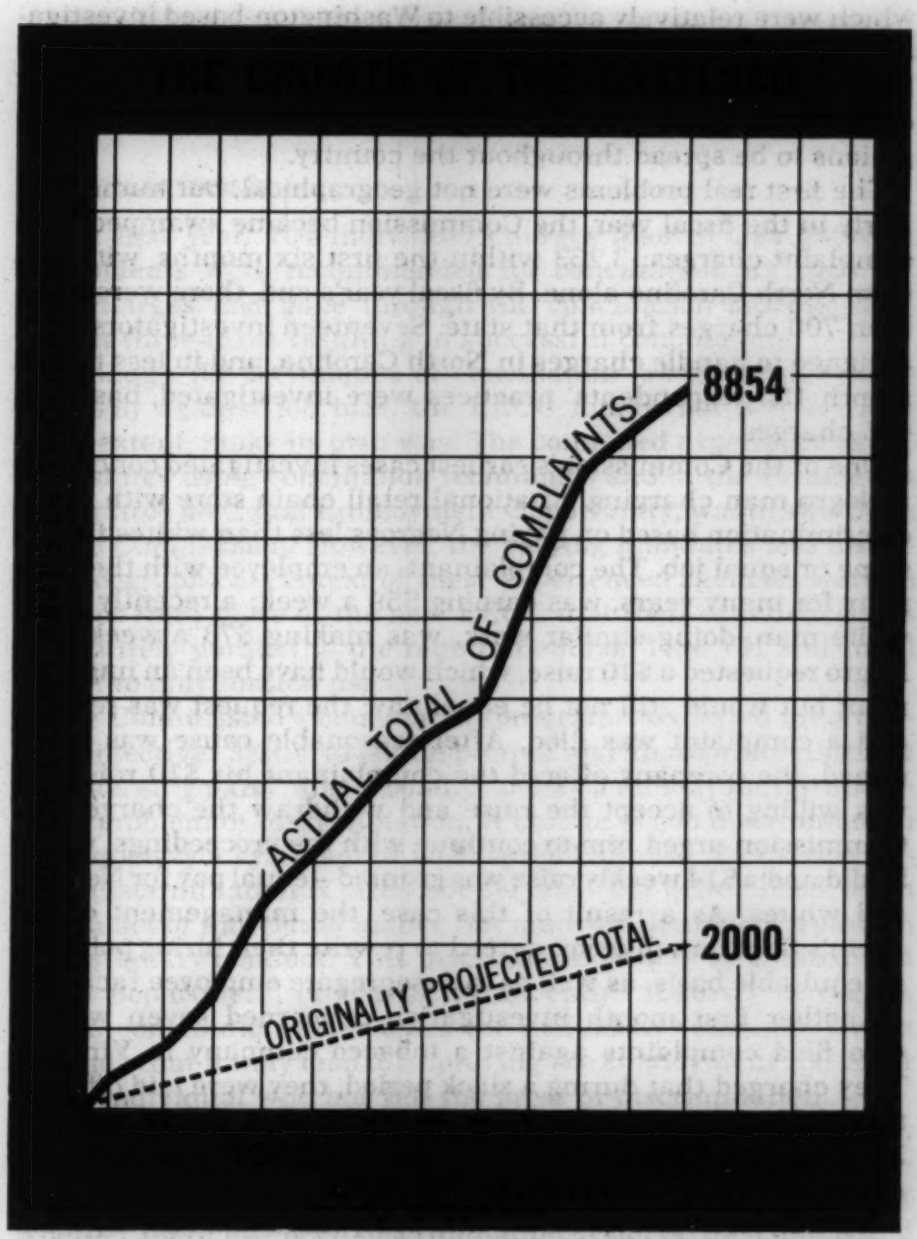
Charges came from all fifty states and from the District of Columbia. Of the total 8,854 charges, 5,525 were found to be within EEOC's jurisdiction, with another 606 probably within jurisdiction, pending further information. In 59% of the 5,525 charges, race was the basis of complaint; discrimination because of sex was cited in 37% of the cases, and national origin and religion as the cause of discrimination each accounted for 2%.

Of the total charges, 41 were Commissioner charges, which are complaints filed by an EEOC commissioner where there is reason to believe that discrimination exists. An example is a Commissioner's charge filed against a Southern union local which denied work permits to both Negroes and whites who opposed the union's practices of discrimination. The local physically prevented such employees from coming on the job site.

INVESTIGATIONS

By the end of EEOC's first year, of the 3,773 cases recommended for investigation, 1,659 were completed and 2,114 were either in process or pending. These investigations took place in 40 states, based on charges involving all aspects of the Commission's coverage—race, religion, color, national origin and sex. Most of these investigations were carried out by 111 persons provided by 15 state and Federal agencies, with no more than 30 working at any one time. The first permanent staff investigator was hired in October 1965; by the end of the fiscal year, seven full time investigators were on the staff.

Negro investigators and integrated teams went into almost every state and dealt with almost every type of employment problem without incident. On many occasions, investigators



would handle a race case involving seniority, then a sex case related to hire, then a national origin case involving promotion—all within a short distance of one another. It was not unusual this first year for investigators to be assigned as many as seven cases at once, with an average case taking up 80 hours working time.

One factor offset these disadvantages somewhat: since most of the 31 states to which the Commission defers for 60 or 120 days are the FEP states of the east, north and west, many of the first cases to be investigated originated in the Southern states,

which were relatively accessible to Washington-based investigators. An exception to this was investigation of sex discrimination. Because few existing FEP laws cover this aspect of employment bias, immediate jurisdiction caused these investigations to be spread throughout the country.

The first real problems were not geographical, but numerical. Early in the fiscal year, the Commission became swamped with complaint charges: 3,263 within the first six months, with 493 from North Carolina alone. By fiscal year's end, there were more than 700 charges from that state. Seventeen investigators were assigned to handle charges in North Carolina, and in less than a month 135 respondents' practices were investigated, based on 435 charges.

One of the Commission's earliest cases investigated concerned a Negro man charging a national retail chain store with racial discrimination based on paying Negroes less than whites for the same or equal job. The complainant, an employee with the company for many years, was earning $59 a week; a recently hired white man, doing similar work, was making $73 a week. The Negro requested a $10 raise, which would have been an improvement but would still not be equal pay; the request was refused and a complaint was filed. After reasonable cause was determined, the company offered the complainant his $10 raise. He was willing to accept the raise and withdraw the charge. The Commission urged him to continue with the proceedings, which he did and a $14 weekly raise was granted – equal pay for Negroes and whites. As a result of this case, the management of the chain's Southern division agreed to rewrite their hiring policy on an equitable basis, as well as to desegregate employee facilities.

Another first month investigation concerned seven women who filed complaints against a tobacco company in Virginia. They charged that during a slack period, they were laid off from their jobs, while men with less seniority were not. Before the investigation was completed, the company rehired them, giving them back pay for time lost.

A first year roundup shows that companies and unions, wherever located, have tended to cooperate with the Commission. There were cases, of course, in which the investigators were not met with wholehearted enthusiasm, and situations where community prejudices retarded fair employment by intimidating workers and restraining management from correcting discrimination. But of the hundreds of investigations during the first year, the Commission rarely had to resort to its powers of demand for access to records.

Employers, unions and employment agencies, in the main,

cooperated with the Commission. This willingness to work for fair solutions was not unexpected because it conforms to moral, legal and good business considerations.

CONCILIATIONS

The first year, 704 individual charges against 214 different respondents were recommended for conciliation. By June 30, 191 charges had gone through the conciliation process, with almost three-fifths resulting in successful conciliations.

Although the techniques of conciliation are far from new in the fight against job bias, the EEOC found that it must, to a great extent, make its own way. The combined experience of the FEP states using conciliation techniques and of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, was drawn upon by the Commission. However, the varying mandates and historical-geographical context of these experienced agencies were so distinct from those of the new EEOC that their experience was not entirely parallel to the requirements of Title VII and could be put to only limited use.

The Commission's conciliation program was based on a two-fold objective: firstly, to obtain prompt and appropriate relief for the charging party, and secondly, to seek a remedy for the underlying problem of discrimination. A charge of job discrimination is frequently a symptom of wide-spread disease. By its very nature, discrimination is often not personal but generalized, often not an act of individual malice but more an element of a pattern of customary conduct. This discrimination may be limited to a small department, or extend to an entire industry or region. EEOC conciliation approaches the individual complaint on the grounds that it may lead to improving the employment status for every individual who has felt the press of discrimination.

The foundation upon which the Commission's conciliation is based, as well as its starting point, is the finding that reasonable cause exists for the discrimination charge. The question of whether there has been discrimination or not is, then, not posed by the conciliator; he works on the solution of the specific problem of discrimination, as well as the underlying problems related to it.

Most of the cases handled in EEOC's first year point up patterns of discrimination toward workers already on the job. Of charges analyzed, only 30% dealt with hiring and firing complaints; most of the rest dealt with problems of promotion, training and apprenticeship, segregated facilities, wage differentials, seniority and benefits. Many major advances were made by the Com-

mission through conciliations of such cases.

A conciliation achieved between the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission—working with the Departments of Defense, Navy and Labor—provided a major breakthrough for many grievances of those already employed. It dealt with equalizing promotion policies, pay rates, apprenticeships, as well as desegregating facilities. This conciliation dealt with the base of discriminatory employment patterns in the South, where Negro employees traditionally have been hired as laborers, and whites as operators. A laborer found no opportunity to acquire the skills which would entitle him to be considered for promotion to operator, and so remained at a dead end. When employers needed skilled operators, they would hire them from the outside, which was not only unfair, but also economically destructive: employers were not training Negroes to develop an adequate bank of skilled labor to meet future demands.

The Newport News settlement hit at this very base of discrimination. As a result of it, Negroes were promoted from within to supervisory positions, to formerly all-white job classifications, and were given equal pay for their labors. And Negroes also gained the opportunity to learn and to advance, by being given equal opportunity to participate in apprenticeship programs. This training principle was spelled out in another conciliation in Birmingham, Alabama, where a national company gave Negroes the opportunity to make use of their plant seniority for promotion by participating in extensive training programs.

Another major conciliation worked out this year based on complaints of those already employed concerned discrimination in the seniority system at Kaiser Aluminum Company's Baton Rouge plant. The agreement established an equitable pattern of promotion from within. It called for using plant-wide seniority for promotions into operating departments from the utilityman classifications. The utilityman classification is the one through which a person moves to higher paid operating jobs in the department, so this new arrangement greatly benefited senior Negro employees who had been unable to advance in the past.

Another area in which EEOC conciliation succeeded notably was the desegregation of facilities, such as washrooms, locker and shower rooms and cafeterias. The Commission held that the removal of "White" and "Colored" signs was not necessarily sufficient, and that segregated facilities must be physically altered if this was necessary to end the fact of discrimination, as well as the symbolic effect.

Early in EEOC's conciliation activities, a major heavy industry employer in the South agreed to revise its toilet facilities by eliminating double rooms, removing unnecessary walls and general remodeling to achieve desegregation. This was accepted in many other conciliations, as well as the agreement to assign lockers on the basis of seniority or alphabetical order, and to remodel shower rooms and locker banks. Similar agreements were made to desegregate company cafeterias.

Although fewer than a quarter of the cases analyzed by the Commission this year related to hiring, major steps were taken to correct general hiring practices which contribute to job discrimination. In one such case, a retail chain corporation centralized its hiring authority, with corporation management taking over functions formerly exercised by individual store managers. In another, an employer ceased the practice of taking applications only when there were vacancies and began taking them at any time, holding them until positions were open. In several cases, conciliation set up agreements between employers and representatives of local minority organizations to promote referrals of minority group members for available jobs. Such was the story with a large retail store chain which established a "grievance procedure" with the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The chain agreed to notify the NAACP of job vacancies and, in return, the NAACP agreed to seek private adjustment of complaints of discrimination made against the chain before submitting them to the EEOC for action.

A special problem frequently encountered in conciliations of complaints concerning discriminatory hiring practices was that of an employer willing to comply with Title VII but fearful that he would lose a competitive advantage to those who continue to discriminate but who have not had charges filed against them. Though this fear is in no sense an excuse for past discrimination or a justification to continue denying fair employment, the Commission worked this year to smooth the path by seeking compliance with the law on the part of all competitors in all areas. A notable success was in bringing a number of New Orleans restaurants into compliance with Title VII. All members of this group voluntarily agreed to provide equal employment opportunity after a charge was filed with the EEOC against one of their number.

In cases involving discriminatory refusal to hire, the goal of conciliation was immediate hiring and back pay for wages lost. This was achieved in many of the hiring cases. In all EEOC's conciliations, a primary objective is to obtain immediate relief

for the charging parties in the particular circumstances of his case. In one case, this relief came in the form of part-time employment until a full-time position became vacant.

In the first year, only three cases were presented involving retaliation against complainants for invoking their rights under the law. All three were successfully conciliated. In the first case, the charging party filed a complaint of employment discrimination with the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, was laid off in May 1965 and not recalled until July 16, 1965, two weeks after the effective date of Title VII. The Commission proved that the layoff had been influenced by the man's opposition to practices declared unlawful under Title VII, because although the specific act occurred before enforcement of Title VII, damage continued after. The Company agreed to two weeks back pay, covering the period from July 2 to the date of the charging party's return to work.

In another case, six months after an EEOC conciliation agreement was made by an employer in Alabama, the worker who had acted as spokesman for the charging parties was discharged. Arbitration under a collective bargaining agreement in effect at the employer's plant was recommended, and after only one witness had testified, it was agreed that the charging party be immediately reinstated. In the third case involving the discharge of several charging parties, a Commission conciliator got their prompt reinstatement merely by a phone call to the company.

Each of the 111 cases successfully conciliated through June 30, 1966, is individually important: the first purpose of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was and is to protect job rights of aggrieved individuals. But even the most comprehensive successes of EEOC conciliation, such as the Newport News agreement, have singular significance in terms of promoting the cause of fair employment. With each case conciliated by the Commission, the next conciliation becomes a little easier, the way a little clearer and the goal a little surer.

Seminar Here Thursday

Merit Group Seeks Jobs for Negroes

BY JAMES S. LEWIS

The Chicago Merit Employment Committee will sponsor an all-day seminar Thursday to show industrialists it pays to hire, train and promote Negroes in today's short labor market.

John Gray, president of Hart Schaffner & Marx will preside at the meeting, the day he takes over as chairman of the committee.

that it's good business to employ and promote Negroes, not just to do the moral thing or to stay within the law."

"We realize that color has a stigma to many of being a badge of inferiority, but we have striking evidence to show the businessman that this is just not so," says Bushell.

"All of us are trying to do the same thing," deBurtis says of his committee and other groups working for better employment opportunities for Negroes and other minorities.

He explained how

Firm Hires Negroes, Helps to Train Them

"We sat around for a year saying how wonderful we were because we were willing to hire

after school to help students develop such abilities as how to think through a task, proper

two girls a school grad hired.

"It's never learned." He was dismiss sessions."

The comp 500 on the

"Discrimination is a luxury which business cannot afford."

W. P. Gullander, president, National Association of Manufacturers.

BUSINESS TELLS WHY

Affirmative action urged for employment problem

Efforts in the field of equal employment in the District must be shifted from one of non - discrimination to an all out positive affirmative action program.

Ben D. Segal, chairman of the Community Advisers on Equal Employment, said this Monday night at an employment rally of the Friendship House Neighborhood Development Program held at the Hine Junior High School.

Mr. Segal said that of the 16,000 unemployed persons in the District, 75 percent are colored, and to this must be added the eight out of 100 men who have become discouraged and have dropped out of the labor market.

• • •

"WHILE Washington is a city with beautiful buildings and homes and lovely parkways, we have thousands of our people living in deteriorated and dilapidated slum housing.

"Similarly, we have some outstanding university and research institutions and many fine private schools: but at the same time, we have an undernourished, inadequate and under - financed public school system without even one city junior college or university," he said.

"Tokenism in terms of hiring colored is fairly widespread among business firms, trade associations, apprenticeship training programs and trade unions headquartered in Washington.

"To illustrate what I mean by tokenism, let me cite some cases in the District of Columbia that have come to the attention of our Community Advisers:

"An electrical contractor with 438 employees with 7 colored —

"A national business organization with 519 employees and 22 colored —

"A national association with 243 employees, with 21 colored and 18 of them in the service category.

"A union operation with 189 employees, with 2 colored

"A hospital with over 700 employees, with 111 colored, but 80 of them in the service

"A national business association with 122 workers and 2 colored, both in the service category.

This is a rather sad story for a city with a 43 percent colored population. In too many other business, government and the apprenticeship training programs fail to recognize the need for adapting their recruiting and personnel programs to the needs of the day.

"They fail to recognize that we are now paying the price for our past denial of opportunity in education and training, for our racial discrimination and segregation with the result that so many of the unemployed are under-educated and under-trained.

Mr. Segal said that to answer the problems of unemployment, changes will have to be made. He suggested that the requirement of a high school diploma for a great many jobs will have to be dropped, because of the large number of school drop-outs.

He also noted that many of the people in the slums have frequent brushes with the law, and that to bar them from employment because of this, is to deny help to the people who need it the most.

The Affirmative Wholesale Approach

Increased Production

"While validating a new employment test using 46 of our assemblers, of which fewer than half were minority group employers, we found slightly more than half of the top producers were from the minority group."

John Mangle, *president, Cook Electric Co.*

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

The Commission's responsibility is not limited to the investigation and conciliation of job discrimination complaints. Authority was also given to devise and administer "educational," "promotional," and "technical assistance" programs to accomplish the purposes of Title VII. The objective: affirmative action by employers, labor unions and community organizations to provide minorities the opportunity to be equal.

An effective Technical Assistance program addresses itself to the problems posed by the residues of the decades of segregation and discrimination. Even though they are not consciously intended to discriminate, traditional attitudes and patterns of conduct in business, employment agencies and labor organizations may have the effect of barring minorities from employment opportunities as surely as overt discrimination itself. Affirmative action programs look not only to the elimination of such attitudes, but to the creation of a climate of welcome to minority workers. They seek to overcome the apathy and discouragement that resulted from the years of "white only" rebuffs at the plant gate.

The program utilizes the large measure of goodwill and cooperation for affirmative action in important segments of industry and labor. Some of the leading corporations have been pioneering in equal employment opportunity as they have in technology. They have helped develop a wide range of effective programs—broader recruitment sources, realistic revision of entry job qualifications, more liberal testing, training and promotion practices.

Affirmative action encourages employers to move beyond the letter of the law to its spirit. It does not wait for a complaint of discrimination before instituting employment reforms. It goes beyond the piecemeal adjustment of complaints to an attack on the underlying pattern of discrimination. This is the Commission's policy—whether a case arises from a complaint or through a request for technical assistance.

During the first year, the Office of Technical Assistance practiced preventative medicine, putting together prescriptions for business, industry and labor. Remedies for curing job discrimination were offered in programs designed to open new job opportunities through voluntary affirmative action. Aggressive recruiting, a new look at testing procedures and expanded training plans were some of the cures suggested.

Businessmen across the country were told that "Equal Employment Opportunity is Good Business" through distribution of 100,000 copies of a pamphlet and through meetings arranged by the EEOC. A pilot project held in Atlanta brought together more than 100 business and civil rights leaders representing ten Southern cities to hear about successful affirmative action programs. Spokesmen from nine of the cities pledged to establish community equal employment councils. At the close of the fiscal year, Birmingham and Atlanta already had their programs underway.

The Commission also worked out a policy statement during the year which encouraged and promoted the formation of community equal employment councils, and offered educational materials, programming and counseling.

Working with Chambers of Commerce, a series of meetings was set up in four Southern cities—New Orleans, Memphis, Atlanta and Charlotte—giving the EEOC a platform on which to tell the "hows" and "whys" of equal employment as related to good business. Based on the success of this tour, which attracted almost 1000 business and industry leaders, ten additional cities scheduled similar forums. By June 30 one had taken place, with 250 business and civil rights leaders meeting in Detroit.

Through the Office of Technical Assistance, the Commission's role as a consultant to both public and private groups grew throughout the year. This service assisted in planning a program for the National Council of Churches and its Consultation on Equal Opportunity in Employment held in St. Louis in April. It also helped set up equal job opportunity programs for more than 20 companies and unions, ten religious organizations, three state universities and four Negro teachers' groups. Another endeavor was an EEOC-sponsored meeting to define the discriminatory employment problems of Mexican Americans in the Southwest, to work out programs for their solution, and to establish a liaison between this group and their employers.

An important aspect of the Commission's first year work was a project to help stop bad hiring habits before they start by working out equal employment programs with companies setting up new plants. A printing company in Florida, for example, sought EEOC assistance in creating a training program for various skilled and semi-skilled jobs for a new plant. They were interested in programs to train not only minority groups, but also women for jobs such as pressmen, traditionally held by men. In another case, a Southern construction company asked for technical assistance in instituting a program to train 300 unskilled workers for skilled construction jobs. After meeting with EEOC staff the company

agreed to start the program by recruiting local minority youths as well as unskilled workers from within their own labor force.

The Commission's technical assistance also was sought during investigation and conciliation of complaints. An example of this occurred at an Alabama plant of a major heavy equipment manufacturer, where agreement was reached detailing procedures to provide the necessary training for advancing Negroes in the labor categories to higher paying and better jobs in the plant.

As the Commission's efforts toward bringing relief became more widely known, the number of complaints sharply increased —including complaints not covered by Title VII, such as employment discrimination based on age or on physical handicaps, as well as discrimination in housing and schools. To help clear up this misunderstanding, a pamphlet on "How To File a Complaint Against Unlawful Job Discrimination" was written in both English and Spanish. It explains the Commission's authority, outlines the areas covered, and contains an official Charge of Discrimination Form which may be filled out by a complainant and returned to the Commission for action. The pamphlet has subsequently been distributed to EEOC's field offices, to state and local FEP commissions, to educational, religious, civil rights and civic organizations concerned with equal employment problems.

STANDARD FORM 100

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

EMPLOYER INFORMATION REPORT EEO-1

Equal employment opportunity is the national policy. Congress, through Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the President, by Executive Order 11246, September 24, 1965, have given responsibility for assisted civic leaders effective. The information requested in this report will

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SAN JOSE, CALIF.
NEWS
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GUIDELINES

ON

Major Employers Must File Data On Minority Help

By BEN HAWKINS

More than 60,000 employers with 100 or more workers face a March 31st deadline for filing their first report on the number of minority group members and women in their work forces, Commerce Clearing House reminds.

This report requirement has been established by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the federal agency charged with enforcement of the equal job opportunity law.

Essentially, the EEOC reports are expected to furnish detailed information on minority employment patterns involving Negroes, Orientals, American Indians and Spanish Americans with the most crucial data consisting of sex and minority identification of employees in nine standard occupational categories, including apprentices and on-the-job trainees, CCH said.

Employers also have to identify their joint apprenticeship and hiring hall arrangements with unions, and disclose any racially segregated facilities.

While requiring a report, the Commission has not yet proposed any mandatory requirements for making and keeping records, CCH added. Information for the report may be obtained by a simple visual survey or by the maintenance of records at the employer's option.

However, CCH noted, the Commission has suggested if records are maintained, they be kept separate from regular personnel files so they will be accessible to those responsible for preparation and

Seeking Answers from Facts

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION

August 24, 1966

RESEARCH AND REPORTS

Navigational bearings for the Commission are provided by the Office of Research and Reports. This office points the way to target areas for action, and compiles facts with which the Commission can chart its program priorities. Such information comes from the Technical Studies Division, which established the Commission as a principal source of material on equal employment opportunity, and from the Reports Division which is responsible for the administration of the Commission's reporting program.

REPORTING SYSTEM

The employer reporting system, using Standard Form 100 (Employer Information Report EEO-1), was a major undertaking which resulted in a collection of the most comprehensive body of data in existence on the minority employment patterns in American business and industry. The Commission had a justifiable hesitancy about initiating additional paperwork for businessmen, unions and others subject to Title VII. A formula was sought for harmonizing the interests of these groups with its reporting and record keeping needs through a series of meetings – which included a two-day White House Conference on Equal Employment Opportunity. A threefold reporting program was proposed for employers, labor organizations and joint labor-management apprenticeship programs, with a minimum of record-keeping regulations.

The employer report was developed first as a joint reporting program with the Office of Federal Contract Compliance and with Plans for Progress. The new form replaced five other statistical forms formerly required by these offices (Standard Forms 38, 40, 40A and 41 for the OFCC and EEO-10 for Plans for Progress). A Joint Reporting Committee was also established which is administered primarily by EEOC.

EEO-1 was filed by more than 40,000 employers covered under the first year requirements of Title VII – employers of 100 or more persons and those covered by Executive Order 11246 – contractors and subcontractors of the Federal Government with 50 or more employees. In this report, each employer provided statistics on his entire workforce – including apprentices and on-the-job trainees – by occupation, sex and ethnic groups. The employer was also required to indicate if any employee facilities were operated on a racially separate basis. Visual surveys were suggested as the basis for race and ethnic identification, and

although record-keeping requirements were not adopted by the Commission, the making of records was authorized—but only where they were kept separate from the employee's regular personnel records.

The volume of reports received from employers—140,000 establishment reports from at least 40,000 employers—provided data on employment patterns of minority groups not available since the 1960 Census of Population. The reports reveal the employment practices of individual employers and patterns prevalent in particular areas, industries and occupational categories. By the end of the fiscal year, studies using statistics from the reports were already underway as a basis for Commission action programs in white collar employment in New York City, textile industry employment in the Carolinas, selected growth industries in Chicago, and utilization of Mexican American workers in 21 major cities in the Southwest.

As information continues to be analyzed from the reports, it will enable the Commission better to evaluate complaints and to set priorities for technical assistance and affirmative action programs. It will also be used as background material for EEOC policy decisions.

A proposed report form for joint apprenticeship committees was drafted in cooperation with the Department of Labor and in consultation with representatives of the Construction Industry Joint Conference. Reporting requirements are being developed for labor organizations which perform formal or informal job referral functions. Both reports were to be presented to the Budget Bureau for clearance later in the year.

RESEARCH CLEARINGHOUSE

In its first year, the Commission—seeking to become a major clearinghouse for research on equal employment opportunity—has become a source of stimulation and guidance on such research within the social science community. About 500 social scientists across the country agreed to contribute information to EEOC for an inventory of research projects related to equal employment opportunity. Further approval of the Commission's leading role in encouraging, directing and shaping research in this field was voiced at a conference held on Priorities in Job Opportunities Research, attended by prominent university and research institution social scientists.

A major accomplishment this fiscal year was obtaining outside funds for research projects. Work began in June on a summer project at Wayne State University, funded by the U. S. Office of Education, on a summary of the state of research in equal

employment opportunity. Another study under contract, analyzing data from EEO-1, is funded by the Labor Department's Office of Manpower Policy Evaluation and Research. In fiscal 1966, funds were also allocated by the Office of Economic Opportunity for a study to be done by Harvard University on the Negro in the labor market.

Throughout the year, meetings were held with representatives of government offices with responsibility for manpower planning and related policy to discuss ways of coordinating research activity. As a result of one such meeting with Commissioner Arthur Ross of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, a special study identifying industries of future expansion in the nation's economy was prepared by BLS at the request of EEOC.

The Office of Research and Reports performs an advisory and creative function in policy making and long range planning for the Commission. In this area, an intensive investigation was conducted on the relationship of testing and minority group employment. Based on EEOC studies, six preliminary guidelines were drawn up and adopted by the Commission. In May, a panel of professional psychologists, recommended by the American Psychological Association, helped the Commission prepare a more detailed policy statement on employment testing.

This resulted in testing guidelines, adopted after June 30, 1966 by the Commission, which are designed to help employers establish objective standards for selection screening and promotion of workers. The guidelines call for the use of a total, personnel assessment system, with special emphasis on job analysis, recruitment, screening and interviewing related to job requirements, and test selection on the basis of job-related criteria. They also call for retesting when those who have failed gain more experience or training.

Some of the other research studies undertaken this first year were a "Survey of Federal Programs for Job Training," "The Economic Status of the Negro Worker," and a similar analysis of the economic and social status of the Mexican Americans in the Southwest. Also, studies of protective legislation for women workers were made, as bases for Commission policy decisions.

information

from the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

1800 G St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20506

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE Phone: 343-5621

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has issued

...signed to inform Mexican-Americans

FACTS ABOUT TITLE VII

OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

New State Committee Endorses Job Equalit

Journal Madison Bureau

Madison, Wis.—The steering committee of the Wisconsin Equal Opportunity association Friday adopted a "statement of purpose" to promote employment of persons solely on merit.

The committee was formed at the organizational meeting of the association last month by representatives of labor, industry and business. Gov. Knowles had asked the group to examine the function of ... to combine to promote ... Voluntary Equal Opportunity council.

The committee's statement said that the resources of business, industry and labor should be found together statewide so that "the principle of equal opportunity ... would exist on an ... it is in a practical, profitable way advanced and more fully realized. ..."

The group also named ... committee and to develop ... specific objectives of the ... plan and ... to consider ... matters of the group.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EMPLOYMENT AND MANPOWER

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON

...PUBLIC WELFARE

Communication/ Interaction/ Grass Roots

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1968

EEOC Regional Offices

The Commission moved into the field with investigation, conciliation and technical assistance staff before the fiscal year was out. Each of 10 regional offices was planned as a microcosm to bring the Commission's functions closer to those it serves. In operation by the end of the first year were regional offices at Atlanta, Austin, Chicago and Cleveland. Scheduled for opening by the end of the summer were offices in Albuquerque, Kansas City, Los Angeles, New Orleans, New York and San Francisco.

addresses & states covered

NEW YORK/Suite 701, 346 Broadway, New York, New York 10013 ■ Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont.

ATLANTA/Room 417, 1775 Peachtree Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30309 ■ Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, Puerto Rico, South Carolina, Tennessee (Middle and East), Virginia.

CLEVELAND/Room 402, Engineers' Building, 1365 Ontario Street, Cleveland, Ohio 44114 ■ Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, West Virginia.

NEW ORLEANS/Masonic Temple Building, 333 St. Charles Avenue, New Orleans, Louisiana 70130 ■ Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee (West).

CHICAGO/Room 2402E, U.S. Court House, 219 So. Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois 60604 ■ Illinois, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wisconsin.

KANSAS CITY/Room 105, 911 Walnut Street, Kansas City, Missouri 64131 ■ Iowa, Kansas, Missouri Nebraska.

AUSTIN/Room G 115, 300 East 8th Street, Austin, Texas 78701 ■ Oklahoma, Texas

ALBUQUERQUE/7th Floor, Federal Office Building, 500 Gold Street, S.W., Albuquerque, New Mexico 87101 ■ Colorado, New Mexico

LOS ANGELES/Room 7703, Federal Office Building, 300 North Los Angeles Street, Los Angeles, California 90012 ■ Arizona, California (Southern), Hawaii, Utah.

SAN FRANCISCO/Room 128A, Appraisers' Building, 630 Sansome Street, San Francisco, California 94111 ■ Alaska, California (Northern), Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, Wyoming.

LIAISON

Telling the story of Title VII and the Commission is a responsibility shared by all the Commissioners and staff.

It is the particular assignment of the Liaison Office when it comes to inter-agency and federal-state communications. It is the particular assignment of the Congressional Relations office of EEOC in terms of keeping 100 Senators and 435 Congressmen advised of programs and needs of the EEOC. And as a matter of general public information the story of Title VII and the EEOC is a particular responsibility of the Public Affairs office.

Equal employment opportunity doesn't exist in a vacuum. Other vital issues such as housing, education, public accommodations, voting rights—all interact upon the problems of fair employment. Liaison with agencies concerned with these areas as they related to job opportunity was an important part of EEOC's first year effort.

During that time, several informal agreements were set up between EEOC and federal agencies, for the exchange of information and flow of ideas. The Commission, for example, in its effort to end discrimination in apprenticeship training programs, is working with the Labor Department's Bureau of Apprenticeship Training to develop more job opportunities for minority persons. Other agencies with which EEOC has established working arrangements this year are the Office of Economic Opportunity, the National Labor Relations Board, the Departments of Labor, Health, Education and Welfare, and Justice, the Civil Service Commission, the Civil Rights Commission, the Community Relations Service and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance.

On the state and local levels, the Office of Liaison acts as an information clearing house between the Commission and other agencies. It also keeps lines of communication open between the 30 states, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, and two cities with Fair Employment Practice laws, to which the Commission has agreed to defer action on discrimination complaints.

Title VII provides that the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission defer investigation of a case arising in a state with an enforceable fair employment practice law for a period of not less than 60 days and, in the case of a newly-established state Fair Employment Practice organization, for a period of not more than 120 days. The Commission has determined that it will defer

to the following states:

Alaska	Kansas	New Mexico
California	Kentucky	New York
Colorado	Maryland	Ohio
Connecticut	Massachusetts	Oregon
Delaware	Michigan	Pennsylvania
District of Columbia	Minnesota	Puerto Rico
	Missouri	Rhode Island
Hawaii	Nebraska	Utah
Illinois	Nevada	Washington
Indiana	New Hampshire	Wisconsin
Iowa	New Jersey	Wyoming

On cases involving sex discrimination, the Commission defers to the following:

District of Columbia	Massachusetts	New York
	Missouri	Utah
Hawaii	Nebraska	Wisconsin
Maryland		Wyoming

A Memorandum of Understanding outlining standard procedure agreements concerning job discrimination complaints and deferral by the Commission to state and local FEP agencies was submitted to these organizations. By the end of the fiscal year, nine agencies had adopted it.

The Commission does not defer to: Idaho, Maine, Montana and Vermont. These states provide criminal sanctions for discrimination but do not establish or authorize a state agency to administer the statute.

The Commission does not defer to: Arizona (first offense only), Oklahoma, Tennessee and West Virginia. These outlaw discrimination or declare it contrary to state policy, but provide for voluntary compliance only.

Eight state and three local agencies this year shared in a $165,000 grant provided by EEOC to Wayne State University, to study patterns of discrimination in employment in such diverse areas as building trades, trucking, retail trades and banking. The research was completed by the end of the fiscal year, with a final report to follow. Preliminary reports revealed that discrimination is widespread in many of the 553 companies studied.

In another effort to bring together state and local agencies, EEOC with the help of the Rhode Island Commission Against Discrimination, organized a regional Northeast conference in March. In June, the Commission participated in and arranged seminars for the five-day conference of the Commission for

Human Rights in Estes Park, Colorado.

The Congressional Relations office in this first year handled more than 1800 written and phone requests from Members of Congress, their staffs and committee personnel, and more than 2400 letters and informative materials of the Commission's operations were prepared specifically for them. Contact was also maintained with legislative and appropriations committees on matters relating to EEOC activities.

Working with Public Affairs, Congressional Relations has arranged for the appearance of Commissioners on radio and television programs of senators and congressmen. Also, numerous articles about the EEOC activites have appeared in Congressional newsletters.

Public Affairs issued 136 general press releases on EEOC actions, guidelines and statistics. Public Service spot announcements about the Commission were prepared and recorded by Public Affairs and distributed to all radio and television stations in the United States. Return advice from more than 10 per cent of these stations show that the spots were used more than 100,000 times at least.

A general Fact Pamphlet about Title VII and the Commission was prepared and distributed by Public Affairs to the general public, trade associations and press, radio and television. The pamphlet was revised and five newsletters were produced and distributed during the year.

WHERE THE MESSAGE WAS CARRIED

Commissioners and staff told the EEOC story in person this year through 578 speeches in 43 states and the District of Columbia. These speeches were given before federal, state and local agencies, as well as before civil rights, religious and business organizations, educational institutions and labor organizations.

Interpreting the Law

Title 29—LABOR

Chapter XIV—Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

PART 1601—PROCEDURAL REGULATIONS

Miscellaneous Amendments

By virtue of the authority vested in it by section 713(a) of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. 2000e–12(a), the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission hereby amends Part 1601 of its regulations as set forth below.

The purpose of this amendment is to describe more clearly the present Commission policy with respect to the filing and amendment of charges and to standardize the procedures for the investigation and disposition of charges and the reconsideration of Commission determinations with respect to charges.

Because the amendments herein adopted are procedural in nature the provisions of section 4 of the Administrative Procedure Act, 5 U.S.C. 1003, for public notice and delay in effective date are inapplicable, and these regulations shall become effective immediately.

1. The table of contents of Part 1601 is revised to read as follows:

Sec.
1601.1 Purpose.

1601.27 Notices to be posted.

Subpart B—Interpretations and Opinions by 8 Commission

1601.30 Request for interpretations or opinions; who may file.
1601.31 Contents of request; where to file.
1601.32 Issuance of interpretations or opinions.

Subpart C—Construction of Rules

1601.51 Rules to be liberally construed.

Subpart D—Amendment or Repeal of Rules

1601.52 Petitions.
1601.53 Action on Petitions.

AUTHORITY: The provisions of this Part 1601 are issued under sec. 713(a) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, 42 U.S.C. 2000e–12(a).

2. Section 1601.11 is revised to read as follows:

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(4) If known,

INVESTIGATION OF A CHARGE

§ 1601.14 By whom made.

The investigation of a charge shall be made by the Commission. During the course of such investigation, the Commission may utilize the services of State and local agencies which are charged with the administration of fair employment practice laws or appropriate Federal agencies. As part of such investigation, the charging party and the respondent shall each be offered an opportunity to submit a statement of its position or evidence with respect to the allegations. The statement and evidence of the respondent should be submitted within 10 days after receipt of the charge, but the Commission will endeavor to consider statements or evidence submitted thereafter by either party if received by the Commission prior to the determination

The Commission

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W. St Journal 3/11/66

Racial Discrimination Charged in Mississippi Against Planters Mfg.

Chemical Workers Union's Suit Asks Job-Evaluation Program, Wage Adjustment for Negroes

By a Wall Street Journal Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — The International Chemical Workers Union filed suit in Mississippi Federal court charging racial discrimination by Planters Manufacturing Co., Clarksdale, Miss.

Processing of Cases Involving St

The Commission receives a signi
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Discrimination because of Sex, p
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"The Commission doe

Pregnancy Raises New Job Proble

Employment Policies Facing Challe Under Discrimination Law

By SYLVIA PORTER

"Equality for the Pregnant Working Woman!" l
likely to become a new battle cry under the Civil
Law—a signal to all employers to review their policie
or become pre

New Policy Stated on Help-Wanted

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has revised its policy guidelines dealing with classified advertising.

The Commission's new policy on help-wanted ads, male and female, means:

1. That a disclaimer previously requested on help-wanted classified pages is no longer requested.

2. Ads for help may be placed in either column—male or female—and the advertiser is not requested to state specifically that both sexes may apply. However, if he asks for either sex specifically in his ad, the advertiser must be prepared to justify his preference as a bona fide occupational qualification.

The new policy, as it appears in the Federal Register, reads:

"Help wanted advertising may not

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GENERAL COUNSEL

The legal interpretation of Title VII during the first year of operation provided unusual challenges. Adopted after long and bitter debate in both houses of Congress, Title VII is the result of numerous changes and compromises; the statute is silent with respect to many questions which necessarily have arisen, and, indeed, were foreseen. The inclusion of sex as a prohibited ground of discrimination has given rise to an extraordinary number of novel and complex questions. Notwithstanding the lengthy debates which preceded the passage of Title VII, there was relatively little debate concerning the sex provision. The less than full articulation of legislative purpose increased the difficulty of statutory interpretation.

In interpreting Title VII, the Commission attempted to give full effect to the purposes of the law and, at the same time, to bring about results which are practical and meaningful for employers, labor unions and others subject to its provisions. This section sets forth the more significant of these interpretations and opinions.

COMPLAINTS OF DISCRIMINATION

Race

Relatively few legal questions were presented concerning the meaning of Title VII as it pertains to employment discrimination on racial grounds. The Commission announced that racially segregated local unions and lines of promotion constituted *per se* violations of Title VII. Help wanted advertising, in "colored" or "white" classification, or the designation or exclusion of a particular race in such ads was held to be unlawful. Physical segregation of employees by race in the use of working areas, rest rooms, locker facilities and recreational activities was deemed prohibited. Beyond these rather obvious violations, most charges alleging racial discrimination required evidentiary rather than legal evaluation.

Although the Commission determined that racially segregated seniority lists and lines of progression were prohibited by Title VII, the elimination of such practices presented problems of staggering complexity. Where wage rates are the same and seniority is based on length of service, merger of the separate lists on the basis of length of service, and elimination of the concept of "white" and "colored" jobs is all that is required. All employees move up or down as openings occur according to

plant-wide seniority and perform the job immediately above or below. Unfortunately, seniority practices are rarely this simple and, as the seniority system itself becomes more complex, a remedy which protects all employees, without regard to race, becomes more difficult to frame.

In one case,[1] Commission investigation found that the seniority systems in effect in a large complex of industrial plants were so complicated that company and union officials needed several days just to describe and diagram them. Because of this very complexity, substantially no progress could be made in eliminating the racially discriminatory features of the system because practically every proposal produced an inequitable result with respect to some employees.

Another problem presented by racially segregated seniority systems is the extent to which discrimination prior to the effective date of Title VII may or must be taken into account in assessing the validity of a particular plan now in effect. In one case before the Commission there was a combination of plant-wide and job seniority. Prior to the enactment of Title VII, there were certain jobs which Negro employees were not permitted to perform, and separate seniority lists were maintained. After the passage of Title VII, the seniority lists were combined on a job-length of service basis and the concept of "white" and "colored" jobs was in fact eliminated. White employees who were junior to Negro employees in terms of length of service nonetheless had accrued job seniority on certain higher paying jobs from which Negroes theretofore had been excluded. In the event of a vacancy in one of those jobs, the white employee would be entitled to it on the basis of job seniority notwithstanding a Negro employee's greater length of service. The white employee believes that his right to the job is "vested" because he has seniority on that job; the Negro employee asserts that had the job not been discriminatorily denied to him he would have superior job as well as length of service seniority. It is clear that cases such as this cannot be solved by general rule and, indeed, many such problems are in the process of conciliation at the time this report is written.

The Commission found that the practice of classified newspaper advertising by race in some places is still widespread. Title VII prohibits discriminatory advertising by an employer or employment agency [Section 704(b)]; the newspaper which accepts and prints the advertisement does not itself violate Title VII because it is beyond the jurisdiction of the Commission.

[1] Public disclosure of the names of charging parties or the contents of charges is prohibited by section 706(a); conciliation efforts are also confidential unless the parties consent to disclosure.

In some of these cases, productive results were obtained by calling to the attention of the advertiser and the paper the provisions of Title VII, bringing about a voluntary end to the practice. In other cases, Commissioner charges were filed directly against the offending advertiser.

Religion

Of the total number of charges filed with the Commission during the first year, relatively few alleged religious discrimination,[2] and of those most raised the question whether it is discrimination on religious grounds to discharge or to refuse to hire a person whose religious observances require that he take time off during the employer's regular work week. These complaints typically involve employees who regularly observe Saturday as the Sabbath or who observe certain special holidays during the year.

The Commission determined basically that Title VII requires an employer to accommodate to the reasonable religious needs of employees or prospective employees where such accommodation can be made without serious inconvenience to the normal conduct of business. The employer is free to establish a regular work week generally applicable to all employees, even though such schedule may not operate with uniformity in its effect upon the religious observances of all employees.

The Commission ruled that an employer may permit absences from work on religious holidays, with or without pay, but must treat all religions with substantial uniformity in this respect. Closing a business on one religious holiday does not of itself create an obligation to permit time off from work on another. However, the employer must, to the extent he can do so without serious inconvenience, accommodate to the needs of his employees in connection with such holiday observances.

An employer may prescribe a normal work week and foreseeable overtime requirements; absent an intention to discriminate, a job applicant or employee who accepted the job knowing or having reason to believe that such requirements would conflict with his religious obligations, is not entitled to demand any alteration in such requirements. On the other hand, where an employee has previously been employed on a schedule which does not conflict with his religious obligations and it becomes necessary to alter his work schedule, the employer should attempt to achieve an accommodation so as to avoid a conflict. In seeking such an accommodation, the employer need not, however, undergo serious inconvenience to the conduct of his

[2] See page 58, (statistical data concerning complaints of discrimination on the grounds of religion).

business or allocate unfavorable work assignments disproportionately to other employees.

National Origin

Very few charges were filed alleging discrimination on the grounds of national origin.[3] In response to an inquiry on the legality of advertising for "British-trained secretaries," the Commission determined that an employer may not advertise for personnel trained in a particular foreign country where it is the intent to express a preference for employees of a particular national origin; if, however, the preference for foreign trained personnel is grounded on the particular nature and quality of the foreign training rather than individuals of a particular national origin, a different conclusion might follow.

Sex

Conditions of Employment • The Commission determined early in its existence that Title VII prohibited the rather common practice of some employers of categorizing employment positions as "men's jobs" and "women's jobs" unless the exception for a bona fide occupational qualification was applicable. Frequently, such classifications were the result of nothing more than tradition, and in response to the numerous inquiries received, the Commission repeatedly ruled that an employer could not refuse to consider women for what were formerly regarded as "men's jobs" and vice versa.

According to Commission interpretations and rulings, employers could not, on the basis of sex, refuse to permit female employees to work overtime where overtime was available for male employees (assuming such work was not prohibited by state law), or refuse to give women supervisory training where such training was made available to male employees, or reduce the hours of work of female but not male employees, or provide different guaranteed hours of work per week for men and for women. Title VII prevents an employer from refusing to hire females on the ground that interstate travel is involved; it forbids an employer to refuse to promote a female employee because the superior job would require greater contact with males or subject her to working conditions which, in the employer's opinion, were "undesirable" or "unsuitable" for women.

In one case, involving an employment agency, separate fee schedules were maintained for male and female clients. The service rendered was the same in both cases and the Com-

[3] See page 58, (statistical data concerning charges of discrimination on the grounds of national origin). The Commission is aware the discrimination on the ground of national origin continues to be a serious problem and it does not infer the contrary from small number of cases which have been filed.

mission determined that such distinction violated Title VII.

Not infrequently, different treatment of male and female employees was required by collective bargaining agreements. It was determined that Title VII superseded such agreements whenever they required practices which were in violation of Title VII.

The inclusion of sex as a prohibited ground of discrimination has the effect of benefitting male as well as female employees. For example, where an employer voluntarily allowed rest periods for women but made no such provision for men, the Commission determined that Title VII required equal benefits to be afforded to employees of both sexes and, if the employer continued to allow rest periods for female employees, he must do the same for male employees.

Marital Status • Prior to the enactment of Title VII, it was a common practice for some employers to refuse to employ married women or to require that female employees resign upon becoming married. The Commission determined that, absent a similar rule for men (and none was discovered), Title VII prohibited this practice. Closely related was the policy of some employers to refuse to employ, or to require the resignation of, married females with children of pre-school age. The Commission ruled that this too was an invalid practice under Title VII.

The prohibition against sex discrimination is especially difficult to apply with respect to the female employee who becomes pregnant. In all other questions involving sex discrimination, the underlying principle is the essential equality of treatment for male and female employees. The pregnant female, however, has no analogous male counterpart and pregnancy necessarily must be treated uniquely. The Commission decided that to carry out the Congressional policy of providing truly equal employment opportunities, including career opportunities, for women, policies would have to be devised which afforded female employees reasonable job protection during periods of pregnancy.

The Commission does not have a comprehensive policy on pregnancy, but it has determined that an employer may not terminate the employment of a female employee who is compelled to cease work because of pregnancy without offering her the alternative of a leave of absence. However, where the position is one which cannot be left vacant or filled on a temporary basis without serious inconvenience to the conduct of business, the employer would be justified in replacing her. In such a case fairness might require that she receive some preferential consideration for future openings, but because of the many vari-

ables in such situations, it is difficult to state a rule of general application.

Seniority • The Commission ruled that separate seniority lines for male and female employees maintained on the basis of sex alone, contravene the statute. There is an additional complication arising from the difference generally between the physical capacities of men and of women. In the case of race, it is assumed that separate seniority lists and lines of promotion can be merged on some equitable basis, and that the ability of an individual employee to perform a particular job depends only on his skill and training. In the case of sex, however, some of the former "men's jobs" may require physical strength which is beyond the capacity of the average, or perhaps of all the female employees. However, the converse is rarely true. In industrial operations there are likely to be jobs which few, if any, women can perform, but there are rarely "women's jobs" which men can't perform.

In one case, the Commission approved a solution proposed by the company and union whereby those jobs which demanded extraordinary strength for which no woman applied were placed on one seniority list, composed of men only, and all other jobs were placed on a separate list composed of men and women. It was agreed that with respect to future hires, both lines of work would be open to all employees, without regard to sex.

Life, accident and health insurance; pension and retirement plans • Prior to the enactment of Title VII it was a common practice on the part of many employers to provide smaller benefits to female employees under life insurance policies and accident and health insurance plans. The Commission determined that such differences violate Title VII, and that employers are required to provide the same life insurance or medical benefits to female as well as male employees. Thus, an employer who paid all of the costs of a family medical coverage plan for male employees but required female employees to pay part of the cost of their plan violated Title VII. Similarly, a difference in amount of life insurance coverage or the provision of major medical coverage to male employees only was held to violate Title VII. Where the spouses or families of male employees are covered by health benefit plans, similar coverage must be afforded to the spouses or families of female employees. In order to avoid double coverage, an employee may limit family coverage to those employees, either male or female, who are the principal breadwinners of family units.

The Commission determined that an employer does not com-

mit an unlawful employment practice by contributing to or negotiating accident insurance programs which provide different benefits for male and female employees based upon reasonable actuarial considerations, as long as the cost to the employer is the same for both groups of employees. Similarly, no violation occurs when male and female employees receive the same benefits but the employer's contribution to the plan differs according to the sex of the employee.

A related question is the difference in treatment between male and female employees under pension and retirement plans. Although a retirement program which requires female employees to retire at age 62 and male employees at age 65 would appear to violate Title VII, the Commission had not so ruled by June 30, 1966. The retirement plan problem is proving exceedingly complex, in large part because of the variety of methods in which pension plans are funded and the fact that, under plans in existence at the time Title VII was enacted, contractual rights have arisen which cannot be disturbed without producing inequitable results.

Classified advertising • Title VII makes it unlawful for an employer or employment agency to cause to be published advertising relating to employment which indicates any preference, limitation, specification, or discrimination, based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, except where there is a bona fide occupational qualification for employment [Section 704(b)]. This section raised doubt about the legality of the widespread practice of employers and employment agencies in advertising job openings in newspapers under "help-wanted-male" and "help-wanted-female" columns. After the effective date of Title VII, some advertisers voluntarily abandoned use of the separate columns and placed their ads in a single "help-wanted-male and female" column. It was represented to the Commission that readership and response to such advertising fell off markedly and many of those employers returned to the use of separate "male" and "female" headings. In an effort to accommodate these advertisers, who were to some extent bound by the habits of their readers, and the larger metropolitan newspapers, some of whom run many thousands of advertisements of job openings in weekend editions, the Commission, after several revisions, arrived at a guideline. This stated that as long as a preference for male or female applicants was not expressly stated, the use of separately headed columns would not be construed to be an indication of a preference within the meaning of Title VII. This ruling by the Commission represented an attempt to harmonize existing advertising practices with the re-

quirements of Title VII. As in the case of other Commission determinations, it is subject to periodic review.

State protective legislation • One of the most difficult legal questions the Commission faced during its first year of operation was the effect of Title VII on legislation, in effect in nearly all states, which was intended or designed to afford protection to female employees. These laws fall into three general categories: (1) legislation providing for specific and presumably equalizing benefits, such as minimum wage laws applicable to female employees only, the requirement that female employees be paid at an overtime rate for overtime work and the requirement that female employees be paid at the same rate as male employees for substantially similar work; (2) legislation imposing limitations on the conditions under which females could be employed, such as the prohibition of employment in certain occupations or during certain hours of the night, outright limitation on the number of hours per day or per week which a female employee could work and limitations on the number of pounds which a female employee could be required to lift or carry, ranging from 15 to 35 pounds; (3) legislation imposing special conditions for the employment of female workers, such as a provision of lounge and cafeteria facilities for female employees and emergency transportation for female employees who work during the night hours.

Most of these laws require the employer to treat the female employee differently than the male employee; Title VII, on the other hand, requires the employer as a general proposition to treat all employees in the same way. At first glance Title VII appears to have the effect of superseding all state protective legislation. However, there is nothing in the legislative history of Title VII to indicate that Congress intended any such far-reaching result.

In its guidelines, the Commission observed that some state legislation is irrelevant to the present day needs of women and that much of it is capable, in particular applications, of denying effective equality of opportunity. The Commission invited Congress and state legislatures to consider and clarify the problem. In the interim, the Commission indicated that it would attempt to distinguish case-by-case between those state laws and regulations which are truly protective and those "the clear effect [of which] in current circumstances is not to protect women but to subject them to discrimination."

Numerous complaints of sex discrimination were filed with the Commission, some specifically alleging denial of employment or promotion opportunities because of State law require-

ments. In a typical case, a female employee alleged that she was denied a promotional opportunity because the job to which she aspired regularly required overtime work and the applicable State law prohibited female employees from working more than 8 hours per day or 40 hours per week. Under the statute in question, no exemption or exception was available. This type of charge raises the fundamental question—does a law which prohibits a female employee from working more than 8 hours a day "protect" her, or does it act as an effective bar to advancement and thereby "discriminate" against her? Some Commissioners found reasonable cause to believe that unfair employment practices were committed in such cases. As of the end of the first year, none had gone through the conciliation process or had been otherwise resolved. As a practical matter, the ultimate resolution of this question will have to be made judicially or by legislative action.[4]

State laws which provide for specific benefits for females are less troublesome. A state law which provides for a minimum wage for women, when read in conjunction with Title VII, has the effect of imposing the same requirement for men and an employer may not refuse to employ women in order to avoid paying them the minimum wage. Similarly, where state law requires rest periods for women, Title VII has the effect of imposing the same condition for male employees. Where the employer imposes standards or conditions, not required by state law, for the benefit of female employees, a similar result is legally compelled.

Bona fide occupational qualification exception • Title VII permits an exception to the non-discrimination requirement where there is a "bona fide occupational qualification."[5]

The Commission has interpreted the exception narrowly and issued guidelines which announced that the bona fide occupational exception qualification would not apply where the refusal to hire a woman because of sex was based on assumptions as to the employment characteristics of women in general (e.g.,

[4] On August 19, 1966, in a case involving a California law establishing maximum hours of labor for women the Commission ruled that where an employer could not provide equal employment opportunity for women without violating state law, the Commission would not dispose of the case on the merits but would advise the charging party of her right to test the validity of the State law by suit in Federal court. The charging party has since brought suit, and the case is pending.

[5] Although religion, sex and national origin may constitute a bona fide occupational qualification, it should be noted that race is never an allowable basis for employment. Section 703(e) provides in part that "Notwithstanding any other provisions of this title . . . it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for an employer to hire and employ employees. for an employment agency to classify or refer . . . any individual, for a labor organization to classify its membership . . . on the basis of his religion, sex or national origin in those certain instances where religion, sex or national origin is a bona fide occupational qualification reasonably necessary to the normal operation of that particular business or enterprise . . ."

higher turnover rate) or on stereotyped characterizations of the sexes (e.g. greater manual dexterity on the part of women, more aggressive salesmanship on the part of men), or because of preference of co-workers, the employer, clients and customers or, finally, on the fact that the employer might have to provide separate facilities for persons of the opposite sex, except where the expense would be clearly unreasonable. Where necessary for purposes of authenticity or genuineness, the Commission announced it would consider sex to be a bona fide occupational qualification, as in the case of actors or actresses and apparel models. It was also determined that the exception applied in businesses devoted primarily to entertainment.

In a recent inquiry, an exception in favor of males only was sought for the job of X-ray technician in a hospital, on the ground that emergency night assignments involved the transfer of patients from stretchers to X-ray tables without assistance. The Commission ruled that these factors did not entitle the employers to employ males only; the employer, of course, was entitled to insist that any applicant, male or female, be qualified to perform the job in question. Similar rulings were made with respect to the position of meat weigher and wrapper and a variety of jobs in the technical and production field. Similar rulings were made in favor of men with respect to clerical positions and other occupations previously staffed primarily with female employees.

One question under consideration by the Commission involves airline stewardesses or cabin-flight attendants. Although men unquestionably can perform the duties of a cabin-flight attendant, some parties in interest contend that women are more qualified, on a variety of grounds, and that sex should be a bona fide occupational qualification. This question is pending before the Commission.

JURISDICTION UNDER TITLE VII

Number of employees

During the first effective year, Title VII applied to employers of 100 or more employees; that number decreases by 25 in each succeeding year until, commencing on July 2, 1968, it applies to employers having 25 or more employees [Section 701(b)].

The Commission determined that where a single employer conducted business at more than one location, the total number of employees should be included to determine jurisdiction under Title VII, even though there might be less than 100 employees at any single location. In determining coverage in the case of parent corporations with wholly or partially-owned subsidiaries,

other corporate structures and operations under franchise agreements, the Commission ruled that the total number of employees would be aggregated to determine coverage under Title VII, if the affiliated corporations could reasonably be regarded as an integrated enterprise on the basis of interrelation of operations, common management or ownership, and particularly, centralized control of labor relations. Thus, a franchisor who retains power to fix qualifications for employees, determine standards of conduct and service and prescribe the type of uniforms to be worn, etc., would be considered an "employer" within the meaning of Title VII; on the other hand, a franchisor who merely permitted the use of a name, standard, colors, etc., but who allowed the franchisee to determine his own hiring policies, do his own buying and selling, would not be considered an "employer" and the franchisee would be covered by Title VII, or not, depending on whether he had more than 100 employees.

In order to be covered by Title VII, the employer must have had the requisite number of employees "for each working day in each of twenty or more calendar weeks in the current or preceding calendar year" [Section 701(b)]. In applying this test the Commission counts as employees all those persons on the payroll and regularly employed, not merely those at work on any given day. Thus, in the case of an enterprise such as a restaurant, which operates 7 days a week, but where no employee works more than 5 days a week, the Commission determined that the number of employees is the number who work regularly for any part of the 7-day week. The legislative history of the 20-week test suggests that it was aimed at the problem of seasonal employment and the Commission's interpretation is consistent with the legislative purpose. This means, in effect, that part time as well as full time employees are counted in determining the total number of employees working for an employer.[6]

Section 701(b) also defines an employer as "a person engaged in an industry affecting commerce." This definition has frequently been described as representing an exercise of Congress' regulatory power to "the fullest jurisdictional breadth constitutionally permissible under the commerce clause," *NLRB* v. *Reliance Fuel Corporation.* 371 U.S. 224, 226, 83 S. Ct. 312, 313 (1963); *NLRB v. National Survey Service, Inc.,* 361 F. 2D 199, 203 (C.A.7, 1966). In reply to inquiries the Commission has determined that law firms and employers of agricul-

[6] This position is inconsistent with a previous ruling set forth in the second digest of legal interpretations, October 9, 1965 through December 31, 1965, page 1, item (B)(1).

tural labor are covered by Title VII, and on the strength of the judicial decisions cited, the Commission undertakes to give Title VII its broadest possible application.

Employers engaged in foreign operations

Title VII does "not apply to an employer with respect to the employment of aliens outside any State, . . ." [Section 702]. This provision gave rise to several inquiries concerning the application of Title VII to foreign corporations operating in the United States. The Commission determined that where a corporation with home offices in, say, Canada, conducted operations in the United States, Title VII would apply with respect to U. S. citizens and aliens who work in the United States, provided there were 100 or more such employees.

Title VII was held to apply to domestic and foreign corporations or employers who conducted hiring activities in the United States for services within or without the country.

Activities exempt or excepted from coverage of Title VII

The Commission has no jurisdiction over the employment practices of federal departments and agencies, state governments and sub-divisions of state governments, such as school boards, police and fire departments, state or local public educational institutions and the like [Section 701(b)].

Title VII does not apply to the hiring practices of educational institutions "with respect to the employment of individuals to perform work connected with the educational activities of such institutions," nor to preferential practices based on religion followed by religious corporations with respect to the employment of individuals "to perform work connected with the carrying on by such corporations . . . of its religious activities," section 702, or by sectarian institutions of learning, section 703(e). In interpreting section 702, the Commission drew a distinction between employees of educational institutions who were concerned with educational work, and those employees who were not, holding that Title VII applied to the latter but not the former. For example, professors and instructors at a college or university would be exempt from the application of Title VII, when a school dietician or engineer would not.

The Commission determined that private hospitals employing more than 100 employees were subject to the operation of Title VII. The Commission noted that as a general rule religiously supported hospitals do not engage in religious activities and that, with few exceptions, the hiring practices of such hospitals are subject to Title VII.

PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS

Who may file a charge; the "aggrieved" person

Section 706(a) provides for the filing of a written charge by the "person claiming to be aggrieved." This provision was interpreted to mean that the victim of the alleged discrimination must file the charge himself and the Commission declined to entertain charges filed by persons who knew of, but were not directly affected by, alleged discriminatory practices.

In one case, an employee alleged that he was being harassed by his employer because the employee's wife was of a different nationality. The Commission ruled that the employee was an "aggrieved" person within the meaning of section 706(a) because a difference in race or nationality of the employee's wife necessarily constituted a distinction based on the employee's race or nationality.

Several cases raised the question whether or not a labor union could be an aggrieved person for the purpose of filing charges with the Commission on behalf of members of the union. Reversing an initial decision to the contrary, the Commission determined that a labor union could file charges on behalf of its members in at least two situations. First, where the labor union would have the right to attack the discrimination through a suit in federal court to enforce a collective bargaining agreement pursuant to section 301 of the Labor-Management Relations Act, 29 U.S.C. § 185, the union may file charges with the Commission. Second, where no agreement is in effect, but the union is the certified collective bargaining agent, it may also file charges with the Commission where discrimination is involved. The Commission reasoned that in such cases the union's duty of fair representation forbids neutrality in the face of discrimination and compels the union to exert its bargaining efforts in behalf of the victims of discrimination.[7]

The Charge

Charges Filed by Commissioners • In addition to the aggrieved party, a member of the Commission may file a charge where he has reasonable cause to believe that a violation of Title VII has occurred [Section 706(a)]. Such charges are used to enable the Commission to take the initiative in dealing with employment discrimination where individual charges have not been filed and also to protect charging parties where there is a danger of reprisal or intimidation if the charging party were

[7] The ruling of the General Counsel was upheld by a United States District Court in *International Chemical Workers Union* v. *Planters Manufacturing Co.*, (N.D. Miss. 9/30/66).

to file in his own name.

"Reasonable cause" for a Commissioner's charge is interpreted to mean any set of facts which would lead a Commissioner, in the exercise of prudent discretion or judgment, to believe that an unfair employment practice may have been committed.

Such information can be obtained from any reliable source—interested persons or organizations who have knowledge of employment discrimination, admissions by the respondent, and violations observed during the course of investigating a charge filed by an individual.

Where a Commissioner files a charge, he is thereafter disqualified from participating in the determination of whether there is reasonable cause to believe that the charge is true. [Procedural Regulations, Section 1601.19.]

Where a Commissioner's charge has been filed, it receives no priority over individual charges for purposes of investigation and conciliation unless the Commissioner filing the charge specifically requests that such priority be given.

Form of charge • No particular form of charge is required, although the Commission has prepared and issued a form which may be used if the charging party so desires. The statute requires that a charge be "in writing under oath." [Section 706(a)] The requirement of an oath has frequently proved burdensome to charging parties, either because of inaccessibility of a notary public or the expense involved. The Commission determined that it would accept unsworn statements as properly filed but would undertake to have them sworn to by the charging party at the outset of the investigation.

Timeliness of charges • A charge must be filed with the Commission within 90 days after the alleged unlawful employment practice has occurred in states which have no fair employment practices law [Section 706(b)] and within 210 days in states in which the charging party is required first to proceed before a state or local agency. The Commission will not entertain charges not filed within such periods.

For purposes of jurisdiction, a distinction is made between isolated and continuing violations. An isolated violation is one which is completed when it has occurred. Examples of such violations are refusals to hire, refusals to promote, discharges, and other acts of a noncontinuing nature. If such charges are to be brought to the Commission's attention, charges must be filed within the statutory time period. Continuing violations are those which are recommitted each day, such as the maintenance

of discriminatory seniority systems, pay scales, or segregated rest rooms or other facilities. In such cases, charges may be filed with the Commission at any time.

Charges which are unsworn, or which contain errors or omit minor but material facts and other such technical deficiencies can be corrected by amending the charge. The effective date of an amendment which clarifies or amplifies an existing charge, but does not materially alter it or constitute a "new" charge is the date of the original charge. An amendment which contains allegations which differ substantially from the original charge or set forth additional violations must be made within 90 or 210 days of the date of the occurrence of the alleged additional violation.

The occurrence of an unlawful employment practice triggers a number of time periods under Title VII. As previously indicated, a charge must be filed within 90 or 210 days of the date of the alleged unfair employment practice. When a charge is filed with the Commission, the Commission has 60 days from the date of receipt of the charge to conduct an investigation, determine reasonable cause and, if cause is found, to undertake to obtain voluntary compliance. If the Commission is unable to obtain voluntary compliance within this time, the Commission is obliged to notify the charging party who may, within 30 days thereafter, file a civil action in an appropriate United States District Court [Section 706(e)]. In giving effect to these time periods, the Commission treats the charge as "filed" on the day that it is received in the mail room of the Commission, if the charge is filed by mail, or on the day it is hand delivered to the offices of the Commission, where that method of filing is used.

Because of delays in staffing, shortages of investigatory personnel, and an unexpectedly large volume of complaints, strict adherence to the 60-day timetable for processing cases proved impossible from the start. This led to a variety of legal problems, since the statute is silent as to the consequences of a failure to process a case within the time allowed. The Commission took the position that it may continue to process cases after the 60-day period expires, that a charging party's right to sue may not be defeated by the failure to complete processing within that period, and that he may sue whether or not the Commission found reasonable cause. [*Hall v. Werthan Bag Corp.*, 251 F. Supp. 184 (M. D. Tenn. 1966)].[7*]

[7*] In October, 1966, the Commission amended its regulations, 29 C.F.R.1601.25a, 31 FR 14255, to provide that where cases have not been completely processed within the 60-day period the Commission will no longer issue notice to the charging party of his right to bring suit prior to the efforts at conciliation unless either of the parties demands earlier notice.

Demands for access to evidence

In the investigation of a charge filed pursuant to Title VII, "The Commission or its designated representative shall at all reasonable times have access to... and the right to copy any evidence of any person being investigated . . ." [Section 709(a)]. If a respondent named in a charge refuses to comply with a written demand of the Commission for permission to examine evidence, the Commission is authorized to seek an order from an appropriate United States District Court compelling compliance. [Section 710(b)].

It has been the practice of the Commission, however, not to serve a formal demand at the initial contact with a respondent, but only where there has been a refusal to cooperate with the investigation. Although several hundred investigations were conducted during the first year of operation under Title VII, it was necessary to serve fewer than 10 demands on respondents. In no case was access to evidence denied after service of a demand and it was unnecessary for the Commission to seek judicial process in any case.

Private Civil Actions

Class actions • Where the Commission is unable to obtain voluntary compliance with the provisions of Title VII, the aggrieved person may bring a civil action against the respondent in an appropriate federal district court [Section 706(e)]. To the knowledge of the Commission, at least 29 actions were filed pursuant to this section by the close of the first year.

The Commission makes available its files to the charging party or his attorney for the limited purpose of permitting the determination of whether or not a suit should be filed and, if so, for purposes of drawing up a complaint. Once an action has been commenced, the Commission's files are made available to the respondent or his attorney for the purpose of determining defenses and drafting an answer to the complaint.

A charging party can both sue in his own right and on behalf of those similarly situated. The Commission took the position that a charging party had such right, pursuant to rule 23(a) of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure and this position was judicially adopted in *Hall* v. *Werthan Bag Corporation*, 251 F. Supp. 184 (M. D. Tenn. 1966). The court noted that although injunctive relief would be appropriate in a class action, ancillary relief personal to the plaintiff, such as back pay, would be limited to those persons who had filed charges with the Commission.

Confidentiality and public disclosure

Title VII prohibits public disclosure of the contents of a charge or of the results of an investigation prior to the institution of court proceeding [Sections 706(a), 709(e)]. Furthermore, to encourage frankness in conciliation, it also prohibits such disclosure at any time of things said or done as part of the conciliation process without the consent of the parties [Section 706(a)]. Criminal penalties are provided for violation of these prohibitions by Commission personnel.

The Commission interprets the confidentially provisions regarding charges and investigations as bans against disclosure to the general public and not against disclosures to public agencies or to private parties with a legitimate interest in the proceeding [Commission Procedural Regulation, 29 C.F.R. 1601.20]. Under practices adopted by the Commission, disclosure of any relevant information to the charging party is permissible, as well as disclosure to his attorney of record, who is entitled, upon entering his appearance, to be advised of the status of the case, to receive copies of all correspondence with the charging party and to participate in the conciliation process where appropriate. The Commission does not advise the respondent of the substance of the charge until it has been served upon him, unless prior to that time the charging party has made public disclosure of the fact that a charge has been filed.

Where the respondent is a local union, the international union with which it is affiliated is provided with a copy of the charge; similar copies are given to regional or home offices and to the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Division and to the Construction Industry Joint Council, when the respondent is affiliated with one of those bodies. Copies of charges are provided routinely in such cases unless the charging party requests otherwise.

While disclosure of information in Commission files to state Fair Employment Practice agencies and to Federal agencies is not deemed to be within the prohibitions of Title VII, the Commission retains discretion with respect to such disclosures.

Deferral pending state agency action

Where the alleged unlawful employment practice occurs in a state or political subdivision of a state which has a law prohibiting the practice and which establishes a state or local authority to grant or seek relief, Title VII requires that that authority receive an opportunity to process the charge before the procedures of the Commission may be invoked. Therefore, no charge may be filed with the Commission by the person ag-

grieved until the expiration of 60 days from the commencement of state proceedings or within 30 days of the termination of the state proceedings, whichever is earlier [Section 706(b)].[8] If charges are submitted to the Commission which properly belong before a state agency, the Commission forwards the charge to the state agency by registered mail and the 60-day period commences to run when the charge is mailed. If the charge is filed by the charging party directly with the state commission, the 60-day period is computed from the date of such filing.

When the 60-day period has expired, the Commission undertakes to contact the charging party to ascertain whether or not he wishes the Commission to assume jurisdiction of the charge and the Commission will do so if the charging party so indicates. The Commission has ruled that it will proceed with a case when the 60-day period has expired even though the charging party failed to perfect the charge or to cooperate with the state agency. Where the charging party is satisfied with the state agency's disposition, the Commission will not proceed further with the case.

MISCELLANEOUS LEGAL QUESTIONS

Notice Required to be Posted

Section 711(a) requires those covered by Title VII to post in a conspicuous place a Commission notice setting forth the pertinent provisions of Title VII. The Commission prepared a notice pursuant to this section, headed "Equal Employment Opportunity is Now a National Policy," setting forth the pertinent provisions of the law, and instructing persons who believe that they have been discriminated against to contact the Commission.

During the months following the effective date of Title VII numerous inquiries were received concerning the poster. The Commission determined that the official poster of the Commission had to be displayed at a place or places where it would readily be seen by employees, applicants for employment, and union members; that the official EEOC poster had to be displayed and that it could not be reduced in size or a substitute used. During the first year, covered employers who were also government contractors were required to post both the Commission poster and one prepared by the then President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity; however, for the year commencing July 2, 1966, a joint poster was approved by the Commission and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance, successor to the President's Committee, so that, after July 2,

[8] Section 706(b). This section provides that the 60-day period shall be extended to 120 days during the first year after the effective date of a state or local law.

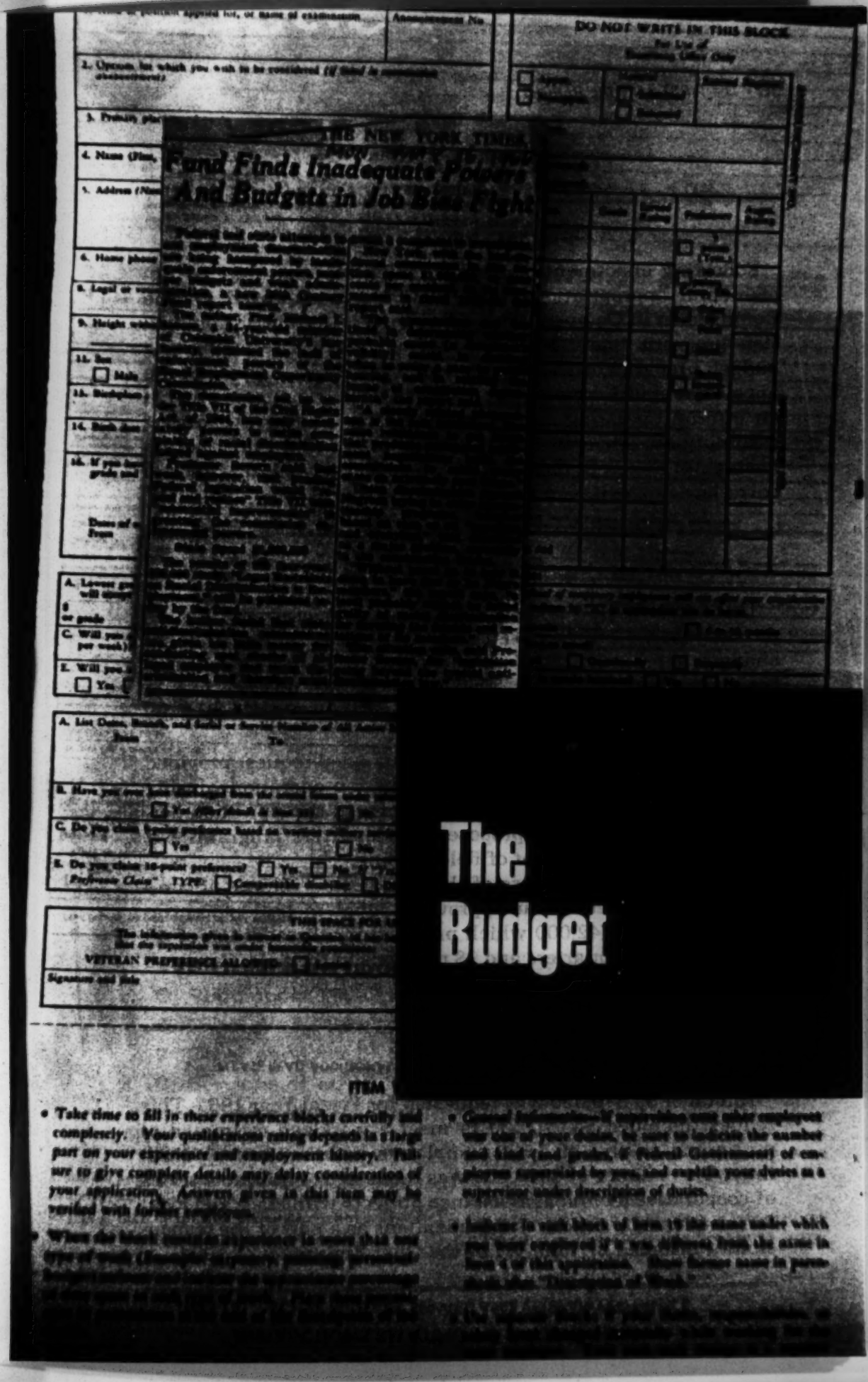
1966, government contractors were to be relieved from having to post two related notices.

Pre-employment inquiries on applications for employment

After the effective date of Title VII, numerous inquiries were received concerning the legality of asking an applicant's race, sex and other matters which might constitute indications of race, religion, sex or national origin. The Commission determined that Title VII did not prohibit the making of such inquiries in connection with the employment process. It indicated, however, that it looked with disfavor on such inquiries (other than inquiries as to sex which are considered unobjectionable when made in good faith for a non-discriminatory purpose) because historically such information has been frequently used to discriminate on racial or other prohibited grounds. The Commission stated that although such inquiries would not constitute violations of Title VII *per se*, in charges of racial discrimination, the fact that such questions were asked would be considered, along with other elements, in determining whether or not other unlawful employment practices had been committed.

Role of Office of General Counsel

The General Counsel's office is responsible for reviewing and analyzing cases in which conciliation has been unsuccessful and, where there is a pattern or practice of resistance to the full enjoyment of rights secured by Title VII, it recommends to the Commission that such cases be referred to the Attorney General of the United States for possible suit under Section 707. Eleven such cases were referred during the course of the year. In addition, the Commission intervened in one private action brought pursuant to Section 706(e) and filed a brief as *amicus curiae* in another such case.


THE NEW YORK TIMES
Fund Finds Inadequate Powers
And Budgets in Job Bias Fight
DO NOT WRITE IN THIS BLOCK
The Budget

FISCAL YEAR 1965

Following enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, a supplemental appropriation of $2,250,000 was approved for the Commission in October 1964 to cover the initiation of Commission program operations in fiscal year 1965. The supporting budget, prepared by the Department of Labor in advance of the appointment of Commission members, was designed to provide an interim operating framework based on tentative planning assumptions. Since staffing was not undertaken until the following June, less than $400,000 was spent from 1965 funds to cover basic expenses of organization.

FISCAL YEAR 1966

The original 1966 budget was also developed prior to Commission activation. To cover basic staffing and organizational changes approved after the appointment of Commission members, an amended budget was submitted to Congress in late June. Required changes were contained within the originally requested total of $3,200,000.

Final Congressional action on the amended request provided funds of $2,750,000 to finance Commission operations during the first full year of operation. The approved appropriation permitted the activation of proposed headquarters programs but necessitated a curtailment of field staffing.

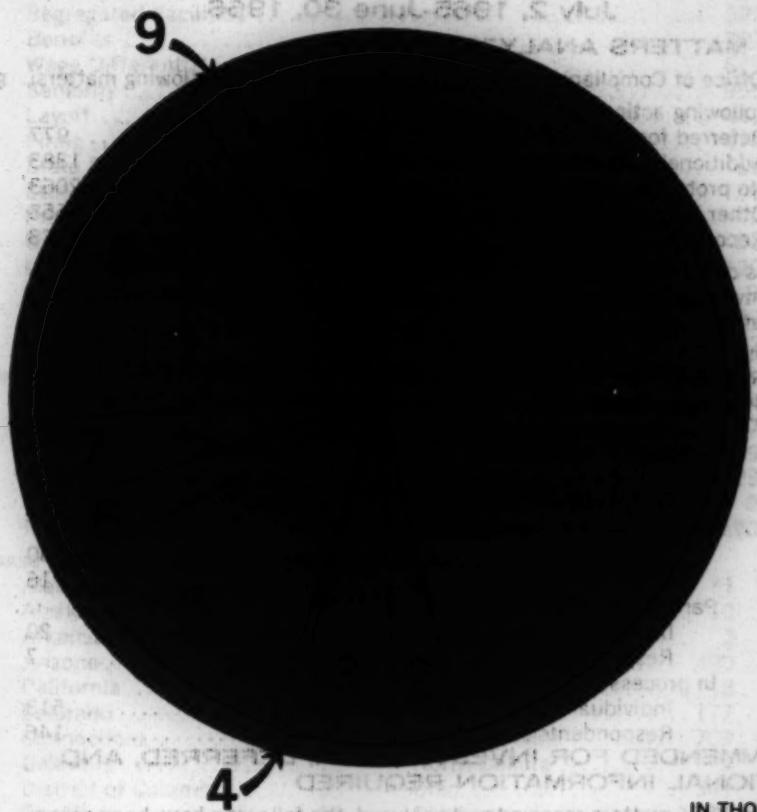
In January, 1966 because of the unexpected volume of complaints, the Budget Bureau approved a supplemental appropriation request of $742,000 which provided for the addition of 45 positions in headquarters and 98 positions in the field. Congress approved this request in the amount of $500,000.

FISCAL YEAR 1967

A total of $5,870,000 was requested for Fiscal Year 1967. This request included $4,970,000 to meet a workload estimated at an annual volume of 7,600 complaints within statutory deadlines. The balance of $900,000 was requested to initiate a series of cooperative technical assistance projects with state and local fair employment practices organizations as a part of the responsibility assigned by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

WHERE THE MONEY WENT IN FISCAL 1966

Analysis of Fiscal Year 1966 Obligations



		IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS
1	Personnel compensation	$1,410
2	Personnel benefits	94
3	Travel	158
4	Transportation of things	5
5	Rent, communications and utilities	367
6	Printing and Reproduction	106
7	Other services	124
8	Services of other agencies	529
9	Supplies and Materials	67
10	Equipment	238
	Total obligations	3,098
	Unobligated balance	152
	Total appropriation	$3,250

ANALYSIS OF CHARGES

July 2, 1965-June 30, 1966

TOTAL MATTERS ANALYZED

The Office of Compliance has received and analyzed the following matters: **8854**

The following action has been taken (individual charges):

- Deferred for state or local FEPC action 977
- Additional information required 1383
- No probable jurisdiction 2063
- Other (close, withdrawn, pending reanalysis) 658
- Recommended for investigation 3773

Status of Investigations (Individual charges)

- Investigations completed 1659
- In process and pending 2114

Status of Conciliations

- Recommended for conciliation (following Commission finding of cause):
  - Individual charges 704
  - Respondents 214
  - Successful conciliations
    - Individual charges 111
    - Respondents 45
  - Unsuccessful conciliations
    - Individual charges 60
    - Respondents 16
  - Partially successful
    - Individual charges 20
    - Respondents 7
  - In process and pending
    - Individual charges 513
    - Respondents 146

RECOMMENDED FOR INVESTIGATION, DEFERRED, AND ADDITIONAL INFORMATION REQUIRED

Of the 8854 matters received and analyzed, the following have been recommended for investigation, deferred, or additional information required: **6133**

The nature or the discriminations alleged was as follows:

- Negro 3067
- Race–Other 64
  - American Indian 10
  - Caucasian 39
  - Chinese 1
  - Filipino 2
  - Latin 4
  - Spanish 8
- Race–Not Specified 123
- National Origin 131
  - African 1
  - Greek 2
  - Latin American 8
  - Mexican American 72
  - Cuban 2
  - Italian 3
  - Slavic 3
  - Lebanese 1
  - Not Specified 39
- Sex 2053
- Religion 87
- Not Specified 608

The nature of the employment problem or problems alleged was as follows:

Hiring	1400
Promotion	1253
Training and Apprenticeship	184
Segregated Facilities	322
Benefits	807
Wage Differential	679
Seniority	955
Layoff	447
Firing	474
State Employment Service—Referral	55
State Employment Service—Testing	9
Private Employment Service	2
Union—Referral	53
Union—Membership	120
Union—Apprenticeship	9
Other	457
Not Specified	162

The respondents involved in these matters were as follows:

Employer	5284
Union	1347
State Employment Service	89
Private Employment Service	23
Labor-Management Apprenticeship Training Program	2
Not Specified	290

These matters were divided by state as follows:

Alabama	531	Nebraska	81
Alaska	2	Nevada	10
Arkansas	55	New Hampshire	2
Arizona	11	New Jersey	490
California	210	New Mexico	18
Colorado	29	New York	177
Connecticut	35	North Carolina	709
Delaware	10	North Dakota	2
District of Columbia	35	Ohio	341
Florida	67	Oklahoma	16
Georgia	116	Oregon	14
Idaho	1	Pennsylvania	190
Illinois	190	Rhode Island	2
Iowa	228	South Carolina	132
Indiana	118	South Dakota	1
Kansas	519	Tennessee	352
Kentucky	45	Texas	284
Louisiana	192	Utah	5
Massachusetts	33	Vermont	3
Maine	5	Virginia	218
Maryland	112	Washington	24
Michigan	98	West Virginia	30
Minnesota	34	Wisconsin	23
Mississippi	102	Wyoming	3
Missouri	223	Hawaii	2
Montana	3		

RECOMMENDED FOR INVESTIGATION 3773

The nature of the discriminations alleged was as follows:

Negro	2026
Race—Other	13
Latin	4
Spanish	1
Caucasian	8

Race–Not Specified		28
National Origin		50
Mexican American	25	
Cuban	1	
Greek	1	
Italian	1	
Latin American	8	
American Indian	1	
Hungarian	1	
African	1	
Not Specified	11	
Sex		1624
Religion		14
Not Specified		18

The nature of the employment problem or problems alleged was as follows:

Hiring	818
Promotion	828
Training and Apprenticeship	160
Segregated Facilities	279
Benefits	744
Wage Differential	463
Seniority	804
Layoff and Recall	293
Firing	136
State Employment Service–Referral	22
State Employment Service–Testing	6
Union–Referral	9
Union–Membership	21
Union–Apprenticeship	6
Private Employment Agency Referral	2
Other	194
Not Specified	4

The respondents involved in these matters were as follows:

Employer	2551
Union	580
State Employment Service	42
Private Employment Service	10
Labor-Management Apprenticeship Training Program	1
Not Specified	7

These matters were divided by state as follows:

Alabama	457	Mississippi	79
Arizona	2	Minnesota	23
Arkansas	39	Missouri	21
Colorado	10	Nevada	1
California	65	New Hampshire	1
Connecticut	6	New Jersey	426
Delaware	2	New Mexico	2
District of Columbia	4	New York	11
Florida	38	North Carolina	615
Georgia	70	Ohio	173
Illinois	55	Oklahoma	6
Indiana	40	Oregon	2
Iowa	216	Pennsylvania	44
Kentucky	30	Rhode Island	2
Kansas	488	South Carolina	88
Louisiana	145	Tennessee	212
Maine	1	Texas	164
Maryland	1	Virginia	169
Massachusetts	3	Washington	5
Michigan	45	West Virginia	10
		Wisconsin	2

DEFERRED FOR STATE OR LOCAL FEP ACTION 977

The nature of the discriminations alleged was as follows:

Negro		614
Race–Other		26
Caucasian	12	
Spanish	5	
American Indian	8	
Filipino	1	
Race–Not Specified		55
National Origin		40
Mexican American	17	
Italian	2	
Greek	1	
Slavic	1	
Not Specified	19	
Sex		129
Religion		44
Not Specified		69

The nature of the employment problem or problems alleged was as follows:

Hiring	224
Promotion	230
Training and Apprenticeship	8
Segregated Facilities	34
Benefits	13
Wage Differential	70
Seniority	23
Layoff and Recall	39
Firing	176
State Employment Service–Referral	16
State Employment Service–Testing	1
Union–Referral	27
Union–Membership	71
Union–Apprenticeship	2
Other	94
Not Specified	13

The respondents involved in these matters were as follows:

Employer	693
Union	255
State Employment Service	15
Private Employment Service	3
Labor-Management Apprenticeship Training Program	0
Not Specified	48

These matters were divided by states as follows:

California	96	Nebraska	6
Colorado	3	Nevada	5
Connecticut	9	New Jersey	38
Delaware	6	New Mexico	6
District of Columbia	26	New York	119
Illinois	70	Ohio	87
Iowa	1	Oregon	3
Indiana	36	Pennsylvania	93
Kansas	19	Washington	11
Massachusetts	13	Wisconsin	16
Maryland	101	Wyoming	3
Michigan	26	Minnesota	2
Missouri	180	Utah	2

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION REQUIRED **1383**

To the extent the information is known, the nature of the discriminations alleged was as follows:

Negro		427
Race–Other		23
Caucasian	19	
Chinese	1	
American Indian	1	
Filipino	1	
Lebanese	1	
Race–Not Specified		40
National Origin		43
Mexican-American	30	
Spanish	2	
Cuban	1	
Not Specified	9	
Slavic	1	
Sex		300
Religion		29
Not Specified		521

To the extent the information is known, the nature of the employment problem or problems alleged was as follows:

Hiring	358
Promotion	195
Training and Apprenticeship	16
Segregated Facilities	9
Benefits	50
Wage Differential	146
Seniority	128
Layoff	109
Firing	162
State Employment Service–Referral	17
State Employment Service–Testing	2
Union–Referral	17
Union–Membership	28
Union–Apprenticeship	1
Other	169
Not Specified	145

To the extent the information is known, the respondents involved in these matters were as follows:

Employer	1040
Union	145
State Employment Service	32
Private Employment Service	10
Labor-Management Apprenticeship Training Program	0
Not Specified	234

These matters were divided by state as follows:

Alabama	74	Georgia	46
Alaska	2	Hawaii	2
Arkansas	16	Idaho	1
Arizona	9	Illinois	65
California	49	Iowa	11
Colorado	16	Indiana	42
Connecticut	20	Kansas	12
Delaware	2	Kentucky	15
District of Columbia	5	Louisiana	47
Florida	29	Massachusetts	17

Maine	4	Oregon	9
Maryland	10	Pennsylvania	53
Michigan	27	South Carolina	44
Minnesota	9	South Dakota	1
Mississippi	23	Tennessee	140
Missouri	22	Texas	120
Montana	3	Utah	3
Nevada	4	Vermont	3
New Jersey	26	Virginia	49
New Mexico	10	Washington	8
New York	47	West Virginia	20
North Carolina	94	Wisconsin	5
North Dakota	2	Nebraska	75
Ohio	81	New Hampshire	1
Oklahoma	10		

LACK OF PROBABLE JURISDICTION 2063

These matters were rejected for the following reasons:

Untimely	268
Less than 100 persons	46
Political subdivision	237
Educational institution	211
Religious institution	10
Government agency	605
Not covered by Title VII	686

These matters were divided by states as follows:

Alabama	83	Montana	5
Alaska	5	Nebraska	8
Arkansas	34	Nevada	3
Arizona	10	New Hampshire	2
California	137	New Jersey	47
Colorado	17	New Mexico	12
Connecticut	22	New York	150
Delaware	6	North Carolina	75
District of Columbia	56	North Dakota	3
Florida	67	Ohio	94
Georgia	57	Oklahoma	13
Hawaii	1	Oregon	15
Idaho	4	Pennsylvania	104
Illinois	139	Puerto Rico	1
Iowa	8	Rhode Island	2
Indiana	34	South Carolina	83
Kansas	15	South Dakota	2
Kentucky	21	Tennessee	154
Louisiana	37	Texas	115
Massachusetts	37	Utah	9
Maine	3	Vermont	2
Maryland	54	Virginia	56
Michigan	56	Washington	30
Minnesota	16	West Virginia	16
Mississippi	22	Wisconsin	21
Missouri	36	Wyoming	1
		Unspecified	63

SEX DISCRIMINATION

Of all the matters received and analyzed, **2432** have alleged discrimination based on sex.

The nature of the problem alleged was as follows:

Hiring		170
	Men	35
	Women	135
Promotion		97
Job Classification		213
Wage Differential		93
Benefits		726
Do not hire women with children		4
Do not hire women as trainees		4
Layoff, Recall, and Seniority		588
Fire women when marry		45
Fire women when have children		4
Fire women and replace with men		47
Age limitation for women		31
Job opportunities—Advertising		9
State Labor Laws for Women		291
	Overtime	262
	Weight	16
	Rest Periods	2
	General Allegations	11
Union refusal to process grievances		12
Employment Agency Referral		9
Miscellaneous		80
Firing (Unexplained)		9

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THE COMMISSION DURING THE FIRST YEAR

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, JR.
Chairman

DR. LUTHER HOLCOMB
Vice Chairman and Acting Chairman

SAMUEL C. JACKSON
Commissioner

AILEEN C. HERNANDEZ
Commissioner

RICHARD A. GRAHAM
Commissioner

•

N. THOMPSON POWERS
July-October, 1965

HERMAN EDELSBERG
Executive Director

CHARLES T. DUNCAN
General Counsel

GEORGE HOLLAND
Director of Compliance

CHARLES B. MARKHAM
Director of Research

JOHN P. EBERLE
Director of Management

BENJAMIN D. SEGAL
Director, Liaison

WILLIAM J. KENDRICK
Director, Congressional Liaison

ROBERT GALE
Director, Public Affairs

EEOC

EVERYMAN FUND, INC.

Supplement to Prospectus Dated April 27, 1966

During the initial public offering period 1,960 shares of the Fund's Common Stock were sold. The proceeds to the Fund from such sales aggregated $17,934 after deducting the Distributor's commissions aggregating $1,666. Including the 10,996 shares sold to initial investors prior to the public offering, there are 12,956 shares of Common Stock outstanding as of the date hereof. The Fund will commence investing its assets immediately.

The Fund became an open-end investment company with redeemable shares on June 1, 1966 and the shares of the Fund are currently being offered at net asset value, plus a sales load of 8½% of the public offering price on single transactions of less than $50,000, 8% on single transactions of $50,000 or more but less than $100,000, 7½% on single transactions of $100,000 or more but less than $250,000, and 6% on single transactions of $250,000 or more.

June 1, 1966

PROSPECTUS

500,000 Shares

EVERYMAN FUND, INC.

COMMON STOCK
(Without Par Value)

The Fund's shares will be offered until the close of business on May 31, 1966 at $10.00 per share in all single transactions of less than $50,000, at $9.95 per share in single transactions of $50,000 or more but less than $100,000, at $9.90 per share in single transactions of $100,000 or more but less than $250,000 and at $9.75 per share on single transactions of $250,000 or more. Since the Distributor of the Fund's shares is not obligated to sell any minimum number of shares, there is no assurance as to the number of shares which may be sold or the amount to be received by the Fund. At the date of this Prospectus the Fund is a closed-end investment company but will become an open-end investment company with redeemable shares on June 1, 1966. For information concerning the public offering of shares after the Fund has become an open-end investment company, see "Future Continuous Offering of Shares" and Note (2) below. No initial subscription for less than ten shares will be accepted.

	Offering Price (1)	Distributor's Commission (1)	Proceeds to the Fund (1)(2)
Total	$5,000,000	$425,000	$4,575,000
Per Share	$10.00	$ .85	$9.15

(1) The amounts shown are based on the assumption that all shares offered hereby are sold at the maximum offering price and at the maximum Distributor's commission. A Distributor's commission in the amount of 8½% of the public offering price will be charged on all single transactions of less than $50,000; 8% on single transactions of $50,000 or more but less than $100,000; 7½% on single transactions of $100,000 or more but less than $250,000; and 6% on single transactions of $250,000 or more. The proceeds to the Fund will be $9.15 per share regardless of the offering price or Distributor's commission. McGhee & Company, Inc., is the exclusive Distributor of the Fund's shares and may act as broker for the Fund.

(2) After the shares have become redeemable on June 1, 1966, there is no assurance that the Fund will have any specific amount of assets. When the shares have become so redeemable and shares of the Fund are offered at net asset value, plus a sales load based on the size of the transaction as set forth in (1) above, the amount per share received by the Fund will vary and may be either more or less than the amount received by the Fund from the initial public offering price. The redemption price per share will be the net asset value per share. See "Redemption of Shares."

THESE SECURITIES HAVE NOT BEEN APPROVED OR DISAPPROVED BY THE SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION, NOR HAS THE COMMISSION PASSED UPON THE ACCURACY OR ADEQUACY OF THIS PROSPECTUS. ANY REPRESENTATION TO THE CONTRARY IS A CRIMINAL OFFENSE.

McGHEE & COMPANY, INC.

JAMES E. GREENE
HIRSCH & CO.
25 – Broad Street
New York, N. Y. 10004

The date of this Prospectus is April 27, 1966.

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

Everyman Fund, Inc., is a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Ohio on January 4, 1966. The Fund is presently a closed-end non-diversified investment company but will become an open-end investment company with redeemable shares on the date described on the cover page hereof. Thereafter the Fund will operate as an open-end diversified management investment company. The Fund has not yet purchased any securities for its portfolio, and will not until after it has become an open-end investment company.

Prior to this offering the Fund acquired cash in the amount of $100,613.40 from the following who purchased the number of shares of the Fund set opposite their respective names for investment and without a view to the distribution of such shares, which are owned of record and beneficially, except in the case of McGhee & Company, Inc. where ownership is beneficial but not of record:

Name	Number of Shares	Name	Number of Shares
Clariden Corporation 2100 East Ohio Bldg. Cleveland, Ohio	1,094	Arnold Pinkney 2131 Fairhill Rd. Cleveland, Ohio	547
Cecil Ferguson 1149 E. 125th St. Cleveland, Ohio	547	Max Reiter 1964 E. 61st St. Cleveland, Ohio	547
Harold Ferguson 15507 Stockbridge Ave. Cleveland, Ohio	547	Dr. Harry V. Richardson 671 Beckwith St. N.W. Atlanta, Georgia	110
Lawrence G. Jontzen 410 Lakeside Avenue Cleveland, Ohio	547	Mrs. Helen W. Sheffield So. Carolina State College Orangeburg, S. C.	657
Joseph D. McGhee 1229 East Blvd. Cleveland, Ohio	110	George W. Whitehead 10616 Euclid Avenue Cleveland, Ohio	547
McGhee & Company, Inc. 317 University Circle Bldg. Cleveland, Ohio	4,266	W. R. Wilkes 11009 Wade Park Ave. Cleveland, Ohio	55
Mrs. Tommie P. Patty 4450 Cedar Ave. Cleveland, Ohio	328	J. Walter Wills, Sr. 2491 E. 55th St. Cleveland, Ohio	1,094

The cash thus obtained constitutes all of the Fund's present assets. No sales load was charged on the sale of such shares. For information as to the relationships of Clariden Corporation and Joseph D. McGhee with the Fund and with the Investment Adviser and the Distributor for the Fund, see "Management" herein.

Fulton, Reid & Co., Inc., 2100 East Ohio Building, Cleveland, Ohio, is the Investment Adviser for the Fund. McGhee & Company, Inc., 317 University Circle Building, 10616 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio is the Distributor for the Fund. Both may act as brokers for the Fund.

All prospective investors should realize that shares of the Fund are subject to market risks inasmuch as the net asset value of such shares varies directly with the market value of the Fund's portfolio securities. The Fund's Articles of Incorporation give shareholders the right to have their shares redeemed by the Fund as more fully set forth under "Redemption of Shares." The redemption price, which will depend upon the market value of the Fund's investments at the time of redemption, may be more or less than the price originally paid for the shares.

INVESTMENT OBJECTIVES AND POLICIES

The investment objectives of the Fund will be to provide long term growth of income and of principal. It is the present intention that at least 75% of the Fund's portfolio will consist of common stock or securities convertible into common stock, with the balance in investment quality bonds and preferred stocks. It is contemplated that investments will, for the most part, be selected with a view to providing some current income. While the portfolio will generally be invested predominantly in common stocks or securities convertible into common stock, the Fund may from time to time increase its investments in preferred stocks or bonds for defensive purposes. Investments will be made in well-known and established companies but may also be made in lesser known, smaller corporations where marketability is adequate.

It will be the Fund's policy to diversify its investments among various industries and companies. In no event will more than 5% of the Fund's net assets be invested in the securities of any one issuer (other than securities of the United States Government or agencies thereof). The investment objectives and policies set forth herein cannot be changed without the prior approval of the holders of a majority of the outstanding shares of the Fund.

DESCRIPTION OF COMMON STOCK

The authorized Common Stock of the Fund consists of 500,000 shares (without par value). Each share of Common Stock has equal dividend rights and is entitled to one vote. Cumulative voting for the election of directors is provided by the statutory law of Ohio. Upon compliance with certain statutory requirements, any shareholder may require that the voting on election of directors shall be cumulative. In that event each shareholder has the right to cumulate his vote and give one candidate as many votes as equals the number of directors to be elected multiplied by the number of his shares, or to distribute such votes among two or more candidates as he sees fit. At all meetings of shareholders, the holders of a majority of the outstanding shares entitled to vote are necessary for a quorum and a majority of the shares present at a meeting is sufficient to take any action except where the statutes of Ohio require the vote of a specified proportion of the outstanding shares. Holders of the Common Stock have no preemptive rights to purchase additional shares of the Fund. All shares of Common Stock have equal rights on liquidation to participate in the net assets of the Fund. In the opinion of counsel for the Fund, Common Stock offered hereby, when issued and sold as set forth herein, will be fully paid and non-assessable. For information as to redemption rights of holders of Common Stock, see "Redemption of Shares".

FUTURE CONTINUOUS OFFERING OF SHARES

The Fund has retained McGhee & Company, Inc., under a Distribution Contract as the exclusive Distributor of the Fund's shares. On June 1, 1966, the Fund will offer its shares through the Distributor to investors on a continuous basis as described below. The net asset

value per share and the public offering price of shares will ordinarily be determined as of the close of business of the New York Stock Exchange on each day on which the New York Stock Exchange is open. Such price will go into effect at 9 A.M. (Cleveland time) on the next business day and will continue in effect until 1:00 P.M. (Cleveland time) that day. Sales of shares pursuant to orders received subsequent to 1:00 P.M. will be priced in accordance with the next determination of net asset value. For further information relating to the determination of net asset value, see "Net Asset Value."

The public offering price of the Fund's shares will be equal to the net asset value per share applicable (as stated above) to the sale, plus a sales load based on the size of the transaction which will be retained by McGhee & Company, Inc., for its services as Distributor. The sales load will be 8½% of the public offering price on single transaction of less than $50,000, 8% on single transactions of $50,000 or more but less than $100,000, 7½% on single transactions of $100,000 or more but less than $250,000 and 6% on single transactions of $250,000 or more. The Distributor will re-allow to dealers with whom it has Sales Agreements concessions of 6% on transactions of less than $50,000, 5¾% on transactions of $50,000 or more but less than $100,000, 5½% on transactions of $100,000 or more but less than $250,000 and 5% on transactions of $250,000 or more. Concessions will be alike to all dealers. The Distributor will retain the balance of the sales load. The minimum initial subscription may not be for less than ten shares. However, this limitation will only apply to the initial investment by any subscriber, and such subscriber may purchase any number of shares after making the investment described above.

The price of the Fund's shares will reflect, among other things, the then accrued investment income and undistributed realized capital gains. Accordingly, it will not necessarily be advantageous for prospective shareholders to purchase shares before rather than after the record date for the payment of a dividend or distribution to shareholders. Since the purchase price of the Fund's shares includes a proportionate part of any undistributed earnings of the Fund on the purchase date, distributions of such earnings shortly after the purchase of such shares although in effect a return of a part of the shareholder's capital, will be subject to income tax except that distributions of long-term capital gains will be taxable as such.

THE INVESTMENT ADVISER

Fulton, Reid & Co., Inc., 2100 East Ohio Building, Cleveland, Ohio 44114, has been retained as the Investment Adviser of the Fund to furnish reports, statistical and research services, advice and recommendations with respect to the Fund's portfolio.

The Fund will pay to the Investment Adviser, once each fiscal quarter, on the last day of such quarter, 1/32 of 1% of the net asset value of the Fund as determined on the fifteenth day of the second month of such quarter. On an annual basis, these payments will aggregate ⅛ of 1% of the average of such quarterly net asset values.

W. Yost Fulton, a Director and Officer, and George M. Yaneff, an Officer of the Investment Adviser are, respectively, a Director and an Officer of the Fund, but will receive no direct compensation from the Fund for services to it so long as they are at the same time a Director or Officer of the Investment Adviser.

The Investment Advisory Contract was approved by the shareholders on April 6, 1966. Thereafter the Contract will remain in effect for successive yearly periods unless terminated

by either party provided that renewal of the Contract is approved annually either by a majority of the Directors, including a majority of the Directors who are not affiliated with the Investment Adviser and are not officers or employees of the Fund, or by the vote of the holders of a majority of the Fund's outstanding shares. The Contract is terminable by either party on 60 days' written notice and will terminate automatically in the event of its assignment by the Investment Adviser. The Contract provides that in the absence of wilful misfeasance, bad faith, or gross negligence on the part of the Investment Adviser, or of reckless disregard of its obligations thereunder, the Investment Adviser shall not be liable for any action or failure to act in accordance with its duties thereunder, shall be entitled to advice of counsel at the Fund's expense with respect to matters relating to the Fund, and except as aforesaid, shall not be liable for any action taken or omitted in good faith on such advice.

MANAGEMENT

The following persons hold positions with the Fund as indicated:

Norman L. McGhee, President and Director, has been associated with McGhee & Company, Inc., an investment banking firm located in Cleveland, Ohio and its predecessor firm since 1952, and has been President and a Director of such firm since its organization in 1953. He is also a Director of Citizens Realty Management, Inc., Cleveland, Ohio.

Cecil Ferguson, Vice President, has been the sole proprietor of Cecil's Dress Shop in Cleveland, Ohio, since 1961.

Harold Ferguson, Vice President and Director, is a Research Engineer employed by the National Aeronautics & Space Administration.

W. Yost Fulton, Director, has been associated with Fulton, Reid & Co., Inc., an investment banking firm located in Cleveland, Ohio and its predecessor firms since 1924, and has been Chairman of the Board of such company since March, 1963, and an officer and Director of such company since its organization in 1956. He is also President and a Director of Clariden Corporation, and is a Director of the following companies: Barton Distilling Corp., Bloch Bros. Tobacco Co., Dasher Rubber and Chemical Co., Erie Technological Products, Inc., Keithley Instruments Co., Roadway Express, Inc., Steel Improvement and Forge Company, Summit National Holding Company, and Lucey Export Corporation.

Lawrence G. Jontzen, Director, has been Vice-President, Manager, and a Director of Jontzen Printing Company since 1950; Treasurer and a Director of The 400 Lakeside Company since 1965; and President and a Director of Wagner-Cliff Corporation since 1961.

Joseph D. McGhee, Vice President, is Vice President of McGhee & Company, Inc. and has been an officer of such company since its organization in 1953.

Norman L. McGhee, Jr., Vice President and Director, has been associated with McGhee & Company, Inc. and its predecessor firm since 1952, and has been Secretary and a Director of such company since its organization in 1953.

Mrs. Tommie P. Patty, Director, has been Executive Director of the Phillis Wheatley Association, a private social welfare organization having its headquarters in Cleveland, Ohio, since 1961.

Arnold Pinkney, Director, is President of Pinkney-Perry Insurance Agency, Inc., Cleveland, Ohio, and has been affiliated with such company and its predecessor since 1960.

Max Reiter, Director, has been President and a Director of Printz-Biederman Co., a manufacturer of wearing apparel, since 1958.

Dr. Harry V. Richardson, Director, has been President of the Interdenominational Theological Center, Atlanta, Georgia, since 1960.

Helen W. Sheffield, Director, retired as a teacher at the State College of South Carolina in 1960.

George W. Whitehead, Secretary and Director, has been a practicing attorney in Cleveland, Ohio, since 1953.

W. R. Wilkes, Director, has been Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Church since 1948, and Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Wilberforce University since 1964.

J. Walter Wills, Sr., Treasurer and Director, has been President and a Director of the J. W. Wills Co., funeral directors located in Cleveland, Ohio, since its organization in 1921.

George M. Yaneff, Vice President, has been associated with Fulton, Reid & Co., Inc. since 1961. He has been an Assistant Vice President of such firm since 1962 and Treasurer of such firm since 1963. He is also presently a part-time member of the faculty of Baldwin-Wallace College, Berea, Ohio. Prior to his association with Fulton, Reid & Co., Inc., he was employed by The Standard Oil Company (Ohio).

Horace L. Chapman, Assistant Secretary, has been a practicing attorney with the firm of Squire, Sanders & Dempsey, Cleveland, Ohio, since 1936.

The Fund has paid no remuneration to any director or officer and does not intend to pay remuneration to any director or officer affiliated with the investment adviser or distributor. It is contemplated that directors' fees aggregating approximately $2,500 during the first fiscal year will be paid to directors of the Fund who are not so affiliated.

As of the date of this Prospectus, Clariden Corporation, an Ohio corporation, a closed-end investment company, 2100 East Ohio Building, Cleveland, Ohio, owned beneficially and of record 1,094 shares of the Fund's Common Stock, representing approximately 10% of the outstanding shares. Fulton, Reid & Co., Inc., an Ohio corporation, owns approximately 76% of the outstanding common shares of Clariden Corporation. Mr. Fulton, Director of the Fund, owns approximately 25% of the outstanding voting securities of Fulton, Reid & Co., Inc.

As of the date hereof, Mr. Norman L. McGhee and Mr. Joseph D. McGhee, the President and a Director and the Vice-President, respectively, of McGhee & Company, Inc., an Ohio corporation, an investment banking company, respectively owned of record 38.8% and of record and beneficially 1% of the outstanding shares of the Fund. Mr. Norman L. McGhee owns all of the outstanding shares of McGhee & Company, Inc.

The officers and directors of the Fund as a group presently own of record and beneficially 5,636 shares, or 51.3% of the outstanding shares of the Fund. As noted, Mr. Norman L. McGhee owns of record but not beneficially 4,266 shares, or 38.8% of the outstanding shares of the Fund.

ADVISORY COUNCIL

The Directors propose to appoint an advisory council of not more than 100 members. The advisory council is intended to be made up of citizens in various communities throughout the United States who will, by mail or telephone, advise and counsel the management of the Fund. However, such members have no authority or responsibility with respect to investments or any other matters pertaining to the Fund. The members will receive no compensation and expenses will be nominal. The names of the first members are:

Hon. William T. Andrews	New York, New York
William A. Baker	New York, New York
Sampson Bennett	Birmingham, Alabama
Hon. Charles V. Carr	Cleveland, Ohio
Rev. William M. Downs	Cleveland, Ohio
Wendell Erwin	Cleveland, Ohio
Millard L. Forniss	Birmingham, Alabama
Thomas F. Freeman	Houston, Texas
Bertram E. Gardner	Cleveland, Ohio
Bishop Joseph Gomez	Chicago, Illinois
Mrs. Rowena B. Gordon	Cleveland, Ohio
Dr. H. W. Hunter	Cleveland, Ohio
Rev. Robert Hunter	Atlanta, Georgia
Dr. Donald G. Jacobs	Cleveland, Ohio
Hon. John W. Kellogg	Cleveland, Ohio
Attorney Z. Alexander Looby	Nashville, Tennessee
Dr. Robert E. Martin	Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Clyde McDuffie	Washington, D. C.
B. Doyle Mitchell	Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Georgia Teal Ransom	Wilberforce, Ohio
John W. Roulhac	Cleveland, Ohio
Dean Charles S. Spivey, Jr.	Wilberforce, Ohio
Dr. Cornell E. Talley	Detroit, Michigan
Dr. Frank H. Trigg	Washington, D. C.

DIVIDENDS; CAPITAL GAINS DISTRIBUTIONS AND TAX STATUS

It is the intention of the Fund to distribute to its shareholders substantially all of its net investment income and capital gains, if any. It is the intention of the Board of Directors to consider and pay dividends out of net investment income semi-annually and capital gains distributions annually. The rate and time of any such distributions must necessarily depend upon income and realization of capital gain from the Fund's investments.

The Fund intends to qualify and elect to receive the special tax treatment afforded certain companies and their shareholders under Subchapter M of Chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code for its fiscal year ending December 31, 1966, as well as for each fiscal year thereafter.

Under such provisions, the Fund will not be subjected to Federal Income Tax on such part of its ordinary income and net realized long-term capital gain as its distributes to shareholders and distributions made from the excess of the Fund's net realized long-term capital gain over its net realized short-term capital loss are taxable to shareholders as a long-term capital gain. Ordinary income dividends will be taxable to shareholders as ordinary income. Any distribution of long-term capital gain will be designated as a capital gain dividend in a written notice to shareholders. Such capital gain distributions are not eligible for the $100 dividend received exclusion, but ordinary income dividends are eligible for the exclusion. It should be noted that a capital gain distribution is a return of capital and does not constitute a yield or return on investment. Capital gains distributions are subject to income tax at capital gains rates even if such distributions reduce the net asset value of shares below the cost of the shares to the shareholder. On redemption of shares by the Fund, the gain or loss for Federal tax purposes will be the difference between the original cost and the redemption price.

REINVESTMENT OF DIVIDENDS AND CAPITAL GAINS

Until the Board of Directors otherwise determines, any shareholder may instruct the Fund to authorize the Distributor to purchase automatically additional shares of the Fund with dividends or capital gains (or any part of both or either) payable to the shareholder. Dividends and capital gains may be so reinvested at the net asset value in effect at the close of business on the day such dividend or capital gain is payable. However, until the Board of Directors otherwise determines, no fractional shares may be purchased under this arrangement, and each shareholder will receive in cash any remaining portion of a dividend or capital gains distribution not used to purchase whole shares.

INVESTMENT RESTRICTIONS

The Fund has established certain restrictions on its investment policies under which it may not:

(1) Purchase any securities on margin, make any "short" sales of securities, or participate in any joint or joint and several trading account;

(2) Purchase any securities of another issuer (other than the United States Government or agencies thereof) if upon such purchase more than 5% of its net assets would consist of securities of such issuer, or acquire more than 10% of the outstanding voting securities of any issuer;

(3) Act as an underwriter of securities of other issuers;

(4) Borrow money in excess of 10% of its net assets and then only as a temporary measure for extraordinary or emergency purposes;

(5) Lend its funds or other assets to any other person other than through the purchase of debt securities pursuant to the Fund's investment policy;

(6) Purchase the securities of another open-end investment company except when such purchase is part of a plan of merger, consolidation or acquisition of assets;

(7) Invest in the securities of an issuer which has been in operation for less than three years if such purchase at the time thereof would cause more than 1% of the net assets of the Fund to be invested in issuers which have been in operation for less than three years.

Whenever any investment policy or restriction thereof states a maximum percentage of the value of registrant's assets which may be invested in any security or other property, or utilized in any type of transaction, it is intended that any difference between the stated percentage and the actual percentage of the Fund's assets so invested or utilized shall not be considered to conflict with the stated investment policy or restriction so long as any such difference existing immediately after the Fund's acquisition or utilization of the security or other property is not wholly or partly the result of such acquisition or utilization.

The Fund will not purchase real estate or purchase commodities or commodity contracts. The Fund will not invest in companies for the purpose of exercising management or control. There are no restrictions upon portfolio turnover. However, it is not the Fund's policy to engage in portfolio transactions with the objective of seeking profits from short-term trading. None of the foregoing restrictions may be changed without the prior approval of the holders of a majority of the outstanding shares of the Fund.

DETERMINATION OF NET ASSET VALUE

The net asset value per share is computed by dividing the total value of the assets of the Fund, less its liabilities, by the total number of the Fund's outstanding shares and adjusting to the nearest cent. Computations will be made in accordance with accepted principles of accounting, valuing each security in the Fund's portfolio for which market quotations are available at its last sale price, or if there was no such sale on the day of computation, at the mean between the quoted bid and asked prices on that day. Other investments of the Fund will be valued by methods determined in good faith by or pursuant to authority granted by the Board of Directors on the basis of market value where market quotations are readily available and on the basis of fair value where quotations are not available.

Determinations of the net asset value per share will be made as of the close of the New York Stock Exchange on each day on which the New York Stock Exchange is open. Such determination will go into effect at 9:00 A.M. (Cleveland time) on the next business day and will continue to be in effect until 1:00 P.M. (Cleveland time) that day.

DISTRIBUTION CONTRACT

McGhee & Company, Inc., 10616 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio 44106, has been retained as the Distributor of the shares of the Fund pursuant to a Distribution Contract which was approved by the shareholders on April 6, 1966. The Contract is to remain in effect for successive yearly periods unless terminated by either party provided that the Contract is approved annually either by a majority of the Directors, including a majority of the Directors who are not affiliated with the Distributor and are not officers or employees of the Fund, or by the vote of the holders of a majority of the Fund's outstanding shares. The Contract is terminable by either party on sixty (60) days written notice and will terminate automatically

in the event of its assignment by the Distributor. The Contract provides that in the absence of wilful misfeasance, bad faith, or gross negligence on the part of the Distributor or of reckless disregard of its obligations thereunder, the Distributor shall not be liable for any action or failure to act in accordance with its duties thereunder, shall be entitled to advice of counsel at the Fund's expense and, except as aforesaid, shall not be liable for any action taken or omitted in good faith upon such advice.

The relationship between McGhee & Company, Inc., the Distributor, and the Fund and its affiliates are described above under "Management".

The services performed by the Distributor under the Distribution Contract consist of the sale of shares of the Fund and assistance in carrying out the redemption of shares.

Under the Distribution Contract, the Distributor is obligated to pay the organization expenses of the Fund; all fees, costs and expenses necessary to qualify the shares of the Fund for sale; to qualify the Fund as a dealer or broker in such states as shall be selected by the Distributor; to prepare and print Prospectuses, Registration Statements or other documents in connection with the registration of the Fund's shares and all other sales literature printed at the instruction of the Distributor, and to pay insurance and registry charges and taxes and delivery and remittance expenses of any shares of the Fund issued under any plan for the automatic issuance of shares upon any distribution of dividends or capital gains.

Under the Distribution Contract, the Distributor also acts as financial agent of the Fund, and furnishes certain other administrative and operational services, clerical and bookkeeping services, and office space and other facilities which are required for the operation of the Fund, and pays certain ordinary operating expenses of the Fund. The Fund will be responsible for expenses incurred for printing, postage, mailing and supplies in connection with the administrative activities of the Fund performed by the Distributor which are not directly connected with or required by virtue of the sale of the Fund's shares; for issuance, transfer and registry charges and taxes, and delivery and remittance expenses of shares of the Fund; and for the cost of share certificates. For these services, the Fund will pay to the Distributor once each fiscal quarter, on the last day of such quarter, 3/32 of 1% of the net asset value of the Fund as determined on the fifteenth day of the second month of such quarter. On an annual basis, these payments will aggregate $\frac{3}{8}$ of 1% of the average of such quarterly net asset values. However, in computing the compensation payable to the Distributor for these administrative and supervisory services, there will be deducted the amount of any rentals paid to the Distributor by the Fund for office space and any compensation which the Fund pays to any person whether or not affiliated with the Distributor, for services rendered in the capacity of Director, Officer or a member of any advisory committee of the Fund. If expenses (including the fees of the Investment Adviser and the Distributor) exceed 1% per annum of the average of the daily net asset value of the Fund, the Distributor has undertaken in a letter agreement with the Fund to bear such excess.

Norman L. McGhee and Norman L. McGhee, Jr., Directors and Officers of the Distributor, are Directors and Officers of the Fund and Joseph D. McGhee, an Officer of the Distributor, is an Officer of the Fund. They will receive no direct compensation from the Fund for services to it so long as they are at the same time Directors or Officers of the Distributor.

The following, who are the directors and/or officers of the Distributor, hold the following positions with the Fund.

Name and principal business address	Positions and offices with Distributor	Positions and offices with Fund
Norman L. McGhee 10616 Euclid Avenue Cleveland, Ohio	Director, President and Treasurer	President and Director
Norman L. McGhee, Jr. 10616 Euclid Avenue Cleveland, Ohio	Director and Secretary	Vice President and Director
Marjorie M. Baker 10616 Euclid Avenue Cleveland, Ohio	Director	None
Joseph D. McGhee 1229 East Boulevard Cleveland, Ohio	Vice-President	Vice-President

REDEMPTION OF SHARES

The Fund redeems its shares at a price equal to the net asset value per share resulting from the next determination of net asset value made after such shares are tendered for redemption. The Articles of Incorporation provide that the Company may charge a redemption fee of up to 1% of net asset value, but the Fund has no present intention of making such a charge.

The right of redemption may not be suspended or the date of payment upon redemption postponed for more than seven days after the shares are tendered for redemption, except for any period during which the New York Stock Exchange is closed (other than customary weekend and holiday closings) or trading thereon is restricted, or for any period during which an emergency exists, as a result of which it is not reasonably practicable for the Fund to determine the value of its assets or dispose thereof, or for such other periods as the Securities and Exchange Commission may by order permit for the protection of the shareholders. Payment for shares redeemed may be made either in cash or in kind, or partly in cash and partly in kind. However, payments will be made wholly in cash unless the Board of Directors believes that economic conditions exist which would make such a practice detrimental to the best interests of the Fund. In the event payments in kind are made, the Board of Directors in each instance will carefully select the shares from the Fund's portfolio to be distributed as payment in kind, with a view to protecting fully the interests of the Fund as well as those of the redeeming shareholders. Should there be a redemption in kind, the investor might incur brokerage commissions in converting securities received into cash.

A shareholder may procure the redemption of his shares without cost by forwarding a written request for redemption to the Fund accompanied by surrender of his share certificates in proper form for transfer to the Fund. If an investor employs the services of a broker or a dealer to assist him in causing the redemption of his shares, such broker or dealer may make an additional charge.

CUSTODIAN

The Fund employs the services of The National City Bank of Cleveland in the safekeeping of stocks, bonds, other securities and cash owned by the Fund and such bank also acts as transfer agent in the issuance of the shares of the Fund and in the cancellation of redeemed shares. The Bank is also the dividend paying agent of the Fund. As Custodian, the bank will receive a fee of $2 per annum per $1,000 of market value of the property in the bank's custody for the first $1,000,000 ($1 per annum after the Fund reaches $5,000,000 in market value) and $1 per $1,000 of market value for the next $9,000,000. The minimum annual fee is $1,000.

Dealers including the Distributor and dealers participating in the offering made by this Prospectus, and the Investment Adviser may receive all or a portion of the brokerage commissions or dealer discounts on purchases or sales of portfolio securities of the Fund. The Distributor will allocate the purchase or sale of portfolio securities of the Fund among such persons. Transactions in portfolio securities will always be sought where the Fund can get prompt execution of orders at the most favorable prices. Subject to the foregoing, the Distributor, in the allocation of portfolio brokerage business, will consider also the relative sales of the shares of the Fund by dealers and the statistical and other factual information, if any, provided by them. To the extent such information is furnished by dealers, the Investment Adviser may avoid expenses which it otherwise would incur under its contract with the Fund.

REPORT OF INDEPENDENT ACCOUNTANTS

Board of Directors and Shareholders
EVERYMAN FUND, INC.
Cleveland, Ohio

We have examined the balance sheet of Everyman Fund, Inc. (incorporated January 4, 1966), as of April 5, 1966. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion, the accompanying balance sheet presents fairly the financial position of Everyman Fund, Inc., at April 5, 1966, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

ERNST & ERNST

Cleveland, Ohio
April 6, 1966

BALANCE SHEET

EVERYMAN FUND, INC.

April 5, 1966

ASSET

Cash	$100,613.40

CAPITAL

Common Stock—without par value:	
Authorized 15,000 shares (1)	
Outstanding 10,996 shares	
Stated capital	$100,613.40

(1) The Company intends to increase its authorized capital to 500,000 shares of Common Stock prior to the effective date of this Registration Statement.

EVERYMAN FUND, INC.

SPECIMEN PRICE MAKE-UP SHEET

Assets of Fund	$100,613.40
Less Liabilities of Fund	—o—
Net Asset Value of Fund	$100,613.40
Shares Outstanding: 10,996	
Net Asset Value Per Share (Net Asset Value of Fund divided by Shares Outstanding and adjusted to nearest cent)	$ 9.15
Sales Commission (8½% of Public Offering Price of Single Transactions of Less than $50,000)	$ .85
Public Offering Price Per Share	$ 10.00

No salesman or any other person has been authorized to give any information or to make any representation other than as contained in this Prospectus in connection with the offering described herein. This Prospectus does not constitute an offer to sell, or a solicitation of an offer to buy, by the Distributor within any State to any person to whom it is unlawful for the Distributor to make such offer or solicitation within such State.

Until July 26, 1966 all dealers effecting transactions in the registered securities, whether or not participating in this distribution, may be required to deliver a prospectus. This is in addition to the obligation of dealers to deliver a prospectus when acting as underwriters and with respect to their unsold allotments or subscriptions.

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500,000 Shares

EVERYMAN FUND, INC.

Common Stock
(Without Par Value)

PROSPECTUS

Investment Adviser
FULTON, REID & CO., INC.
2100 East Ohio Building
Cleveland, Ohio

Custodian and Transfer Agent
THE NATIONAL CITY BANK OF CLEVELAND
623 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio

Counsel
SQUIRE, SANDERS & DEMPSEY
1857 Union Commerce Building
Cleveland, Ohio

Auditors
ERNST & ERNST
1300 Union Commerce Building
Cleveland, Ohio

Distributor
McGHEE & COMPANY, INC.
317 University Circle Building
10616 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio
44106

FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CALL JAMES E. GREENE HAnover 2-0600

THE JUDSON-BROOKS COMPANY—CLEVELAND

MCGHEE TAKES EVERYMAN FUND TO WALL STREET

HOLDS THAT LEADERS SHOULD INSTILL DESIRE IN MASSES FOR FINANCIAL SECURITY AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION

New York, N. Y. _____ Braving the sophisticated air of the Wall Street community, Norman L. McGhee, intrepid head of McGhee and Company, took Everyman Fund, Inc., the recently organized mutual fund company which he heads, into Wall Street, the citadel of the financial community of this country. His purpose in the Street was to seek the aid of the major investment security dealers in the placing of shares of Everyman Fund, Inc., into the hands of everyone, but with especial emphasis upon sales to the Negro.

Declaring that the aims and objectives of Everyman Fund, Inc., are to achieve for the Negro a larger participation in the total economy of the United States, he has been encouraged in this desire by many liberal and sympathetic white persons, numbered among these are three (3) members of the Board of Directors of the Fund.

McGhee, this week held a conference with twelve Negro sales representatives, connected with several leading Wall Street investment houses. He challenged them to induce their firms to become involved in the sale and distribution of the shares of Everyman Fund, Inc.

McGhee asserted that Everyman Fund, while offering its shares for sale to everyone, especially seeks to place its shares in the hands of the Negro. He further stated that the special appeal to the Negro is predicated upon his belief that the Negro needs an innoculation of social and economic awareness to impell him to secure larger participation in the nation's total economy through ownership of common stocks of the great financial and industrial corporations which control the economy.

The group of sales representatives meeting with McGhee in the conference room of Hirsch & Company, New York City investment house, located in the Wall Street area at 25 Broad Street, was called together by Woodie G. Williams, Account Executive of Hertz, Neumark & Warner, and Peter Moody, of Bear, Stearns & Company. Others in attendance were, George W. King, of Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, James E. Greene, of Hirsch & Company, Lou C. Fields, Jr., of P. W. Brooks & Company, Emmanuel Jenkins, of Dreyfus & Company, Jerry B. Watson, Jr., of Harris, Upham & Company, Robert N. Judd, of Weis, Voisin, & Compon, and Disraeli Anglin, of Lee Higginson & Company. Accompanying McGhee at the conference was Honorable William T. Andrews, Jr., attorney and former member of the New York State Assembly, and a member of the Advisory Council of the Fund.

McGhee informed the group that the formation of Everyman Fund, Inc., was not only vitally necessary but imperative to serve as a vehicle which everyone interested in the upgrading of the economic status of the Negro may use to insure a place in America for the Negro comparable to its most favored citizenry.

He pointed out that today the annual earnings of the Negro are upwards of $25 billion dollars, yet no significant part is played by the Negro in the total economy save as a consumer outlet for the productive capacity of agencies managed and controlled by others. The time is here and now, he said for thoughtful leaders to instill the desire in the Negro masses for future financial security and larger economic participation.

FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CALL

JAMES E. GREENE

HAnover 2-0600

Detroit Free Press
Business Report

Investment Fund Launched

BY DAVID C. SMITH
Free Press Business Editor

Norman L. McGhee, a sprightly quick - to - smile Cleveland Negro, likes to be first.

In 1951, McGhee formed the nation's first Negro investment firm, McGhee & Co., Cleveland, and has built its assets up to about $110,000.

Now he's launched what he terms the nation's first Negro mutual fund. The trouble is it's not really exclusively for Negroes, a goal readily apparent in its name — Everyman Fund, Inc.

* * *

McGHEE was in Detroit to discuss sale of the fund's shares with Comprehensive Securities, 14300 West McNichols, which has been licensed to sell Everyman shares in Michigan. In all, the fund has been qualified in 16 states, McGhee says.

Although its shares will be open for purchase to all, clearly McGhee feels there's plenty of room for growth among Negroes.

Eyes beaming, he elucidates in an interview that "if every Negro family invested $100 a year in the fund that would be $800 million."

But he's a realist, sets his sights considerably below this lofty figure.

NORMAN L. McGHEE (left), president, shows certificate of Everyman Fund, Inc., to Riley J. Ford, a sales representative of Comprehensive Securities, Detroit, who will sell the fund's shares in Michigan.

Everyman was registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission in February. It presently is selling 500,000 shares at $10 a share with expiration of the offer set for May 31.

Fulton Reid & Co., also a Cleveland investment firm, is the fund's investment adviser and will provide reports, statistical services, advice and recommendations on investments.

* * *

IN DETROIT, where some 400,000 Negroes reside, McGhee has been lining up registered sales representatives. Among these is Riley J. Ford, also a Negro, who estimates there are presently only about 10 Negro securities salesmen in the Detroit area.

Everyman Fund will be jumping into the $35 billion mutual fund industry after completion of the initial offering. Right now it's a closed-end investment company which owns no securities.

After its initial offering is fully subscribed, however, it will then become an open-end mutual fund and proceeds of the initial sale (less selling commissions) will be invested in common stocks, bonds and other securities.

Everyman Fund has a 13-man board of directors including W. Yost Fulton, president of Fulton, Reid. Prior to the offering the fund acquired cash totaling $100,613 from sale of shares to 14 investors, with McGhee & Co.'s 4,266 shares being the largest single bloc.

McGhee describes the fund's goal as providing Negroes an opportunity of "sharing in the growth of the economy of this country" through growth of the fund's investments.

"Many Negroes don't know now about the advantages of mutual funds. We have to plow soil that has been packed down for 200 years without cultivation," says McGhee.

Using Your $ Money $

By NORMAN L. McGHEE

President, McGhee & Co., Investment Securities, Cleveland, Ohio

INVESTING AT HOME.

In recent months I have been advising participation in industrial companies located in the particular city in which you live.

There are many reasons why this should be done. Among the first is that the industry located in your home city provides employment for many of its residents. Another is that in the main such home industry has a stake in the progress of the city in which it is located.

I have found that wherever a great industrial company is located its officers and employes exert a major influence upon the general life of that community.

■

THIS HOLDS true for those companies primarily controlled by whites as well as Negroes. Witness the situation in Atlanta, Ga.; Chicago, Ill.; Pittsburgh, Pa.; Los Angeles, Calif. Here you can see the evidence of the officers and employes of Atlanta Life Insurance Company, and Citizens Trust Company. In Chicago those of Supreme Life, Metropolitan Assurance Company, and Fuller Products. In Pittsburgh, it's The Courier. In Los Angeles, it's the Golden States Life and associated companies.

This situation is true in other cities such as Detroit, Memphis, New Orleans, Birmingham, and others.

Among industries primarily controlled by whites, such companies as General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, General Electric, Westinghouse Electric, U. S. Steel, Republic Steel, National Cash Register, and hundreds of others as examples. Their dominance of the economic life of their communities is well known.

So, I have been, and I shall continue to advise that the Negro begin systematically to follow a plan of investing in the common stock of the industrial companies located in his home city.

I know of no better way to bring about an advance in participation by the Negro in the economic life of his community.

22

Negro-Run Mutual Fund Clears SEC

The Securities & Exchange Commission has given the green light to the first mutual fund in this nation organized and managed by Negroes.

The SEC has approved the registration statement of Everyman Fund, Inc., headed by Norman L. McGhee of the 14-year-old Cleveland investment firm of McGhee & Co.

The new fund now is offering 500,000 common shares at $10 per share. Distribution soon will be under way in 18 states and eventually on a nationwide basis.

INVESTMENT ADVISER to the new open-end fund is the well known Cleveland investment firm of Fulton, Reid & Co., Inc. and the prominent law firm here of Squire, Sanders & Dempsey will serve as counsel.

McGhee, who formed the first Negro - staffed investment firm in the nation, has stated that "everybody is welcome" to invest in the new $5 million fund whose purpose will be "a larger participation by the Negro in the major industrial and financial companies of this country."

Mack Boosts Stock

NEW YORK (AP) — Mack Trucks, Inc., authorized an increase in its common stock from 4.3 million shares to 9 million at its annual meeting yesterday. President Zenon C. R. Hansen told stockholders it would be desirable to have the stock available if needed.

THE PLAIN DEALER,

THURSDAY, APRIL 28, 1966

FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CALL

JAMES E. GREENE

HAnover 2-0600

Mutual Fund Aimed At Negro Investors Registered With SEC

• • •

Everyman Fund, Inc., Planning Initial Offering of 500,000 Shares at Price of $10 Each

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

CLEVELAND—Everyman Fund, Inc., a new mutual fund aimed at "bringing the Negro into a larger participation in the nation's economy" was registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Termed the first Negro mutual fund in the country, the company plans an initial offering of 500,000 shares at $10 a share, said Norman L. McGhee, president, who formed McGhee & Co., Cleveland, in 1952, among the first Negro investment concerns in the U.S.

At present a closed-end investment firm with $94,601 in assets and 10,339 shares outstanding and 15,000 authorized, the fund plans to become an open-end company with redeemable shares following the initial stock offering, he said, and will at that time begin the purchase of securities for its portfolio.

A closed-end investment company has a limited number of shares, whereas an open-end concern, or mutual fund, continuously sells its shares and stands ready to redeem them at prices based on asset values of its portfolio.

The fund has an imprint of the Statue of Liberty on its preliminary prospectus and will have the slogan, "Helping every man to help himself." The Everyman name is taken from a 15th Century morality play by Peter Dorland.

Plans call for the establishment of sales agreements with broker-dealers with qualified Negro salesmen with the objective of selling investments nationally in the fund primarily to Negroes, though there will be no racial restrictions on investors.

Sales will be concentrated at the outset in five states—Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Georgia and South Carolina—though this will be expanded later to other states, particularly those with large Negro populations, Mr. McGhee said.

Fulton, Reid & Co., Cleveland investment company, has been retained as the fund's investment adviser to furnish reports, statistical and research services, advice and recommendations on portfolio investments. W. Yost Fulton, Fulton-Reid's chairman, will be a member of the Everyman board.

The fund's investment objectives are to provide long-term income and growth from a diversified portfolio made up of 75% in common stock or securities convertible into common stock. The rest will be invested in quality bonds and preferred stocks. The investments will be made largely in well-known established companies but may also be made in lesser known, smaller corporations where marketability is adequate, according to the prospectus.

Besides Mr. McGhee and Mr. Fulton, a 13-member board is comprised of Harold Ferguson, a research engineer for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration; Norman L. McGhee, Jr., secretary and a director of McGhee & Co.; Lorimer D. Milton, president of Citizens Trust Co., Atlanta, and trustee chairman of Howard University; Mrs. Tommie P. Patty, executive director of the Phillis Wheatley Association, a private social welfare organization; Arnold Pinkney, president of Pinkney-Perry Insurance Agency, Inc., Cleveland; Max Reiter, president of Printz-Biederman Co.; Dr. Harry V. Richardson, president of the Interdenominational Theological Center, Atlanta; Helen W. Sheffield, formerly a teacher at the State College of South Carolina; George W. Whitehead, a Cleveland attorney; W. R. Wilkes, trustee chairman of Wilberforce University, and J. Walter Wilks, president of J. H. Wilks Co., funeral directors.

FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CALL
JAMES E. GREENE
HAnover 2-0600

EVERYMAN FUND, INC.

10616 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44106

TELEPHONE
(216) 721-6633

INVESTMENT PORTFOLIO

July 11, 1966

Common Stocks (%)	Shares	Market Value
Container Corporation	200	6,025.00
Cleveland, Electric Illum.Co.	100	3,962.50
Illinois Power	150	5,643.75
Proctor & Gamble	100	6,412.50
Republic Steel	100	3,825.00
Smith, Kline, & French	90	6,468.75
Standard Oil of Ohio	100	6,500.00
Texaco	90	6,378.75
TRW	100	4,687.50
Union Commerce Bank of Cleve.	150	6,112.50
Standard Brands	200	6,675.00
		62,691.25
Cash & Equivalent (%)		
Cash		59,454.82
Total		122,146.07
Net Other Assets		273.80
Net Assets		122,419.87
Net Asset Value and Redemption Price Per Share		$ 9.23
Maximum Offering Price Per Share (9.23÷91.5)		$ 10.08

Use of any information herein in either written or oral form must comply with the provisions of the Statement of Policy of the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Prospectus requirements of the Securities Act of 1933.

FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CALL

JAMES E. GREENE

HAnover 2-0600

MCGHEE TAKES EVERYMAN FUND TO WALL STREET

HOLDS THAT LEADERS SHOULD INSTILL DESIRE IN MASSES FOR FINANCIAL SECURITY AND ECONOMIC PARTICIPATION

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FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION CALL

JAMES E. GREENE

HAnover 2-0600

file

HIRSCH & CO.

MEMBERS NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE

NEWARK, N. J.
BALTIMORE, MD.
WASHINGTON, D. C.
MIAMI BEACH, FLA.
PALM BEACH, FLA.
FORT PIERCE, FLA.
LAKE WORTH, FLA.

LONDON
PARIS
GENEVA
AMSTERDAM
BUENOS AIRES

25 BROAD STREET · NEW YORK 4, N.Y.
HANOVER 2-0600 · CABLE "HIRLICO" NEW YORK

JUL 12 1966

July 12, 1966

Mr. Floyd McKissick
C O R E
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Floyd:

As a follow-up to our conversation in Frank's on Monday, I am enclosing more background information on EVERYMAN'S FUND and its founder, Norman McGee.

I am most interested in having your opinion on the Fund's objective and any suggestions you may have.

Awaiting your earliest reply, I remain

Sincerely,

James E. Greene

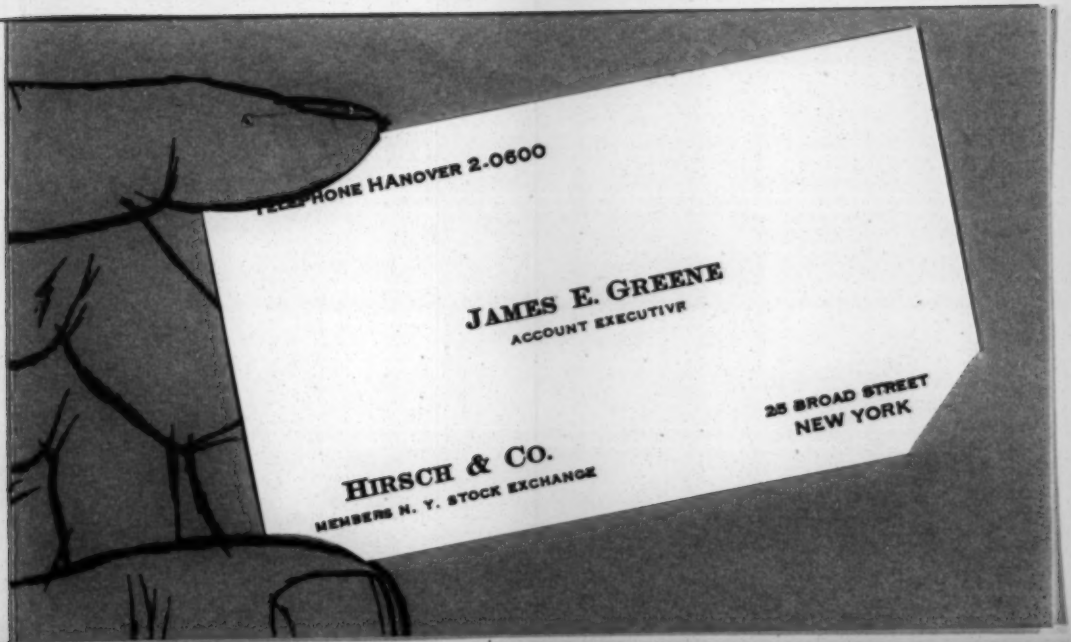
James E. Greene
Account Executive

JEG/ss
Enclosure

You are cordially invited...

to receive professional financial planning assistance, designed to help you reach your personal goals for better living.

I look forward to being of service to you...


TELEPHONE HANOVER 2-0600
JAMES E. GREENE
ACCOUNT EXECUTIVE
HIRSCH & CO.
MEMBERS N. Y. STOCK EXCHANGE
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK

March 24, 1964

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
213½ West Main Street
Durham, N. C.

Dear Floyd:

As you know by now, the Steering Committee meeting was cancelled, particularly because the time seemed inopportune for most members. The next meeting will be, as you have been advised, May 1. By that time, I trust that the financial picture will be brighter.

I agree with you that speaking engagements should be curtailed or cancelled unless they result in bringing in income above the cost of expenses. This will be a general rule during the emergency, subject, of course, to exceptions when the meeting itself is of such a nature or importance to the organization to merit the trip.

Best regards.

Cordially,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GLQ

P.S. There were no urgent matters on the Steering Committee Agenda anyway.

MAR 18 1964

LAW OFFICES OF
F. B. McKISSICK
213½ WEST MAIN STREET
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27701

OFFICE 682-8106
RESIDENCE 682-8576

March 18, 1964

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

I talked with Gordon night before last and he indicated to me that our financial situation at this time is indeed critical.

I made a number of suggestions to him after we discussed this matter. Among the suggestions was that we cancel Steering Committee Meetings for the months of March and April and that the two of us cancel all speaking engagements unless the speaking engagement result in our bringing in income above the cost of our expenses in attending such meetings.

This would mean that our Steering Committee Meeting schedule for March 20th should be cancelled. Every $100.00 saved is a saving. I am assuming that the staff, in the meantime, can make the necessary and proper decisions under your guidance.

Let me hear from you in this regard at your very earliest convenience.

Yours very truly,

F. B. McKissick

FBMcK:ls

cc: Mr. Gordon Carey

LAW OFFICES OF
F. B. McKISSICK
213½ WEST MAIN STREET
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

March 18, 1964

Mr. Clarence Funnye
Program Director
New York Committee on Racial Equality
Suite 101, 2090 7th Avenue
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Funnye:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 9, 1964, inviting me to be in New York to assist in your program in regard to integrated advertising. I commend New York CORE for the tremendous job it is doing.

I regret to advise, however, that due to a rigid Court schedule in which we are trying 1000 Trespass Cases, I will not be able to be in New York on March 20th. You will note that I am sending a copy of this letter to our National Director, Mr. James Farmer, suggesting that he attend. In the event that my Court Schedule changes, I will make every effort to be in these sessions. Again, I thank you for your kind invitation.

With best wishes for a successful negotiation conference, I am

Yours very truly,

F. B. McKissick

FBMcK:ls

cc: Mr. James Farmer, Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

COPY

S.F.

February228, 1967

Mr. James Farmer
165 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Jim:

Enclosed is an invitation, addressed to you, from the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, to participate in the second International Convocation on the requirements of Peace in Geneva, Switzerland.

We wrote to Mr. Hutchins to confirm that this invitation was meant for you personally, not for the National Director per se. All the information you will need to consider the invitation is enclosed.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
enc.

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions
THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California 93103

FEB 23 1967

February 21, 1967

Miss Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director
Core
200 West 135th Street
New York, N.Y. 10030

Dear Miss Hellinger:

Thank you for your letter of February 15th.

The invitation to Mr. Farmer is personal. The Center is inviting leading figures from nations around the globe in a totally unofficial capacity and not as representatives of their countries or of organizations.

We would appreciate it if you would forward the invitation to Mr. Farmer as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Robert M. Hutchins

New York office:
136 East 57 Street
New York, N.Y. 10022
(212) 753-1340

February 15, 1967

Mr. Robert M. Hutchins, President
Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California, 93103

Re: Speaking Engagement

Dear Mr. Hutchins:

Thank you for your letter of February 8, addressed to James Farmer, inviting him to participate in the International Convocation on the requirements of Peace, Pacem in Terris II.

Mr. Farmer is no longer National Director of CORE, although he is Chairman of our Advisory Committee. Therefore, we would like clarification as to whether this invitation is intended for Mr. Farmer personally or for the National Director of CORE--now Floyd B. McKissick. In order to expedite the arrangements, we have enclosed a form. Please complete as much of the form as possible and return it to my attention. This information will be required by either Mr. McKissick or Mr. Farmer. As soon as we hear from you, we will act upon your request--by forwarding your letter with the enclosed form to the correct person.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
Enc. (1) General Information Form

February 15, 1968

Mr. Nathan T. Garrett
Executive Director
Foundation for Community Development, Inc.
811 West Main Street
Post Office Box 647
Durham, North Carolina 27702

Dear Nathan,

Thanks for your note of January 25, and please accept my apologies for just replying. The person I suggested to you has since changed his mind about leaving this area. After reading your plan, I am still convinced that we can do something together and I think possibly if you could come to New York for a couple of days so that we could sit downtto-gether without rush we could really come up with something successful.

I have discussed this matter with Tony Perot, our Program Director, and we are hoping that we can get together around the first or second week in March (you can also help me with my taxes while you are here).

Let me have your thoughts in this regard.

Yours truly,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

FBMcK:pr

FOUNDATION FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, INC.
A NONPROFIT CORPORATION

Nathan T. Garrett
Executive Director

811 West Main Street
Post Office Box 647
Durham, North Carolina 27702
Phone (919) 688-8248

January 25, 1968

Mr. Floyd McKissick
Executive Director of CORE
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York

Dear Floyd:

You and I talked about a training arrangement last month which still interests me. As I told you, we are prepared to bring the person to Durham for interviews at our expense if necessary.

If you've had a chance to look at the proposal I left you, I would appreciate having your comments.

Best wishes to your family and staff. You know how much I am wishing for you all the success in the world.

Very truly yours,

Nathan

Nathan T. Garrett
Executive Director

NTG/bfg

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

Floyd B. McKissick
national director

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Wilfred Ussery
chairman
Lincoln Lynch
2nd vice-chairman
Ruth Turner
secretary
Bill Bradley
treasurer

STAFF

Carl Rachlin
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Don Smith
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Herbert Callender
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Richard Haley
director of southern region
James T. McCain
voter education-political education dept.
Norman Hall
fundraising director
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Lillian Smith
C. K. Steele
Gardner Taylor
Howard Thurman
Bishop W. J. Walls
Goodwin Watson
Joseph Willen
Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman

Dear Friend:

CORE is at the crossroads.

Behind it lie the tough, rewarding years that saw CORE spearhead the civil rights movement with innovations like the sit-ins and the freedom rides. Men, women and little children are able to walk in peace today in many places that knew only terror ten years ago.

Much has been done. But so much remains to be done. And CORE must have money to help finish the job.

Here are some of the areas CORE is operating in today. Job training. Adult education. Voter registration. Consumer cooperatives. Small business training. Fair housing. Better schools.

If we are not successful in these efforts, the Negro will remain in an increasingly constricting ghetto.

The Civil Rights Act was the beginning and not the end of the fight for equal opportunity for every American citizen. And yet the civil rights movement in general and CORE in particular are losing momentum. The reason is simple. No money.

It doesn't take a lot of money to keep CORE people operating in the field. Field secretaries are paid fifty dollars a week, out of which come all their expenses. Field workers -- like the ones who are teaching people in Watts how to get and keep a job -- are paid twenty-five dollars a week.

No, it doesn't take a lot of money. But it does take a little. And a little is what we are asking of you.

Please give what you can. The enemies of integration cannot wait for the failure of any one of the civil rights organizations to prove to their followers that if bigots wait long enough, all of this will go away.

Support CORE with whatever you can afford to send. The nickels and dimes of poor people helped start CORE. Your help can keep it going until democracy is achieved.

Sincerely,

Floyd B. McKissick,
National Director

FBM/dk

GENOCIDE U.S.A.

A BLUEPRINT FOR BLACK SURVIVAL

SPEECH *Presented by*

FLOYD B. McKISSICK

National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
to the
National Conference
on Black Power

Newark, New Jersey — July 21, 1967

National Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030
212-281-9650

CONGRESS OF

CORE

RACIAL EQUALITY

working to create a society in which all men are equal

Floyd Bixler McKissick was born March 9, 1922 in Asheville, North Carolina. Attended public schools of Asheville; graduated from Stephens-Lee High School in 1939. At the age of 12 in a boyscout uniform, he received a vicious beating from a white policeman in Durham, North Carolina. At that time, he vowed to become a lawyer and fight the kind of oppression to which he was subjected.

Attended Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia. Joined army shortly after Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor. Served in European theatre. Married, four children. Graduated Morehouse College; graduated University of North Carolina Law School. Among first Black People to sue for admittance to the University of North Carolina Law School.

Admitted to the North Carolina bar in 1952, the United States Supreme Court in 1955. Licensed to practice law in the District of Columbia and North Carolina, as well as before the Federal Communications Commission, Federal District Court of Appeals, United States Court of Appeals and United States Customs Courts, as well as the United States Supreme Court. Also experienced with bankruptcy and receiverships.

Beginning 1960, he led the sit-in movement in North Carolina—his law office, at one time, handled more than 5,000 demonstration cases.

1963—elected National Chairman of CORE by acclamation.

1966—March—appointed National Director of CORE.

Mr. McKissick is the principle spokesman for the Black Power concept in America today. On these pages, he discusses the nature of oppression in America and points the way toward the creation of a society in which Total Equality through Black Power can become reality.

GENOCIDE U.S.A.

A BLUE PRINT FOR BLACK SURVIVAL

Two eyes stare out of a Black Face. Kinky hair grows on a Black Head. Inside of that Black Head is a mind that is Black, forced to think Black in order to survive. To think white, to reason with the logic of a white man is only to speed the time for the Total Destruction of Black People. A Black Man cannot afford to think white: He must think Black if he is to survive.

Every day, Black People around the world see hunger, suffering, despair, disease and hatred. They see a world of oppression, presided over by a few white people dominating the masses of powerless colored people—on every continent.

Black Men have gained a special insight, an almost "privileged" perception. It is an insight acquired over years of oppression, years without freedom.

White men live in a totally different reality from Black Men. Their thought processes are molded by experiences foreign to Black Men.

Because white men cannot understand Black People or the way they feel and think—they are afraid. The white man knows that he has been the oppressor and, for that, he is guilty. His guilt makes him fear. White people without fear of Blacks are white people without guilt.

White supremacy reigns in such distant and exotic places as Europe and South Africa. But the true bastion of white supremacy, that country which makes it all possible, is the United States of America.

The democratic principles taught in the United States hardly apply on a world-wide basis, for clearly the white minority controls the masses of colored and Black Peoples in the world today.

They make the rules. And the rules say that world domination is not based on democratic principles but on power. There is no willingness to share that power with the colored people of the world. There is no commitment to share that power any time in the future. Yet, Black People are lost without power to bring about change.

We are given rhetoric about power sharing: "the Land of the Free. Home of the Brave." "With liberty and justice for all." I could name dozens of others that sound beautiful, but mean absolutely nothing for Black People, here or on any other continent.

They were never intended to

mean anything for Black People. They were written when we were still slaves.

There are Black People starving in Mississippi, millions of colored people starving in India while white Americans bask in luxury, spending millions to go to the moon, billions on a war in Vietnam which pits yellow people against yellow people.

There are rebellions throughout the United States—Black People demanding that they no longer be exploited, that they be free—free to live in dignity.

Farmers put acres of non-producing land into the federal land bank —which could feed the nation, and the world. In Mississippi, Black People starve.

The Black and colored masses are regarded merely as chattel—with a difference. We are mere consumers. And by our consumption of the goods and services of this nation—this economic, political system, we furnish the margin of profit on which the system survives.

The system of white supremacy and its manipulators are dedicated to the proposition that the system must be maintained at all cost—even at the expense of Total Destruction of Black and colored peoples in the United States and around the world —that system which exploits, denies debases and destroys—destroys humanity, values, morality and non-white cultures.

The cry of the racist white man is: "Threaten not our system, or you will be annihilated by our National Rifle Association, the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens' Councils —which we fund; by the Minute Men, Birchers and vigilantes, who we condone; and by our National Guard, which is integrated, our State Militia, our State, City and County Police Forces, which are also integrated. The system of exploitation is far more important—far more precious—than human lives."

You ask: Would America intentionally starve Black People in Mississippi, feed Indians only if they agreed to domination by white people? Would America allow thousands of Blacks to be wasted on the streets of Newark or Buffalo, Watts or Atlanta, because they simply said: "Take your foot off our necks?"

Would America destroy the lives of millions of Blacks whose forebearers, as slaves, made and developed this economic—political system, by their blood, sweat and free labor. Is there not a word called Respect—another world called Mercy —another, Justice?

Many Jews in Germany thought so. During Hitler's regime, they discovered differently.

Would America systematically destroy 22 million Blacks? My answer is: Look at the record! More specifically, I believe they can. I believe they will.

White supremacy stems from an inferiority complex, so does fear. The kind of fear experienced by the racist white man. The Man has no

logic when dealing with Blacks. For he insists that he is superior.

He is neurotic when threatened, psychotic when confronted with truth. He cannot comprehend your needs or just demands—he cannot recognize his responsibility. He will not acknowledge his guilt or the guilt of his brothers.

Has he punished his white brothers for the civil rights murders of Blacks (or even the whites who were with us), on the highways of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and throughout the south?

I regretfully advise that The Man has not, moreover, he has not even found the criminals, in many instances. But he can find, shoot and kill a sixteen year old Black Kid who loots because he doesn't have money to buy a transistor radio.

Yes—The Man has the capacity to neglect, to destroy, to shoot, to kill—if his victim is not white. He has the capacity for genocide.

Until recently, genocide was a relatively unknown word. After World War II, however, it came into pretty common usage. It means: "The use or user of deliberate, systematic measures for the extermination of a racial, political or cultural group of people." It means mass murder.

In America, we are inclined to reserve this distasteful word for the planned extermination of Jews by Hitler in Nazi Germany. This is naive. Hitler's program of genocide, to be sure, is the only one we know of that was blatant enough to herd millions of people into ovens all at one time—uncouth enough to pile thousands of bodies together in one place and impolitic enough to be implicit in the statement of its goals —the goal being the "Final Solution," the elimination of the Jewish People.

But one must be reminded that genocide exists in many forms and has existed throughout history. To understand the sinister nature of genocide, one must understand not only European history, but American history as well.

No, genocide is not a simple matter. It cannot just happen. One group of people cannot just go ahead and wipe out another group of people. They must first pass through several stages—they must live out a peculiar and deadly pattern.

The first prerequisite for a nation capable of genocide is the belief that they are superior to their victims. They must believe that they are entitled to the control of the life and death of their victims.

During Hitler's regime, the Germans were supplied with elaborate charts and complicated theses, supposedly proving the superiority of the German people. It is interesting to note that, at the bottom of these charts were the colored people of the world, most conspicuously, the Black People.

Until recently, in America, there were many respected scientists and anthropologists who advanced the theory that caucasians were genetically superior to colored peoples.

Although in some parts of the United States, particularly in the south, the belief in genetic superiority still prevails, in the more "enlightened" areas of the North, the popular theory is that colored people, particularly Black People are not genetically inferior. They are just inferior.

If they were not inferior, they would be better educated, live in better homes and on cleaner streets. If they were really equal, they would improve their own conditions.

In America, as we have seen, the belief in white superiority runs deep. It was a dominant factor in the slave trade. The Black African wasn't recognized as a human being.

A belief ferocious enough to allow human slavery cannot be dissipated by a mere century and, in America, it has been quietly reinforced.

Although slavery as a recognized legal institution has been abolished, economic slavery, economic exploitation, has not. Black People in this country have never been allowed to share in the economic riches of America. A few get in—here and there—a few get rich, but their success has no effect on the masses of Black People.

White landlords, white storekeepers, white corporate managers and a white, Anglo-Saxon Wall Street, conspire to keep the Black Man in his place.

As whites quietly exit to the comfortable suburbs, they do not relinquish the economic control of the ghetto; they maintain control of the city agencies and the political scene. They determine what opportunities will be available and what will be reserved for whites only—and, occasionally, one or two good "Negroes."

With the climate existing in the United States, we would be foolish, as leaders, to think that Black People are not being politically oppressed. If Black People got political power, they might be able to merge their values with the values of the dominant culture. And the white man wants to protest his values—particularly his economic values: the materialism which has distorted his dealings with the entire world.

Their laws are used as the tools of racism. Ethics are adopted and discarded at the whim of a racist Congress. Adam Clayton Powell loses his seat in the House of Representatives for alleged offenses far less serious than those of Senator Dodd, who was merely censored for his crimes.

The offenses of which Powell was accused were less than Dodd's—but his punishment was far greater. Congress was not satisfied merely to punish Adam; they punished all the Black People of Harlem. They stripped Harlem of representation.

They made the decision to throw Adam out in less than a day of debate. It took the Senate weeks to even vote to censure Dodd.

One thing they couldn't do—they

couldn't get Adam to beg. They couldn't get Our Man to come whimpering—the way they did with Thomas Dodd.

But they will keep on trying. They will organize special investigations to determine if Adam is guilty of civil offenses—while Senator Eastland, of Mississippi, is immune to even the inconvenience of defending himself against the civil charge of "conspiracy to violate civil rights in Louisiana."

These attacks upon Black Men are not restricted to economic and political means. In Newark, of 26 dead, in the recent rebellion, 24 were Black People. The ratio was similar in Watts. Not one white man died in Harlem's rebellion.

And who is to blame for the rebellions? This point we need not argue. The white man is the judge, jury and the executioner in his system and he first made the law so as to control us. We are called the violators of his "Law and Order"—"Criminals."

Yet he knows that the white racist society is to blame for all of the conditions which force a man to rebel. His concept of "Law and Order" means the legal methods of exploiting Blacks. We object and we resist.

Some so-called Negro leaders even have the audacity to join The Man—by calling a Liberation Struggle a riot—his brothers hoodlums and criminals—and damning his brothers who seek to overthrow the yoke of oppression.

And when these rebellions temporarily subside—what happens? Black People are stranded without food, medical supplies and other essentials. Old People, babies, pregnant women must stand in line for hours to get one quart of ransid milk and a box of cereal.

No National Agencies come to their aid: They are left to their own devices.

We sent an urgent telegram to the President of the United States—requesting that sections of Newark be declared a National Disaster Area—so that the Red Cross and government agencies could move in with food and supplies. In response, from the Office of Emergency Planning, we received a terse message.

I quote: "Your request for the designation of the area of Newark, New Jersey as National Disaster Area has been referred to this office for response. Disasters are defined by this office to include only natural disasters. Therefore do not cover the circumstances of the disaster of riots in Newark."

As history unfolds, it becomes more and more apparent that questions must be raised—the same questions which were raised by the events in Nazi Germany. This time, answers must be found.

Why didn't the Jews organize to oppose Hitler? Why weren't they a solid enough political force to prevent his ascent to power? Why did so many people march so slowly to their deaths? Why didn't they

resist? What techniques did the Germans apply? What methods did they use? Were not the Jews psychologically prepared for genocide?

Before the mass extermination began, Jews were degraded systematically. They were confined to ghettos. They were kept apart. They were forced to wear a special badge of dishonor—the Star of David.

In America, the special badge does not need to be sewn on a man's jacket. He is always Black.

In this country, the ghetto is not defined by barbed wire: The ghetto follows the Black Man wherever he goes.

Hitler was faced with the task of destroying Jewish economic power. In America, the task is easier. The Black Man has no economic power. At this late date, there is little need to escalate economic oppression. The Black Man is at the bottom of the ladder.

Black People have always lived under fear of torture and death by this racist system—fear of being beaten by whips or chains in slavery, fear of expressing themselves at the cost of death, fear of life itself. Fear of exercising the basic rights supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

But we paid our dues for being a man—a slave—for seeking to express ourselves, for telling the truth about this wretched system. In slavery, they cut our heel strings to stop us from running and joining the underground railroad. Yes, we've paid our dues. It is estimated that sixty million of us died as a direct result of the slave trade. They lynched us by the hundreds and thousands for simply saying what we saw.

We pay our dues today—the death penalty is primarily reserved for Blacks when a crime is committed—or alleged. "Equal Justice Under Law" is a farce when an all-white jury convicts Muhammad Ali in less than twenty minutes, when Black Men are shot in religious worship in Los Angeles because they are Muslims—when Black Leaders are afraid to speak out because, if they do, it means economic isolation.

Yes, Black People know fear and live with it each and every day of their lives—in deadly fear of the white man's potential. We know he can kill, we know he will—because of his hurt pride—we know that his personality demands that he control whatever he sees, we know that normal dissent is treason in his blue eyes.

In fact, we know The Man better than he knows himself. We know him for what he is. We know he will kill us if he can—one by one or all at once.

Yet, in spite of all this, there are those of us who have been defeated by his tactics, misled by his propoganda machine.

It is evident that too many American Black People are psychologically prepared for genocide. Too many Black People believe that they are

really inferior. Too many Black People want to look like the white man and be like the white man.

Hitler's propoganda techniques have been refined and expanded. The propoganda of white supremacy is advanced through advertising, entertainment and through education and folklore that ignores the contributions of Black People to World Civilization; through the acceptance of the European standard of beauty and culture, while disparaging and disregarding the values of three quarters of the world—while ignoring the beauty that is Black.

How else could you explain the failure of some Black People to understand and accept Black Power? Any rational person or group of people understand the need for self-preservation.

Could it be that some Black People have been so misled, so confused by white America that they don't understand they need power of their own to protect themselves? Could it be that some middle-class Negroes have become so enamored with the death-wish of integration—the dream of absorption and disappearance into the white man's culture—that he fears his Blackness?

Maybe it's that too few Black People are aware of the machinery already set up for their possible destruction. Maybe they don't know about the McCarran Act.

Title II of the McCarran Act provides the Attorney General with the power in the event of an "Internal Security Emergency," to apprehend and detain ". . . all persons as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such person probably will engage in or probably will conspire with others to engage in espionage or sabotage."

Maybe Black People don't think that the American government, that an American Attorney General, would ever utilize such a power. But, remember during World War II, those concentration camps were used for the interment of Japanese-Americans. The property of many innocent yellow people was confiscated. To this day, fair reparations have never been paid.

Maybe Black People feel that it is more important to be American than to be Black. Many Jews in Nazi Germany mistakenly felt it was more important to be a German than to be a Jew. Those who survived know better now.

The government could, and would, use almost any excuse to declare an Internal Security Emergency.

Opposition to the War in Vietnam, the constitutional exercise of the right to dissent has already been equated with disloyalty and treason. General Westmoreland was brought all the way back from the battlefields of Vietnam to merge dissent with disloyalty in the minds of the American people. Such pronouncements by the Commander of the American Armed Forces can only feed an atmosphere of hysteria about the war which could be used to justify the use of Title II.

We are experiencing another Long, Hot Summer. We are faced with violence in our cities and on our campuses. These rebellions against an oppressive system, these outbursts of frustration and hopelessness, could also be used to justify the use of Title II.

The white man has never pulled any stops in his drive for advancement. When he decided that he wanted land—rich American land—not one thought was given to the systematic slaughter of American Indians. In 1600, there were about 589,000 Indians on this continent. Over 200,000 of those people belonged to tribal groups which are now extinct.

Extinct. That means that whole tribes, whole groups of people, were wiped out. More than 60% of the entire Indian population was exterminated. Those who lived, were herded onto reservations.

Those Indians were victims of the white man's drive for the control of land. Land has always been the tap root of the capitalist system: Land is wealth and the use of land controls the people—both physically and mentally.

An example of this, in 1967, is the Urban Renewal Act. This act, which was supposed to be designed to provide low cost housing has never been used for that purpose. Urban Renewal has helped eliminate Black Ownership of property. It has been used to destroy the potential for the development of Black Political Power by the scattering of Black Citizens. In fact, it has been "Negro Removal."

When the Black People are removed, the land is transferred over to businessmen for redevelopment purposes, re-zoned and given an increased value. It is almost always used for middle income housing. In any event, the Black People are not able to return.

Genocide is a political decision. It can be made by a town, city, state, nation or group of nations. It was a political decision, for example, to exterminate the Communists in Indonesia. It was a political decision for the CIA to engineer the coup.

The London Times estimated the dead at nearly one million in the period of four months—five times as many people died in Indonesia as in Vietnam in twelve years.

The techniques and tactics of genocide vary. The prevalent pattern has been, in recent years—to engineer coups where it is rumored that the Communists might take over.

In these cases, they have been successful in getting right wing Indonesians to fight left wing Indonesians, South Vietnamese to fight North Vietnamese, South Koreans to fight North Koreans and, in the Congo, Ghana, and other parts of Africa—to deliberately raise issues which result in tribal warfare.

In this way, the white man keeps his hands clean and he is able to obtain the spoils of bloody civil wars. For he is, in fact, the only beneficiary.

It will be interesting to watch what will happen in the near future in such places as Thailand, Cambodia and Laos.

We cannot let those patterns which have already been applied so successfully around the world and which are already in motion in this country—be carried to their logical, ultimate conclusion. These patterns must be halted now.

And we must be the ones to do it. We cannot expect help from anyone but ourselves.

Even our friends in the peace movement find it too easy to look thousands of miles away from home and, with much indignation, see the extermination of the Vietnamese.

On the other hand, they cannot see ten blocks away, where many Black People are the Walking Dead —dead in mind and spirit, because of lack of hope and lack of chance.

We cannot look elsewhere for help. We cannot lean on the crutch of religion. We cannot depend on phony "coalitions." We must work out our own methods. We must draw our own conclusions.

To those queasy individuals who are afraid of the resolutions presented here, let me state my unequivocal opinion: The right of revolution is a constitutional right, condoned by the creation of the American Constitution itself. When we assert the right of revolution, we are asserting a constitutional right.

Revolution in America is justified by all standards of morality—religious and ethical: It is required to fulfill the basic, natural rights of man.

Even white men recognized the need for revolution when, in 1776, they revolted because they were oppressed. And today—1967—Black People are more oppressed than any white man has ever been—in the history of the world.

This is the time when we must unite—Brothers and Sisters. We must join in making plans.

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) has some ideas for programs in this regard—some short range and some long range. We are a common front into which all Black People can unite.

There is a need for a Black Brain Trust. Black People with the best minds in the country must come together to help organize and plan strategy for our future, to plan for every aspect of our existence—political, economic, cultural —international.

This is not a problem of Civil Rights—it is a problem of Black Survival. The concept of civil rights is pitifully insignificant when our very lives are at stake.

A Black Fund-Raising Base must be established. As long as the white man controls the purse strings, he will hold them tightly around our necks.

We must develop second line leadership in all-Black organizations. We must develop training programs throughout this country.

We must develop effective, so-

phisticated security systems—a national system of communication.

We must oppose the War in Vietnam but, more important, we must educate Black Youth not to participate in that war—now.

We must develop ways and means of dealing with those "Negroes" who sell us out—who betray their people.

We see the need to develop a Black Political Base. When an incompetent like Hugh Addonizio runs a city like Newark—where over 60% of the population is Black—we need our own political base.

Addonizio had advance warning of what would happen in his community. But Hughie insisted that race relations in Newark were good. According to the U.S. News and World Report of May 23, 1966, Addonizio said; "We haven't had any racial difficulties in Newark so far, and we don't anticipate any in the future. I think it's wrong for people to go around making statements like that. They could stir up the trouble we're trying so hard to avoid."

Those don't sound like the words of a man who understands the Black Community.

Then, to further illustrate his contempt for the Black Community, Hughie goes to appoint a white political hack with a High School education for the important and responsible job of Secretary of the Board of Education.

The Black Community demanded that Wilbur Parker, City Budget Director, a Certified Public Accountant with a Master's degree, be appointed. And to avoid doing that —to avoid his responsibility to Black People—Hughie convinced the present Secretary to remain.

But that is only one incident, only a tiny phase of a career of contempt, of disrespect.

In Newark, and in all cities where Black People are in the majority, the administration must be responsive to the needs of the people—must respect the demands of the Black Community. In any community where more than 60% of the people are Black—we need a Black Mayor.

In fact, the question of a white man's competency becomes irrelevant when a city is more than 60% Black. If he's white, he shouldn't be Mayor.

There comes a time in the relations between a people and an elected official that the people must say: "Enough!"

That time has arrived in Newark. The people must exercise their undeniable right to clean house. Too long, white elected officials have in these United States . . . been immune from the wrath of the Black Population. They have translated this immunity into an utter disregard for the rights and prerogatives of Black People.

Black People must eliminate these evils: There is no better place to start than Newark.

We have consulted with the pro-

gressive Black Leaders of this community. It is agreed that there must be a Recall Election to get rid of Hugh Addonizio and replace him with a Black Mayor.

This conference should go on record at this time in support of the citizens of Newark in a recall election.

CORE is appointing Bob Curvin and James Hooper of the Congress of Racial Equality in Newark to spearhead and join in with other groups and individuals, to organize and coordinate this effort. Your assistance will be desperately needed.

People will be needed—volunteers who are willing to work—willing to get thousands of signatures on petitions to recall Addonizio.

The recall effort must be followed up with a Black Conference for the purpose of selecting one Black Candidate, who will be Newark's next mayor; for the purpose of organizing a Black Voter Registration Campaign Committee; for the purpose of organizing a Newark Black Candidates Fund Committee—for the purpose of making Black Political Power in Newark a reality.

As men, we must now stand up. If we are truly men and believe what we say, and live by our convictions—we must be steadfast. Men are known not by words, but by deeds—and men we must be.

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national chairman

Arthur Evans, Jr.
first vice-chairman

Roy Innis
second vice-chairman

Marlene Wilson
secretary

Elijah Turner
treasurer

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national director
Lincoln O. Lynch
associate national director
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special events director
George Schiffer
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Lincoln O. Lynch
Associate National Director

Wilfred Ussery
National Chairman

Copies of this statement may be purchased at 25¢ each by writing CORE
200 West 135th Street, New York

National Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, N. Y. 10030

I enclose $_____as a special gift to help the National Congress of Racial Equality in its efforts to implement the programs outlined in the testimony.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY_____ STATE _____

ZIP NO._____

CONGRESS OF

CORE

RACIAL EQUALITY

working to create a society in which all men are equal

STATE OF KANSAS
Department of Administration
Purchasing Division
KSU-DA 103 (11-64-50M SETS)

K. S. U. PURCHASE ORDER—VENDOR'S INVOICE

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY, MANHATTAN, KANSAS

P. O. I. № 49045

FUND NAME General Fees ACCOUNT NAME Assembly (B) WAR

1. White—Acct. & Reports Div.
2. Blue—Vendor
3. Green—Comptroller K. S. U.
4. Yellow—Purchasing Division
5. Pink—Remittance
6. White—Department Files

DATE	FUND	F	AGENCY	ACCOUNT	E. A. NUMBER	VOUCHER NO.
2-21-66	0416	3	367	99	902079	

TERMS	K. S. U. ACCOUNT No	F. O. B	CONTRACT No
	20101		

Complete Item A or B as Appropriate

A. ☐ This is Confirmation of items received.

B. ☒ This is an order, to be shipped to:

Dept. Vice Pres. Pugsley - KSU

Building Anderson Hall

Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas 66504

VENDOR'S NAME AND ADDRESS

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

DATE AND INVOICE No.	QUANTITY	UNIT	DESCRIPTION OF MATERIAL OR SERVICE	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
			Total of This Order		$ 581.59
			An honorarium for Mr. Floyd B. McKissick, convocation speaker, who will be on campus March 28, 1966.		
			PLEASE EXPEDITE, THIS TRANSACTION DEMANDS IMMEDIATE ATTENTION SO PAYMENT CAN BE MADE TO MR. McKISSICK ON MARCH 28TH.		

USE CONTINUATION SHEET IF MORE SPACE IS NEEDED

Name:

FEDERAL EXCISE TAX EXEMPTION CERTIFICATE

The signer hereby certifies that he is authorized to execute this certificate and that the article or articles specified in this Order, are purchased from the above named company for the exclusive use of KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY.

It is understood that the exemption from tax in the case of sales of articles under this exemption certificate to the United States, States, etc., is limited to the sale of articles purchased for their exclusive use, and it is agreed that if articles purchased tax free under this exemption certificate are used otherwise or are sold to employees or others, such fact must be reported to the manufacturer of the article or articles covered by this certificate. It is also understood that the fraudulent use of this certificate to secure exemption will subject the signer and all guilty parties to a fine of not more than $10,000, or to imprisonment for not more than five years, or both, together with costs of prosecution.

Congress of Racial Equality

VENDOR'S INFORMATION AND FILE COPY

Check no 0536494 3/8/66 Voucher 33953

STATE OF KANSAS
Department of Administration
Purchasing Division
KSU-DA 103 (11-64-50M SETS)

K. S. U. PURCHASE ORDER—VENDOR'S INVOICE
KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY, MANHATTAN, KANSAS

P. O. I. № 49045

FUND NAME General Fees ACCOUNT NAME Assembly (B) WARRANT No.

1. White—Acct. & Reports Div.
2. Blue—Vendor
3. Green—Comptroller K. S. U.
4. Yellow—Purchasing Division
5. Pink—Remittance
6. White—Department Files

DATE	FUND	F	AGENCY	ACCOUNT	E. A. NUMBER	VOUCHER No.
2-21-66	0416	3	367	99	902079	33953
TERMS	K. S. U. ACCOUNT No		F. O. B			CONTRACT No
	20101					

ACT.	OBJECT	AMOUNT
20	262	$581.59

CONTROLLER'S USE

Complete Item A or B as Appropriate

A. ☐ This is Confirmation of items received.
B. ☒ This is an order, to be shipped to:
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Building Anderson Hall
Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas 66504

VENDOR'S NAME AND ADDRESS
Mr. Floyd B. McKissick

Please send check to
Dean Pugsley.

DATE AND INVOICE No.	QUANTITY	UNIT	DESCRIPTION OF MATERIAL OR SERVICE	UNIT PRICE	AMOUNT
			Total of This Order	.....	$ 581.59
			An honorarium for Mr. Floyd B. McKissick, convocation speaker, who will be on campus March 28, 1966.		
			PLEASE EXPEDITE, THIS TRANSACTION DEMANDS IMMEDIATE ATTENTION SO PAYMENT CAN BE MADE TO MR. McKISSICK ON MARCH 28TH.		

USE CONTINUATION SHEET IF MORE SPACE IS NEEDED

THIS IS NOT AN ORDER

The enclosed warrant is in payment of the above bill. Kindly give proper credit for it on your books.

Any correspondence in regard to your account against this institution should be addressed to the Comptroller's Office, Kansas State University, Anderson Hall, Manhattan, Kansas 66504.

REMITTANCE COPY

****

FILE [-]

FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND POSSIBLE USE [X]

PLEASE ACKNOWLEDGE [ ]

3-10-66

Received $200.00 (Honorarium) for services of Floyd McKissick to the Eastern Regional Conference.

National Council of the Churches of Christ
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10027

November 11, 1966

Miss Evelyn Kirsch
Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam
692 West Forest, Apt. 6
Detroit, Michigan 48201

Re: Honorarium - Speech at Wayne State University

Dear Miss Kirsch:

On November 8, 1966, Mr. McKissick addressed the students and faculty of Wayne State University under the sponsorship of the Wayne Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

The honorarium agreed upon for that appearance was five hundred dollars ($500.00) Please forward a check for that amount to this office as soon as possible.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH

November 11, 1966

Mr. Leonard L. McCants
Chairman of Project Awareness
The College of Liberal Arts
Office of the Student Council
Howard University
Washington D.C. 20001

Re: Honorarium - Howard University Speech

Dear Mr. McCants:

October 6, 1966, Mr. McKissick addressed the students and faculty of Howard University at Crampton Auditorium in Washington, D.C.

The honorarium agreed upon for that appearance was five hundred dollars ($500.00). Please forward a check to that amount to this office as soon as possible.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH

MAY 25 1967

500.00

GREAT NECK FORUM
P. O. BOX 108, OLD VILLAGE STATION
GREAT NECK, L. I., N. Y.

File

May 22, 1967

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Thank you again for your fine presentation at our May 19th meeting. Your honorarium is enclosed.

You mentioned a recent speech of yours available in text. A young man named Rob Rosenthal of 8 Pebble Lane, Roslyn Heights, New York will appreciate receiving a copy of the text.

Sincerely,

Leon Quart

CHAIRMAN

LQ:tp

LAW OFFICES
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LEON QUAT

RABE, KELLER & DAVIS
1920-1942
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1873-1920

259 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10007
AREA CODE 212 BARCLAY 7-8311

MAY 18 1967

May 15, 1967

Mr. Floyd McKissick
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Re: Great Neck Forum

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Glad you can join us for dinner in Great Neck Friday. Norman Eisner will be with us too. Can Mrs. McKissick come?

I will contact you in a day or two to confirm travel arrangements.

Sincerely,

Leon Quat

LQ:tp
Encl.

THE OFFICIAL NEWSPAPER OF GREAT NECK WITH THE LARGEST PAID QUALITY CIRCULATION

The Great Neck News

All the news and official notices of the Incorporated Villages of Great Neck, Great Neck Estates, Great Neck Plaza, Kensington, Kings Point, Lake Success, Russell Gardens, Saddle Rock, Thomaston and the unincorporated areas of the Great Neck Peninsula

Vol. 43 — No. 11 THE ONLY NEWSPAPER PRINTED IN GREAT NECK GREAT NECK, N. Y., FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1967 303 EAST SHORE ROAD PHONE HU 7-1100 $3.50 year — 10c a copy

Carmichael, McKissick to Address Great Neck Forum on 'Black Power'

The two leading exponents of the "Black Power" concept, Stokely Carmichael and Floyd McKissick, will address the Great Neck Forum on Friday, May 19 at 8:30 p.m.

In view of wide public interest in these two civil rights leaders and in the subject, the Forum will move for the evening to a larger auditorium, at the north senior high school, 35 Polo Rd.

The speakers are expected to answer critics of "Black Power" and to urge "a positive view." Their discussion will include the economics and politics of Black Power, civil rights and the Vietnam war, integration and the role of whites in the civil rights struggle.

Mr. Carmichael is national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Mr. McKissick is national director of the Congress of Racial Equality.

In a statement to the Forum, McKissick denied the contention that Black Power reflects a racist point of view. "For once," he declared, "black people are going to use the words they want to use — not just the words whites want to hear. And they will do this no matter how often the press tries to stop the use of the slogan by equating it with racism and separatism."

Carmichael, who has tied the civil rights movement to opposition to the war in Vietnam, has stated: "Black Americans are still paralyzed by poverty; frustrated by unkept promises; bloodied in the streets of America; sacrificed in the jungles of Vietnam because of inadequate political power."

Carmichael, 25-years-old, was raised in the slums of Trinidad, New York City and Washington, D. C. A graduate of the Bronx High School of Science and of Howard University, he had been involved in his group's activities throughout the south and in Puerto Rico. He played a major role in the 1964 Mississippi Summer Project.

McKissick, who is 45, was born and bred in the south, is the first Negro ever to have been admitted to the University of North Carolina, Law School and its first Negro graduate, and has practiced before the U. S. Supreme Court. Together with Carmichael he was a leading speaker at the Apr. 15 peace demonstration at the United Nations Plaza.

Leon Quat, chairman of the Forum, announced that the 1966-67 season, just concluded, reached a new high in attendance.

LAW OFFICES
DAVIS AND QUAT

JAMES A. DAVIS (1920-1966)
LEON QUAT

RABE, KELLER & DAVIS
1920-1942
RABE AND KELLER
1873-1920

259 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10007
AREA CODE 212 BARCLAY 7-8311

APR 5 1967

April 3, 1967

Mr. Floyd McKissick
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Re: Great Neck Forum

Dear Mr. McKissick:

I am delighted to learn through Moe Tandler of your acceptance of our invitation to appear before the Great Neck Forum on Friday evening, May 19th together with Mr. Stokley Carmichael.

I shall of course be in contact with your prior to that date to make final arrangements.

Sincerely,

Leon Quat

LQ:tp

Copy to: Mr. Norman Eisner
16 Shady Brook Road
Great Neck, New York

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$100.00

SEP 1967
SEP 5 1967

September 1, 1967

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030

Dear Mr. McKissick:

All of us here at the Council are especially grateful for your participation in the Conference.

We intend to follow-up on many of the suggestions offered and will keep you apprised as we go along.

I am enclosing a $100.00 honorarium.

Sincerely,

D'Army Bailey
Director

DB:amw
Encl.

Contributions are deductible for U. S. Income Tax purposes

Tele Housing

THE TOMPKINS SQUARE URBAN RENEWAL PLAN

Where It Is Now and What the Community Can Do

On Wednesday, April 20, 1966, the New York City Planning Commission will hold a public hearing on the Tompkins Square Urban Renewal Plan. This hearing is almost the final step before the City's plan is officially approved and it may be the last chance for the community to express its feelings on it. Although it is very late in the game, there still may be an opportunity to change the plan if those who are concerned cooperate and work rapidly.

This opportunity will only be available if those who are aroused to the injustices of the present plan appear at the hearing, and state their opposition and demand that changes be made.

As many people as possible should be encouraged to come to the hearing and spokesmen from as many groups as possible should appear. The statements need not be long, the identification of the group and a few sentences urging that the present plans be revised to include low income housing are sufficient.

The meeting at which the hearing will take place will start at 10:00 A.M. on Wednesday in the Board of Estimate Chamber in City Hall, which is at Broadway and Chambers Street. All those concerned with the Tompkins Square Plan should be there by 11:00 A.M.

As it now stands, the City's plan will provide a total of 800 new apartments on the three blocks between 10th and 13th Streets, from Avenue C to Avenue A. The project is in two parts. The first part consists of 370 rental apartments on the northern end of the site. The monthly rentals here will start at $90 a month plus utilities and go up to $151 with a one-bedroom apartment renting at about $110 per month. The City contends that families with a weekly income of $84 (before taxes) will be able to afford the lowest rent apartments. The plans for these apartments were approved last June and construction began recently.

The public hearing on Wednesday is on the second part of the project for 470 apartments on the sourthern part of the site. These are proposed as cooperatives, with a one-bedroom apartment, for example, costing about $2,000 for the down payment

and involving monthly carrying charges of almost $100, including utilities. Again, certainly not low income housing.

To many, the City's plan and the way it was drawn up represents an almost continual and calculated disregard of the needs and wants of a large segment of the community - those who are poor and live in inferior housing. The people of the neighborhood have repeatedly expressed their feelings on the kind of renewal which should take place. On January 11, 1963, a community meeting attended by nearly 300 people overwhelmingly supported a motion stating "that no structurally sound residential buildings be removed (from the renewal site) at the present time; and that new building be done at rents and with rooms to fit the needs of neighborhood people." Only four people at the meeting voted against this motion.

The available data on the people in the area and the housing conditions they live in amply demonstrate their need for vastly improved housing at low rents. In 1960, in the immediate area around the project between East 3rd and East 14th Streets, Avenues B to D contained 25,697 people living in 9,454 tenement apartments, all between 60 and 100 years old. About 14% of these apartments were classified by the U.S. Census as being in poor condition (dilapidated) and an additional 44% were called substandard. Moreover, 20% of the apartments were considered overcrowded; that is they had more than 1 per room. If anything these conditions have worsened since 1960 as the population has shifted in favor of larger Negro and Puerto Rican families. The average income in 1960 was $4100 per family with 31% earning less than $3,000 per year, hardly enough to afford one of the new apartments described above.

The City's response to these compelling circumstances was to announce on May 22, 1964, through the Housing and Redevelopment Board, that "at least 20 per cent of the moderate-income apartments (to be constructed) will be available at monthly charges comparable to those in currently constructed low-rent public housing." At this rate between 160 and 200 apartments in the entire project would rent for $18 to $20 per room, or $55 to $60 a month for a one-bedroom unit. Many local residents, especially those with larger families, cannot even afford these rentals

As we have seen, over the past two years even this minor concession to the housing claims of the neighborhood has been abandoned. The present plan does not offer any low-income

units and is openly called a "middle-income" project. Indeed, the rents and charges are even somewhat higher than many other middle-income developments in the City.

Not only has the City ignored the desires of the community, expressed through the very process of "citizen participation" which it encouraged, but it has failed to live up to its own commitment to provide low-cost housing in the project. However, a more important principle is at stake, for once again the City has bypassed those with the most desperate need for improved living situations and the least ability to pay for them. In fact it has worsened the existence of these people by crowding them into a constantly decreasing supply of low-income housing.

What can be done to gain something for the people of the community from the Rental Plan? The hour is late; the first part of the project has been approved and many aspects of the plan have been decided upon. Even within the decisions which have been made, there is a possibility of securing something for those who are not totally excluded. Considering that under the present plan all tenants will receive some form of government subsidy, it is not unfair to demand that the subsidies be distributed so that they benefit people from several economic groups, and not only those of middle-income.

There are several possible alternatives for getting low-income housing. They are only suggestions, but if the Planning Commission is convinced by the community and defers its decision on the present plan, there will be time to work them out with the City and see which are most appropriate.

1. Rent Subsidies

   Funds for the rent subsidy program have recently been appropriated by Congress and they could be used by the City housing agencies to provide low-cost housing in the project. Under the 1965 legislation, rent subsidies could be used in the first part, the rental apartments, and possibly even in the cooperatives. It should be noted that even though the plans for the rental apartments have been approved and construction started, leases have not been signed yet for any of the apartments so they could be brought into the rent subsidy plan.

There may also be a chance of getting some type of rent subsidy through a New York State low rent financing plan.

2. Public Housing

This could possibly work under two approaches:

a) Have the Housing Authority purchase one or more of the buildings outright from the sponsors and then operate it as part of its regular public housing program.

b) The 1965 Housing Act permits public housing agencies to provide low-rent units by means other than building them directly. Under this law they can also buy and/or lease existing housing from private owners. Thus, it is possible for the Housing Authority to lease units in the rental section and buy them in the cooperative section and then re-rent them to low income tenants.

These and possibly other alternatives could produce housing for the residents of the neighborhood. The community must persuade the City to give them a chance of success.

April 15, 1966

FEPC

FAIR PRACTICES NEWS

For equal opportunity in employment and housing

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION P.O. Box 603, San Francisco 94101 322 West First Street, Los Angeles 90012

No. 28 July–August, 1966

Census Survey Reveals "Islands of Poverty"

A special census of Negroes and Mexican Americans living in South and East Los Angeles, taken after the August 1965 eruption in Watts, reveals these areas to be literal islands of poverty and deprivation that have grown more depressed over the past five years, while surrounding areas continue to expand and prosper.

The survey and its analysis by the State Department of Industrial Relations, Division of Labor Statistics and Research, are the subject of a 40-page study recently released by FEPC.

The report -- Negroes and Mexican Americans in South and East Los Angeles -- compares 1960 census data with that of the special census and points out that while the Anglo-white population gradually rises economically, the nonwhite, non-Anglo population in these ghettos slowly sinks.

Among other data contained in the study:

+ While the unemployment rate for nonwhites in the nation dropped from 12 percent to 6 percent in the five years 1960-65, among Negro males in South Los Angeles, the rate dropped insignificantly, from 11 to 10 percent.

+ A drop of nearly $400 in purchasing power or "real" income of the average South or East Los Angeles family contrasted with a substantial rise for other segments of the population in the same period.

+ In both the areas surveyed, young families -- those headed by persons under 25 years -- were experiencing grave economic difficulties. In South Los Angeles 46 percent of such families had incomes below the poverty level (defined as $3,130 for a family of four), while in East Los Angeles the total was 32 percent.

+ Fewer women in these two areas were married and living with husbands than was true five years earlier. Current figures average 48.1 percent, while in 1960 the average was 52 percent.

+ Consequently, the number of households headed by women in 1965 rose to 26 percent of the total, up from 19 percent in 1960. Of such female-headed households, 59 percent were existing on below-poverty-level incomes.

+ In housing, only 67 percent of the South Los Angeles dwellings were judged "sound," and in East Los Angeles only 65 percent. Both areas saw a decline in the quality of housing over the past five years, while rents rose from $10 to $12 per month. The number of owner-occupied dwellings diminished, and those that were rented rose correspondingly.

+ Considerable stability was shown in residential patterns. Of the South Los Angeles residents surveyed, 87 percent had lived in or near that area for at least five years. The report also showed that only six percent had migrated from the Southern states during that time, although the August 1965 uprising in Watts has frequently been attributed to a heavy influx of Negroes from the South. In East Los Angeles, residents for five years or longer accounted for 85 percent of the population, with only seven percent reporting they had moved in from Mexico or another foreign country during the last five years.

This report is the fifth in a series on California minorities prepared by the Division of Labor Statistics and Research from U. S. census data and issued by FEPC. Single copies are available from FEPC, Box 603, San Francisco 94101.

Special Statement by FEPC

Evaluating Job Applicants With Police Records

It has long been recognized that individuals with even minor police records have great difficulty in finding jobs. As this problem is frequently another barrier to employment of Negroes, Mexican Americans, American Indians and others of minority background, it has repeatedly come to the attention of the FEPC.

Thus, the Commission is most impressed by the recommendations for employment of persons with police records developed by the Employment Committee of the Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations. The FEPC fully endorses these recommendations and urges that all employers in the State observe them. Excerpts from the committee's recommendations follow.

In order that persons with police records are treated equitably and not barred unnecessarily from employment, the Los Angeles County Commission has recommended:

1. That a differentiation be made between <u>arrest</u> and <u>conviction</u> in the consideration of an applicant's police record.
   (In neighborhoods and areas having a high proportion of disadvantaged people and characterized by gang activities, it is frequently the practice of the police to "bring in" for questioning, individuals or groups. A careful distinction should be made by prospective employers between arrests for questioning, arrests followed by acquittal, and convictions for breaking the law.)
2. That a careful evaluation be made of the <u>frequency and severity</u> of violations of past offenders.
   (We are all lawbreakers in the strict sense of the term. Our disregard of the law is sometimes overlooked because of the neighborhoods we live (and drive) in and often because of sheer luck. Also, there are significant variations in the severity of infractions and these should influence the suitability of any person for employment.)
3. That consideration be given to the <u>age</u> of the applicant at the time of his illegal act.
   (Impulsiveness, aggression, and recklessness are partly functions of age. An older person should acquire a maturity and greater knowledge of and a respect for the law. The younger person without a history of chronically serious infractions should be given every break in finding work.)
4. That <u>elapsed time</u> since a conviction be a prime consideration.
   (Substantial elapsed time since a conflict with the law might well be interpreted as a self-improvement effort on the part of the applicant.)
5. That thoughtful consideration be given to the <u>whole man</u> -- his aptitudes, abilities, interests and educational level -- rather than simply one aspect of his personal history.
   (The <u>whole man</u> comes to work to produce for an employer; <u>one aspect</u> of his past may have no influence on his value as a permanent employee.)
6. That the <u>nature of the work</u> may have a bearing on the employability of those with police records.
   (An entry job that begins with close supervision and little initial responsibility is most appropriate for a past offender who should undergo a probationary period before being fully accepted as a permanent employee.)

It is this committee's opinion that young people from generally crowded and low-income neighborhoods are prone to develop low self-images as a result of a succession of dissatisfactions and failures. Such experiences can well result in feelings of alienation as a defense against these pressures of dissatisfaction and failure; and in turn can produce rejection of authority, suspicion, resistance to help and, ultimately, illegality.

What the committee is asking is that past offenders, particularly youthful ones, get simply their rightful share of attention -- not more than others, but the kind of consideration necessary to really determine their appropriateness for job openings.

(continued on last page)

Tutorial Project at UCLA Aids Minority Youngsters

A high school freshman progressed from an F in algebra in mid-semester to an A at the semester's end; an elementary school pupil went from a 3rd to a 6th grade spelling level in only one semester; two other youngsters raised their I. Q. scores from 3 to 6 points.

Responsible for the progress of each of these children and hundreds of others in economically depressed areas of Los Angeles is the tutorial project sponsored by the Associated Students of the University of California at Los Angeles. Praised by a principal of one of the participating schools as "one of the most important steps yet taken in solving the educational problems of the disadvantaged child," it is directed toward youngsters, principally Negro and Mexican American , who are potential or actual school dropouts, but cannot afford to pay for tutoring.

A report by Harold Altman, principal of the Broadway Elementary School in Venice, to the Los Angeles Board of Education, tells how the UCLA project benefited pupils in his school.

During the last two years, 100 tutors have worked with disadvantaged youngsters in the school, which has 1,000 pupils, many of them Negroes and Mexican Americans. The program has the enthusiastic support of teachers as well as parents, who are so often enmeshed in basic problems of obtaining food, clothing, and shelter that they have little time for anything else.

Teachers' opinions include such comments as "marked improvement in study habits ... they learn that learning can be fun ... social and emotional enlightenment" and "confidence and ability have increased noticeably."

Key to the success of the program, the one like it at San Francisco State College, and others throughout the State, is the one-to-one relationship in which each tutored child gets the personal attention of someone who really cares about his school problems and progress.

Begun in the summer of 1963 with 60 tutors and 80 students, the UCLA project by the end of the 1965 fall semester had expanded to involve 575 tutors and 750 pupils. Other groups have followed their example, so that in Los Angeles County alone there are now more than 30 such projects and over 3,000 volunteer tutors.

A closer look at the UCLA project, as described by Leonard Borer, director, may be helpful to others hoping to undertake such a program.

Age of the pupils aided ranges from eight to eighteen years, the majority being elementary grade Negroes or Mexican Americans, who may be referred by the public schools, parents, and public or community juvenile agencies. Tutors are UCLA students from all fields of study, often with no previous teaching experience.

Workshops and discussion groups, as well as donated supplies and printed materials, assist the volunteers in acquiring tutoring techniques, although "tutor-student rapport" is of greatest importance.

Tutoring sessions are scheduled on a regular basis for one or two hours a week, usually at the child's school. Elementary school children are tutored in subjects suitable for their age and ability, such as reading, writing and arithmetic. At the junior and senior high levels, enrichment courses such as art, literature, creative writing, and science are offered in addition to the basic subjects.

The program also includes various trips and activities designed to broaden the youngster's experience by exposing him to new people and places -- a football game, a Christmas party, a picnic or movie, visits to museums, zoos and theater productions.

Employers' Workshop Theme: Minorities and Job Testing

A second employers' workshop and conference sponsored by FEPC's Technical Advisory Committee on Testing (TACT) is scheduled for September 21 at the Century Plaza Hotel in Los Angeles.

Philip Earl, Southern California vice chairman of TACT's Information and Education Subcommittee, heads the group of testing experts planning the session.

The conference will be similar to the May 24 San Francisco workshop at which over 250 Northern California representatives of industry, labor, government and civil rights groups studied job testing methods.

Women's Advisory Group Hears Poverty Program Consultant

Guest speaker at a meeting of Southern California members of the FEPC Women's Advisory Council in Los Angeles July 12 was Vernon Horn, Office of Economic Opportunity consultant in Sacramento, who discussed the philosophy of the poverty program.

Other agenda topics included reports from FEP staff on affirmative action projects in the Mexican American community, work of the Technical Advisory Committee on Testing, and FEPC's present status in regard to fair housing legislation. John Anson Ford, Commissioner, also participated in the meeting, at which Mrs. Helen Thomas, State chairman of the Council, presided.

Among Other Items . . .

Area meetings were held in July by three units of FEPC's Advisory Council on Californians of Spanish Surname, convening in Sacramento, Fresno and San Diego. Recent appointments have brought total membership in this Statewide group to more than 65 Hispano-American citizens. . . . . More than 100 employer-exhibitors are planning to take part in the giant East Bay Job Fair set for September 24-25 in the Oakland Exposition Building, 10th and Fallon Streets. Jointly sponsored by the City of Oakland and the County of Alameda to fight unemployment, it is expected to attract some 10,000 job seekers, either not working now or seeking higher-level openings. . . . . Cruz Reynoso, FEPC assistant chief, heads the board of directors for Rural Legal Assistance, Inc., a non-profit corporation created to provide legal aid to farm workers and other rural poor in the State. Details of the project were reported at the FEP Commission meeting in July by James D. Lorenz, director. . . . . Another speaker was Albert Jordan, chairman of the Covina-La Puente-West Covina Human Relations Council, who described increasing trends toward creation of Negro ghettos in certain areas of his community. The Commission pledged its assistance in correcting the problem.

Evaluating Police Records

(continued from page two)

The government employment services, youth opportunity and skill centers and civil organizations have been working with youthful offenders and find that some will not, in all probability, make the grade. Others, in their opinion will, and these are the ones being referred to employers.

*

The above recommendations by the Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission, if fully observed by all employers, could, the FEPC believes, materially ease inequities in a difficult area of employment and hasten achievement of true equality throughout our State. Copies may be obtained from FEPC, Box 603, San Francisco.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION
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FEPC **FAIR PRACTICES NEWS**

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f-ag

[Sept. 1966]

METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING
219 Seventh Avenue, New York 10011 255-8455

STATEMENT OF POLICY

CONSTRUCTION, NOT DESTRUCTION

As the weeks go by, TV and press are filled with stories of bombing and napalm ... and with the war-mongering of the South Vietnamese dictator-premier Ky. As this position paper is written, the headlines read: "280,000 FACE DRAFT BY SPRING". More and more Americans are wondering about the war in Viet Nam. More and more Americans are asking:

* Why are we supporting a despotic government in a civil war?
* Why are we fighting an undeclared war, in violation of the Geneva agreements?
* Are we callous to the use of napalm on the Vietnamese because they are non-white?
* Is this a racist war in which Negroes are drafted and sent into combat, becoming casualties, in numbers far greater than their proportion to the population?

U. Thant, Secretary-General to the U.N., has called the war in Viet Nam "one of the most barbarous in history." Many religious and civil rights leaders and Americans from all walks of life have joined in condemning American participation in the war.

The members of the Executive Board of the Metropolitan Council on Housing have also come to believe that this war is barbarous — for the Vietnamese people, and ultimately for the American people, too -- and MUST BE STOPPED. If the war continues, the inevitable result will be escalation and world catastrophe.

The cost to the Vietnamese in death and maiming, in destruction of their homes, crops and means of livelihood cannot be estimated.

The cost to the American people is also great — a mounting toll of dead GI's - now about 5,000 dead, plus 28,000 wounded. The cost also includes a war economy in which many social advances are being stifled, or killed outright. The war is also used as an excuse to hold down wage increases -- although profits are soaring and prices rising, with no attempt to brake them.

The casualty lists grow. The cost of living goes up. And the burden of the war is dumped on those least able to pay.

The Vietnamese war has caused cutbacks in many domestic programs, and is the reason for the failure to expand other needed programs. Over and over we hear: There is no money as long as the war in Vietnam takes so much money and resources.

(cont'd on page 2)

* The Office of Economic Opportunity (War Against Poverty) got much less money than it had requested for its programs. The amount of increase for OEO is less than 1/40th of the additional money allocated for the war. The Job Corps has been slashed in half.

* The Demonstration Cities Project -- a much ballyhooed effort to attack urban decay in large cities -- has been crippled by fund cuts.

* The Public Works and Economic Development Act was cut in half. This was one of the several programs to revitalize Appalachia and other economically depressed areas throughout the country.

* Federal aid to higher education has been cut to about 60% of the planned amount. Federal aid to elementary and secondary education has been held down to an amount about equal to that spent on military education and training.

* New York City, like Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Los Angeles and other large cities, is suffering from war-induced cutbacks in Federal funds. Federal money is needed by large cities to expand education, expand library facilities; solve transit problems; improve medical and hospital care; create more child care facilities; help train unemployed workers; and build low-rent housing.

Meanwhile, in Vietnam, billions are poured into weapons of death. Billions for napalm. Billions for bombs. Billions for crop-killers. Billions for vomit gases. And half a million dollars for an executive plane for the Hitler-worshiper dictator Ky. On August 19, Senator Kennedy of New York stated that he objected to the supporting of an administration which was more concerned with the need for building a supersonic plane, when the children of the poor are neglected.

The United States is spending at least $12 billion per year on the war, and this is going up. (The New York Times reported in August that the annual budget for 1967 would be $16 billion. A more recent and also reliable source has indicated $20 billion. Congress has been asked to pass the largest defense budget since World War II - a defense budget that is based on an aggressive war program.

* $12 billion per year would build 900,000 new public housing apartments per year -- enough to wipe out all U.S. slums in 10 years.

* $12 billion per year would build and equip hospital facilities with 600,000 beds per year -- enough to take care of the hospital shortage of 1,000,000 beds, in less than two years.

* $12 billion per year would build and equip 25,000 classrooms per year -- enough to end the national shortage in seven years.

The Executive Board of the METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING therefore calls upon our government to:

1. Stop all bombing in North and South Viet Nam - IMMEDIATELY.
2. Return to the principles of the 1954 Geneva Conference, and ask the U.N. to reconvene the Geneva Conference with negotiations, to include the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong).
3. Withdraw all our troops and request all other foreign troops to withdraw.
4. Turn the billions now spent on the war in Viet Nam to peaceful uses -- the construction of housing, schools, hospitals and other domestic peacetime programs for the benefit of the American people.

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219 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10011

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Mr. FloydMcKissick
CORE
[illegible] Park Row
[illegible]YC 10038

METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING

219 Seventh Avenue, New York 10011 255-8455

POLICY STATEMENT

A PROGRAM AGAINST POVERTY -- AGAINST SLUMS -- FOR JOBS

The Metropolitan Council on Housing, a federation of tenant organizations, proposes a real war on poverty -- an effort which promises to lift families out of poverty by providing jobs with a future, along with good housing.

Nationwide, as in New York City, the poor are the chief victims of bad housing -- and the chief victims of discrimination and unemployment. Yet the War on Poverty is still scattering its shots instead of aiming directly at the enemies: bad housing, discrimination and unemployment.

The Metropolitan Council on Housing proposes that the Federal government enlarge the War on Poverty, and start a massive and permanent program of public construction ... housing, hospitals, schools, libraries and other public improvements.

* BUIID low-rent public housing for the 9 million families now living in substandard housing in the United States.

* OPEN UP millions of jobs in the construction of this housing to Negro and Puerto Rican workers, who are still jobless in our large cities despite the general rise in employment. The housing program alone would create 1-1/2 million new jobs. Building the new schools, hospitals and libraries would create many more.

* GIVE TRAINING in construction skills to these workers, to jobless youth, and to the thousands of young people who are entering the job market every year.

* SUBSIDIZE TRAINING PROGRAMS, so that labor costs would be reduced, and the rents in the new and rehabilitated housing would be kept low enough so that the poor could afford to pay the rent. Pay regular apprentice wages to the trainees, and full union wages to the journeyman-teachers, using anti-poverty training funds to pay them.

* USE CREWS hired and paid for by the government to build, rehabilitate and maintain public housing and other public buildings.

End Discrimination

To carry out this program, both unions and industry must end their discriminatory practices toward Negro and Puerto Rican workers. They must agree to accept workers without discrimination, and to accept them into the Union. Union rates should be paid on all jobs, both to trainee-apprentices and to journeyman-teachers. Trainees should be employed in addition to the usual number of journeymen needed on the job. Trainees must not be used to replace union men at lower wages. This program would eventually help the unions and their members, because it would increase the number of jobs available for the construction of public works.

The Federal, State and City governments must enforce their laws against discrimination in employment.

Create Jobs

In addition to the construction program, the Federal government should hire permanent squads of workers to rehabilitate, repair and maintain public housing and other public buildings. This would give jobs to additional thousands, presently unemployed.

The staffing of the completed buildings would employ many more. People would be needed, for example, to work as janitors and doctors, librarians and teachers, nurses and laboratory technicians. Government training should be started immediately, to train people for these jobs.

The benefits of public construction would eventually spread out to thousands more, as more industrial workers in steel, lumber, hardware, etc. will be needed. These newly employed workers with money to spend will influence the economy of the entire country.

(cont'd page 2)

Build New Housing

Nationwide. In 1960, at least 9 million apartments and homes in the United States, according to the U.S. Census figures, were not fit to live in. In May of 1966 about 3 million persons were unemployed.

In ten years all the slum housing could be replaced -- by building 900,000 new public housing units each year. 900,000 new units of construction would provide 1-1/2 million new jobs.

> The cost? Only $12-1/2 billion per year. That's less than the cost of a year of the war in Viet Nam.

In 1964 the United States spent more than four times that amount for the tools of war. Less than 1/50th of that amount was spent for housing and community development in 1964. What did that cost you? In 1964 the United States spent $319.03 per person for WAR (the figure is much higher now) -- and only $1.42 per person for housing and community development. Obviously, this is not the way to win the war against poverty.

If New York City is used as an example of a large city that needs both jobs and new housing, we find that there were in 1965 more than half a million substandard apartments and homes (according to the Abrams Task Force Report to Mayor Lindsay).

The overall unemployment rate in New York City is now about 4-1/2%. It is probably double that for Negro workers. This means that almost one out of ten Negro workers cannot find a job. They could be gainfully employed in construction at a minimum rate of $2.50 per hour, and much more for those with higher skills.

Right now, with the slowdown in construction in New York, many union workers, mostly white, are also facing unemployment. A massive permanent program of public construction would put them back to work, also.

> And looking at the problem in a local community, such as Brownsville, in Brooklyn, we find that one out of every three homes or apartments is in bad condition (either dilapidated or deteriorating, according to the Census). In Brownsville, too, at least one out of ten workers is unemployed. Combine the two by a program of massive construction and training, and both problems would be solved.

For much less than the cost of one day's war in Vietnam, or one space exploration flight, Brownsville could be transformed. And so could many other neighborhoods! Just imagine what this would mean to neighborhoods which now offer only crumbling buildings and littered streets, despair and joblessness. A permanent construction and training program could provide good homes, good neighborhood facilities, and good jobs with a future.

This is what the youth of America, and their parents, should be able to look forward to: a life of useful, well-paid employment, without discrimination. Not a life of guns and uniforms, or dead-end jobs, or no jobs at all.

Our American history shows that a program of public works can bring great benefits. We have the "Great Depression" of the 30's, and the WPA to thank for many of our schools, libraries, hospitals and roads. Their construction gave the unemployed jobs, and made a permanent contribution to the United States.

A massive, permanent program of public construction, especially for public housing, today could give us even more. It could also help move forward the Civil Rights revolution by opening up good jobs and skills to the unemployed -- Negro, white and Puerto Rican -- workers. It is time to turn the war against poverty into a real WAR AGAINST SLUMS, FOR PUBLIC CONSTRUCTION, AND FOR STEADY EMPLOYMENT.

PLANNERS FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

76 Reade Street • Room 202 New York, N. Y. 10007

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SEP 16 1965

September 9, 1966

Mr. Floyd Mc Kissick
CORE
200 W. 135th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Floyd:

Enclosed is a letter describing the kind of program needed by New York City's poor Negroes and Puerto Ricans (as well as many whites) if they are ever to see their housing conditions improved. This is the kind of proposal made recently by James Farmer, and is the kind of proposal that has consistently been rejected by government. It will not be included in the Logue report on a housing program for New York, nor is any serious attention being paid to the problem elsewhere in government.

This is one housing issue on which all civil rights groups should be able to present a coordinated and common front. Improvements - NOW. Local groups might develop more rapidly, grow larger and faster, become a more influential force in the city if the national civil rights organizations stepped in on basic issues to help them in a coordinated and vigorous fashion. This is such an issue, and could be pressed at the time the Logue report is made public.

Yours,

Walter Thabit

President

P.S. I still want to get together some day on this and other things Walter

~~My Dear Senator Kennedy~~

Dear Floyd:

Enclosed is a letter which describes the kind of program needed to give ~~some solid evidence~~ people in the ghettoes some hope and sole solid some solid improvements

Enclosed is a letter which describes the kind of program needed to improve living conditions for those in the ghetto- while they're still able to enjoy it.

Enclosed is a letter describing the kind of program needed by ~~this city's poor~~ New York City's poor Negroes and Puerto Ricans (as well as many whites) if they are ever to see their housing conditions improved. This is the kind of proposal made recently by James Farmer, and is the kind of proposal that has consistently been rejected by government. It will not be included in the ~~Ec~~ Logue report on a housing program for New York, nor is any serious attention being paid to the problem elsewhere in government.

This is one of the issues on which I believe all civil rights groups should take a coordinated stand ~~when it comes before~~ and inspire mass action on the part of

This is one of the ~~issues on which~~ housing issues on which all civil rights groups should mass attention and action. ~~It may be possible to achieve~~ If the Logue report is attacked, if we demonstrate,

I have an idea for

This is one housing issue on which all civil rights groups should be able to present a coordinated and common front. Improvements NOW. ~~This is the issue~~ Government should be confronted with the demand~~x backed by demonstrations, presentations at public hearings,~~ by local groups, backed by the full power of the national civil rights organizations ~~as a part of~~ in a demonstration of ~~solidarity and~~ willingness ~~of national organizations~~ to pitch in and help local groups fight city hall.

This is one housing issue on which all civil rights groups should be able to present a coordinated and common front. Improvements - NOW. Local groups might develop more rapidly, grow larger and faster, become a more influential force in the city if the national civil rights organizations stepped in on basic issues to help them in a coordinated and ~~force~~ vigorous fashion. ~~I believe this is such an issue~~ This is such an issue, and could be ~~made~~ pressed at the time the Logue report is made public.

Yours,

President

For your information.

PLANNERS FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

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August 24, 1966

Mrs. Eugenia M. Flatow
Program Planning Assistant to the Mayor
Office of Housing and Development Coordinator
250 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10007

Dear Gene:

This letter is in response to the Council for N.Y. Housing and Planning Policy Policy Guidelines and your varied responses to them. While I agree with the general thrust of the Policy Guidelines, I have to admit that they lend themselves much too easily to satisfactory responses. Your comments, taken point by point, suggest that the administration's goals are fairly consistent with those of the Council, but at the end of that little exercise, I'm sure you will agree with me that we have solved very little.

Without going into a long polemic, let me state one of the basic problems about which practically nothing is being done - and I am pretty much aware of everything that is being done. The problem is that perhaps 100,000 households are living in atrocious conditions in this city; too little is directly being done to relieve their conditions. We are permitting landlords to get away with as many as 1,000,000 violations of the law without taking substantial steps to have the law complied with. We are permitting outrageous situations to develop in the housing of welfare clients, Negroes and Puerto Ricans, and we are doing nothing directly to deal with the problem. With the number of recorded-and-uncomplied-with violations now running at about 400,000, and apparently limited only by the number of inspectors available to record more, you can appreciate my utter and complete lack of faith in the code enforcement system as a means of improving housing. While new construction and rehabilitation play an important role in maintaining overall housing quality (including that for low-income groups), at current rates it would take 100 years before the average slum family experiences housing improvement. If the CRP and Logue report levels are implemented, it will still take 25 years to show an improvement for the average poor family.

What can we do about it? Through receivership, condemnation or other legal process, we can take property away from exploitative, incompetent or irresponsible landlords and put it into the hands of non-profit local housing companies who will maintain the property decently and in compliance with the law. We can set aside about $1,500 per unit as a grant to these companies with which they can improve the buildings and make them habitable without raising rents. We can also allocate money to reduce rents in buildings which have been decontrolled (actually or constructively), and we can give tax abatement as necessary in addition to the money grants to insure that the buildings can be properly maintained. The complete program would amount to perhaps $2,500 per unit. For $50 million a year, we could improve conditions for 20,000 families. In 5 years, 1,000,000 violations would be wiped out; the worst landlords would be wiped out along with the opportunities which breed them; the code enforcement system might have a chance to be effective; we would be able to hold our heads up and say that in New York City, building and housing codes are equally enforced for all.

Why don't we do this? Because we are immoral and conscienceless, perfectly willing to impose second-class citizenship on minorities and the poor. Is $50 million a year a lot of money? It is about 1 percent of the City's budget. We now don't spend one tenth that on improving existing housing. While the state and the federal government are certainly not providing cities with enough help, cities could do a lot more to help themselves - but they really don't give a damn.

Improving the housing the poor live in - NOW - is a typical problem. Our current approach to it demonstrates clearly the appalling difference between what the poor actually need and the unresponsiveness of the programs we pursue. Unless we drastically change our attitude and outlook, there is no reason to believe a lessening of racial and economic tension will take place.

Since this letter reflects thoughts which I have been meaning to express for some time, I am sending copies of it to others interested in the housing problem.

Cordially,

Walter

Walter Thabit, President
Planners for Equal Opportunity

Distributed by the NPA because of
public interest in the subject.

John Miller
Executive Secretary

NATIONAL PLANNING ASSOCIATION
1606 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.,
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looking ahead

. . . : A monthly report by the National Planning Association on forward-looking policy planning and research—announced, underway, and completed—of importance to the nation's future

October 1966 Vol. 14, No. 7

In This Issue—

Reprint
URBAN DEVELOPMENT—NEEDS AND COSTS
by Leonard A. Lecht

Urban Development—Needs and Costs

by Leonard A. Lecht

The following article has been adapted from the chapter on Urban Development in Dr. Lecht's book, Goals, Priorities, and Dollars, *published recently by The Free Press, a division of the Macmillan Company, New York 10022 ($6.95). The book reports on the results of a two-year study of the NPA Center for Priority Analysis which set out to prepare a classification of the national goals, to establish standards by which the cost of these goals can be measured, and to provide an estimate of the probable dollar cost of each goal in the 1970s. In separate chapters the book reviews each of the 16 national goals: Consumer Expenditures and Savings, Private Plant and Equipment, Urban Development, Social Welfare, Health, Education, Transportation, National Defense, Housing, Research and Development, Natural Resources, International Aid, Space, Agriculture, Manpower Retraining, and Area Development. Dr. Lecht is the director of the National Goals Project.*

URBAN DEVELOPMENT is often referred to as "urban renewal." More fundamentally, it pertains to "human renewal"—to creating viable urban communities in a rapidly changing American society. "Urban development" includes provision for transportation networks, housing, schools, hospitals, industrial and commercial buildings, recreational facilities, and a variety of government offices. The $64 billion in private and public funds spent for urban facilites in 1962 was a fourth greater than total spending for national defense. By 1975 the expenditures needed to enable people to live, work, move about, shop, and play in American cities are projected to reach double this amount.

The forces which have transformed America into a modern industrial society have also made our nation an increasingly urbanized society. In 1900, 40 percent of the population lived in urban areas. By 1960, this proportion had grown to 70 percent. By 1975, over three fourths of all Americans will be living in urban areas with most of the population growth taking place in the suburbs. For every person added to the population of the central city between 1960 and 1975, it is anticipated that 2 or 3 persons will be added in the suburbs.

As urbanization proceeds, expanding metropolitan centers will merge to form a new social and economic unit—the megalopolis. The 500-mile stretch from Alexandria, Virginia, to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, including some 64 metropolitan

Face to Face

• Man may well have reached that point in his history, that stage of his development, where he has not only been made master of his fate, but where his technology and his morality have come face to face, where he can scarcely treat fact and value separately, and where he may see principles as diverse as the second law of thermodynamics and the Golden Rule being considered side by side in the making of decisions which determine his future.

From lecture delivered by Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, under the sponsorship of the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO and the Joint Graduate Consortium of Washington, D.C., Universities, January 1966.

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Growth of the U.S. Urban Population, 1900-75

Item	Actual			Projected	
	1900	1950	1960	1970	1975
U.S. population (in millions)	76	151	179	209	226
Percent of total living in					
Urban areas	40%	64%	70%	74%	76%
Metropolitan areas[a] ...	31.5	56	63	68	71
Percent of metropolitan area population in central cities	68	58.5	51	47	44.5

[a]For years prior to 1950, areas whose principal city had a population of 50,000 or more are included as metropolitan areas.
Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, and National Planning Association.

communities, will constitute a northeastern megalopolis whose main outlines are already discernible. Other megalopolitan centers will form in the Chicago-Indiana-Wisconsin area, the Dallas-Fort Worth area, in San Francisco, and elsewhere. Problems of transportation, land and water use, recreation and housing will be common to all parts of these units for which at present there is no equivalent political or administrative entity.

Cities, suburbs, and metropolitan areas are likely to figure prominently in national policy in the coming decade. The recent Supreme Court decisions directing the states to reapportion their legislatures and congressional districts to give greater representation to the urban population are a significant indication of this tendency. The establishment of a cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development in 1965 is a symptom of a growing awareness that urban needs and problems call for an effort which as a nation we have not yet attempted to make.

The elements which create the need for large-scale community development can be summarized in terms of changes in the makeup of the population in the central city and the suburb, shifts in the locale of economic activity within the metropolis, and the mushrooming growth in the number of private automobiles. These factors intensify the problems of the central city, and they increase the separation between the urban core and the suburbs.

Changes in Population Makeup

Since World War II, middle income white families have moved to the suburbs in large numbers. Upper income families have tended to remain in the central city along with single people, childless couples, older persons, and a growing number of nonwhites. The over-all result, as President Johnson observed in the 1965 *Message on the Cities,* is that "the old, the poor, the discriminated against are increasingly concentrated in central city ghettos; while others move to the suburbs leaving the central city to battle against immense odds."

Nonwhites make up a majority of the central city population in only one of the ten largest cities—Washington, D.C. However, most of the increase in the population of the central cities since 1950 has been made up of nonwhites, and almost all of the population growth in the suburbs is composed of whites.

The suburban population grew by three times as much as the central city population in the 1950s. Only one in twenty-five of the new suburbanites was nonwhite. Five out of eight of the additions to the central city were nonwhite. As these changes have continued in the 1960s, racial segregation has become an urban problem throughout the nation rather than a specifically southern problem.

In 1960, 73 percent of the Negro population was living in cities. By 1975, this proportion is expected to increase to almost 85 percent. Like most migrations, the movement of Negroes to the city is largely made up of young people in the age groups establishing families. In some northern cities, the birthrate among Negroes of 40 to 50 per 1,000 is comparable with birthrates associated with the population explosion in the underdeveloped areas.

Residential segregation within the metropolis reinforces segregation in education, in employment, and in human relations generally. Unemployment, low income, slum housing, crime and delinquency, broken families, and illiteracy make the urban ghettos concentrations of social dynamite. Public welfare assistance has become the primary means of support for successive generations of nonwhite urban families with inadequate income, education, and job skills. Coping with the problems the urban nonwhite slums present has been a major consideration in the "war on poverty" programs, in the recent Federal aid to education legislation for low-income areas, in the retraining programs conducted under the auspices of the Manpower Development and Training Act, and in President Johnson's proposal in 1966 that the Federal government finance "city demonstration grants" to indicate the potentials of a concerted attack by all levels of government on the social and physical ills of our central cities.

Increase in White and Nonwhite Population Central Cities and Suburbs, 1950 to 1960[a]

Item	Increase between 1950 and 1960
Amount of increase (in millions)	
In central cities	5.6
Outside of central cities	17.9
Percent of population increase in central cities made up of	
Whites	38%
Nonwhites	62%
Percent of population increase outside of central cities made up of	
Whites	96%
Nonwhites	4%

[a]Derived from *Our Nonwhite Population and Its Housing,* Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1963, p. 24.

The exodus of the middle class population and of many businesses to the suburbs erodes the tax base of the cities at a time when pressures for greater expenditures intensify. Per capita municipal tax revenues increased by 43 percent between 1954 and 1963. Local government indebtedness, however, rose by 119 percent. Inadequate transportation, high crime rates, poor land use, or public health problems in the central city affect the entire metropolis. But the division between central city and suburb along lines of income and race makes it difficult to translate common needs into metropolitan-wide loyalties and action.

Shifts in Economic Activity

Shifts in the location of economic activity within the metropolis have been brought about by the truck and the highway. They have emancipated business firms from their dependence on the proximity of railroad terminals and ship docks, traditionally located in the heart of the city. Part of the wholesaling trade has moved out of the

congested high rent center of the city to its periphery or to the suburbs. New manufacturing plants, and especially the larger ones, are now generally built in outlying parts of the metropolitan area near highways where parking space is available. As middle income families have moved to the suburbs, suburban shopping centers have taken much of the retail trade away from the shopping district in the heart of the city. Between 1948 and 1954, years of heavy movement to the suburbs, the volume of retail trade in the central business districts of 24 metropolitan areas increased by less than 1 percent. The retail turnover in the suburbs of these same areas increased by 53 percent.

The suburbs have become much more than "places where people live"; they have become important centers of employment and economic activity. Much of the investment in commercial and industrial buildings in the past decade has been located in the outlying areas. Many of the buildings in the central business district have been razed and their sites converted into parking lots. With these changes, the economic functions of the central cities of earlier periods become dispersed throughout the surrounding areas.

Metropolitan Transportation

Consumer preference for the private automobile is the dominating fact in metropolitan transportation. The automobile is the leading form of urban transportation for getting to work, for shopping, and for pleasure trips. Some of the problems attributed to the automobile are the results of inadequate planning to take account of the pervasive effects of mass utilization of the private automobile.

The space requirements of the automobile frequently conflict with efforts by cities to conserve space. Two-thirds of the land in the central business district of Los Angeles in the late 1950s was used for streets, freeways, service ways, off-street parking, and loading. The Institute of Public Administration estimates that the average journey to work by automobile at a speed of 20 miles an hour requires from 6 to 45 times as much road space per person as by a transit bus, and from 10 to 90 times the amount required by multiple-unit railroad cars.

In the absence of adequate controls, automobiles, trucks, and buses have been a major source of air pollution. The Surgeon General of the United States has estimated that economic losses due to air pollution in the early 1960s cost the nation more than $7 billion a year. There is a growing conviction among public health authorities that air pollution is a factor in respiratory diseases, eye ailments, heart disease, and other illnesses. Rough estimates indicate that pollution from motor vehicle exhaust is responsible for 40 percent of air pollution in New York City and 65 to 70 percent in Los Angeles.

As automobile use has expanded in metropolitan areas since World War II, mass transit has undergone a spectacular decline. The history of subway and elevated transit, trolley, and bus lines in the past 15 years is one of declining use, growing obsolescence of facilities, and bankruptcies. Between 1950 and 1960, the number of passenger rides via urban mass transit declined from 17.2 billion to 9.4 billion, and the annual number of rides per capita among the urban population plummeted from 195 to 95. Commuter railroads have survived in many instances only because of tax relief extended to them by state and local authorities.

Since mass transit offers great opportunities for economies of space and time in moving people within the metropolis, it is reasonable to anticipate that major steps will be taken to rehabilitate urban mass transit in the next decade. These steps can be expected to involve considerably more than simply adding to or replacing existing facilities. Many of the changes will represent extensions of present developments. Minibuses, used in Washington, D.C., have demonstrated their value in relieving congestion in downtown districts. The journey to and from work could be facilitated by express buses using specially reserved lanes, and by facilities for parking automobiles in large underground or multistoried garages at the periphery of the downtown area.

In spite of the absence of a large-scale sustained re-

Public and Private Expenditures for the Urban Development Goal
(In millions of 1962 dollars)

Item	Expenditures in 1962	Projected Expenditures		Percent Increase 1962-75
		In 1970	In 1975	
Urban construction excluding transportation	$59,700	$ 97,900	$116,900	94%
Residential construction	20,900	34,300	42,500	109
Industrial and commercial buildings	7,600	14,000	17,600	132
Public utilities	4,800	7,000	7,700	60
Sewer and water systems	1,700	2,700	3,100	82
Health facilities	1,100	4,300	5,700	418
Educational facilities	3,500	5,900	5,200	49
Recreational facilities	1,600	2,800	3,300	106
Other government buildings	2,200	3,600	3,800	73
Churches, private institutional facilities, and miscellaneous	1,500	2,500	3,200	113
Maintenance and repair	14,800	20,800	24,800	68
Urban transportation	4,500	11,100	12,800	184
Railroad and transit construction	100	1,100	1,100	1,000
New urban transportation methods	. . .	400	400	. . .
Urban streets and highways	2,900	5,800	7,000	141
Highway maintenance	1,500	3,100	3,500	133
Air pollution control	. . .	700	800	. . .
Total	$64,200	$109,000	$129,700	102%

search effort, the technical knowledge exists to create new types of transit systems which offer good prospects for relieving congestion, especially in the central business districts. The long lead times in planning mass transit facilities, large investments in existing modes of transport, and the mandatory safety requirements are likely to rule out major overhauls in transportation technology during the next decade. However, with an expanded research and development program, some of the innovations which are currently regarded as highly speculative possibilities would probably be candidates for use by 1975 or 1980. These include hydrofoils for suburban commuting, automobiles free of exhaust and crankcase fumes powered by batteries or fuel cells, "moving sidewalks"—walk-on, walk-off conveyor belts in downtown areas, and perhaps automated highways with electronic guidance and control systems. In addition, recent investments by U.S. firms in producing new types of monorail equipment could lead to improved facilities with good commercial prospects.

By 1975, we will need urban transportation facilities for the daily movement of 200 million people and over 80 million automobiles. The solution to these accelerating transportation needs has yet to be worked out, but a functional pattern of land use in transportation, integrating the existing modes of mass transit with the automobile-highway complex, and utilizing the potentialities of the new transportation technologies remains one of the nation's urgent needs. Further development of new transportation technologies and restoration of the art of walking could make it possible to create areas free of automobiles, large buses, and trucks for most of the day in the central business districts.

Estimates of Future Expenditures

The United States is currently spending, in private and public funds, over 11 percent of its Gross National Product on activities related to urban development. However, this total includes a mass of individual details which are frequently unrelated to an over-all program for meeting the needs of metropolitan areas. Their net result, in some cases, has been to make the city less hospitable to human habitation by adding to snarled traffic, polluted air, sterile housing projects, and a suburban limbo of filling stations and shopping strips.

Estimates of the expenditures required for meeting needs vary widely because of differences in what is included in the scope of development. The American Council To Improve Our Neighborhoods defines development as including the "total of all the public and private actions which must be taken to provide for the continuous sound maintenance and development of the urban areas." Our estimates of expenditures for development needs in the 1970s refer to the spending for facilities implied by this comprehensive definition.

Many of the objectives in urban development are not primarily questions of large scale expenditures. The cost of effective metropolitan planning organizations would amount to no more than a fraction of 1 percent of the projected expenditures. The elimination of the pattern of racial segregation that divides central city and suburb is a problem in legislation and in changing social attitudes rather than in spending. While the expenditures pertain to physical facilities, it is apparent that greater operating expenditures would usually be necessary to efficiently utilize the facilities. Improved school buildings, for example, would be of little avail if they were staffed by badly paid, poorly prepared instructors teaching an outmoded curriculum. The 400 percent increase in spending listed for urban health facilities would have little effect in increasing the availability of health care unless there were also substantial increases in spending for the services of doctors, dentists, nurses, medical technicians, and hospital attendants and in the supply of qualified people in these occupations.

Expenditure totals including as many components as those listed for urban development mean little unless they can be related to a reference point. The cost of extending the present level of development activities for the larger population living in urban areas in the 1970s is the starting point for our estimates. These expenditures would enable us to do no more than we are currently doing to relieve traffic congestion, blighted neighborhoods, or suburban sprawl in the next decade. Population growth would raise the cost of continuing this hypothetical *status quo* from $64 billion in 1962 to over $83 billion in 1975. But perpetuation of the *status quo* bears little relationship to needs or to the growing concern with urban problems. By 1975, the expenditures needed for our redevelopment objectives over and above the *status quo* requirements would raise total annual spending by an additional $47 billion.

The "aspiration standards" presented in the accompanying table imply a level of spending for urban development that rises from 11 percent of GNP in 1962 to between 13 and 14 percent in 1975. Expenditures would approximately double in this period. As in 1962, housing makes up the largest item in the totals, and spending for industrial and commercial buildings is the next largest. These are also the areas which are mainly composed of private expenditures. Since spending for urban mass transit had almost come to a halt in the early 1960s, the modest increases projected for the standards constitute a sizable percentage increase.

While the $130 billion total listed for the urban development goal in 1975 is an enormous sum, it pertains to the requirements for facilities in the preponderant segment of our society. The projected total probably underestimates over-all urban needs in the next decade, because it includes only physical facilities. Estimates on this massive scale are reasonable anticipations of the costs of our goal, because the nation's problems in education, race relations, housing, social welfare, health, recreation, and water supply are primarily problems of urban development.

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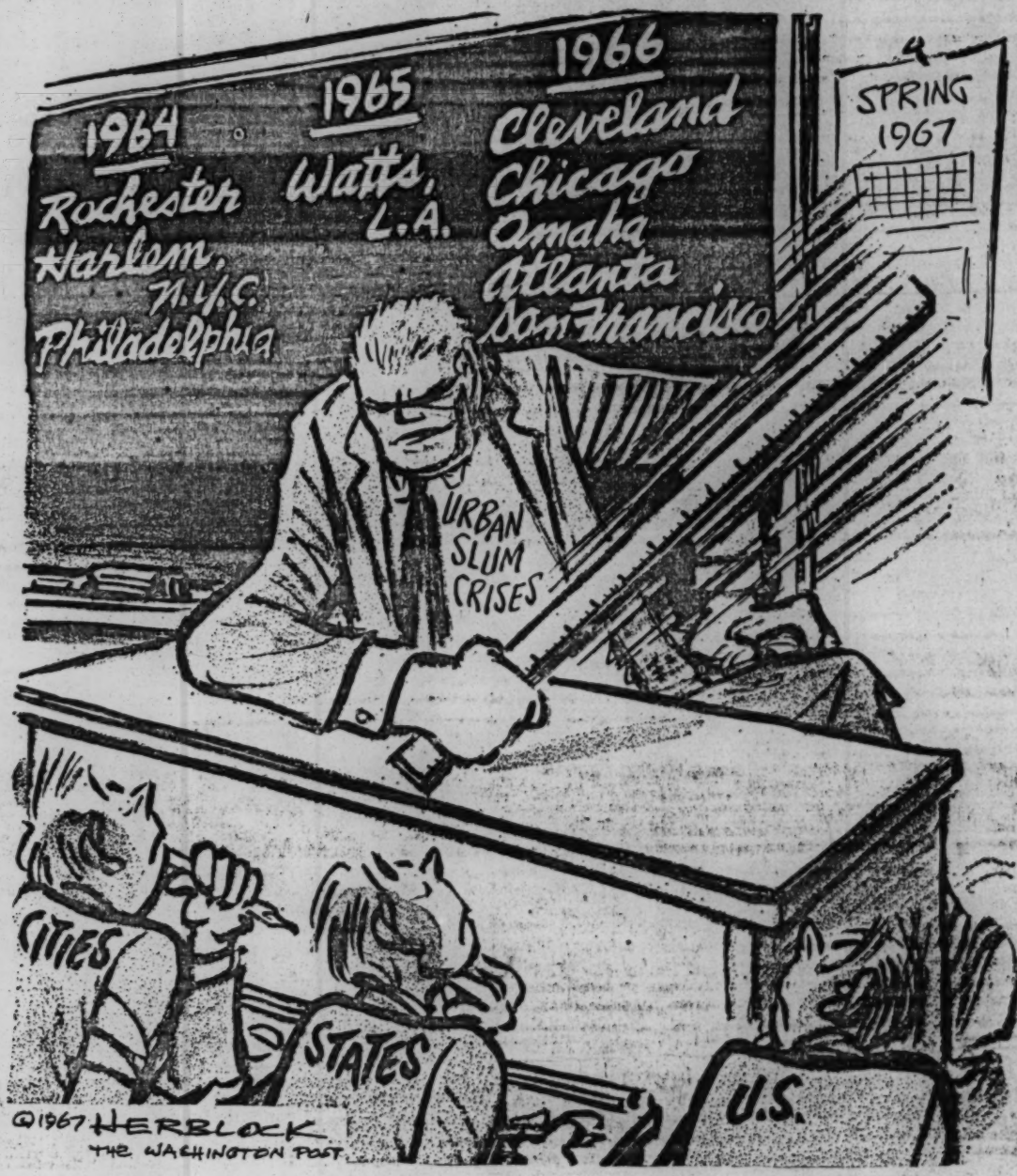
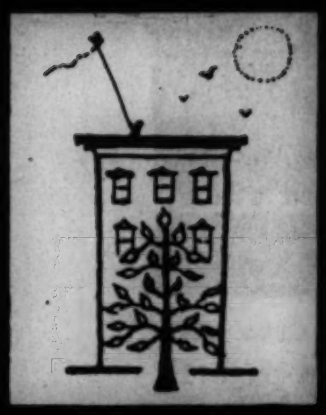


'And now, class, what have we learned since last summer?'



TENANT NEWS

METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING

LANDLORDS BEGIN BIG LIE CAMPAIGN TO END RENT CONTROL

The war against rent control has begun!

The first shots were fired in four big expensive advertisements in the New York Times during January. Landlord groups spent more than $20,000 for those ads to attack rent control. Their high-powered public relations firms composed ads that are full of lies and distortions and are designed to convince the average New Yorker that rent control is no good.

Then on Jan. 31, the Metropolitan Fair Rent Committee (the leading landlord organization) publicly called for an end to rent control in 5 years. It asked for decontrol of apartments by rental category, starting with decontrol of those over $200.

The tenants must fight back.....with people...with money...with the truth!

(please turn to page 2)

Come to the RENT CONTROL PICKETLINES....

- Wed., Feb. 15, noon-2 pm
  12 East 41st Street, in front of the Metropolitan Fair Rent Committee

- Sat., Feb. 18, 10 am-noon
  16 West 125th Street
  Rent & Rehab. Administration
  Upper Manhattan branch office

- Fri., Feb. 24 in two locations:

  81 Willoughby St., Brooklyn
  10 am-noon
  Brooklyn RRA office

  260 E. 161 Street, Bronx
  1-3 pm
  Bronx RRA office

Vol. V, No. 3
Jan.-Feb., 1967

A "HAPPENING" FOR SOME COUNCILMEN -- A "NON-HAPPENING" FOR OTHERS

If it had happened in the park, the newspapers would have called it a "happening." But it happened in the auditorium of the McBurney YMCA on West 23rd Street -- so it was just one of the best-attended and most enthusiastic MCH meetings ever.

The indoor "happening" was a meeting with city councilmen to save rent control on Thurs., Jan. 19. Eleven councilmen had agreed to come and listen to tenants tell them of the abuses they had suffered because of weak rent control and tell them exactly how rent control should be made stronger.

By 8 pm the room was jammed with almost 200 tenants. Three councilmen attended the meeting, David Friedland and Theodore Weiss, Manh., and Julius Moskowitz, Brooklyn. Counc. Koch of Manhattan sent a representative, and Counc. Bernstein of the Bronx was ill but phoned his full endorsement of the MCH program. Counc. Gelfand, Bronx, sent a noncommittal telegram, saying he would be unable to attend. One more councilman can be counted on the tenants' side, Robert Low, Manh., who had met with the Yorkville tenants on Jan. 16 and pledged full support.

The five absent councilmen -- who had promised but not appeared -- were Eileen Ryan and Edmund Farrell, Bronx; Dominick Corso, Brooklyn; Matthew Troy and Arthur

(please turn to page 2)

RENT CONTROL ACTION CHECKLIST:

1. Turn in rent control petitions with money and signatures.
2. Join Rent Control Picketlines.
3. Get a MCH speaker on rent control for your union or other organization.
4. See your city councilman.

LEGISLATIVELY SPEAKING

by Frances Goldin

The New York State Constitutional Convention, due to convene early in April and continue for 5 or 6 months, has raised hopes for more low-rent public housing again. If the Convention eliminates Article 18 from the Constitution, the State Legislature will be able to vote funds for construction of public housing -- much as Congress does -- without bringing the issue to the voters each time more funds are needed.

Art. 18 now requires approval of public housing bonds by the voters. That is why State-aided public housing has ended. A combination of real estate propaganda, upstate voters, lack of leadership from the Governor, and voter apathy has defeated the referendum time after time -- although public housing is badly needed.

Art. 18 must be eliminated from the new Constitution. But that is not enough. Public housing would then be up to the State legislators. And they would be subject to enormous pressure from the real estate powers to vote against public housing.

The right to decent shelter

The problem can only be resolved by including in the Constitution a recognition of the basic right of all citizens to decent housing. And that means housing at low rents if that is all people can afford.

Rent supplements, gifts to private industry, "non-profit" corporations, tax abatements or incentives to industry -- these cannot build enough housing to provide decent homes for millions of New Yorkers now living in slums and crowded substandard apartments. New low-rent public housing costs money. But we pay and pay again for the overflowing hospitals, more police, increased welfare costs and other social ills, all stemming in part from bad housing.

Accentuate the positive

Art. 18 must be eliminated. But a positive step is also necessary. We must write into the Constitution the responsibility of our state to provide housing for those who cannot afford the going rents of private real estate. Legislators will then be compelled to vote funds for housing.

The Federal government is doing little to provide housing. An advanced state, such as New York, must lead the nation and point the way with advanced constitutional guarantees.

TENANTS FIGHT BIG LIE

(cont. from page 1)

Volunteers are needed for phoning, mailings and other tasks at MCH headquarters. You can help out during the day or evening. Call MCH at 255-8455 if you can give a few hours or a day or more weekly.

Money

The fight for rent control will take $$$. How can you help? Collect contributions along with signatures on the rent control petitions issued by MCH. Get contributions from your tenant or community organization and your union.

The truth

The fight for rent control requires getting the truth to all New Yorkers. MCH is trying to get tenant spokesmen on TV, radio and in the papers. If you can arrange any of these, call or write MCH.

We also want to reach every union in NY. MCH speakers are available to address union meetings. A rent control fact sheet will be sent to any union paper which wants to get the truth to its members. Request one from MCH.

A COUNCILMANIC HAPPENING

(continued from page 1)

Katzman, Queens. There are also 25 other councilmen who have not indicated to MCH how they stand on rent control. They did not accept an invitation to appear at the meeting or otherwise promise to vote for stronger rent control. (For a list of all councilmen and their addresses, write or phone MCH.)

The meeting on Jan. 19 was a spirited one with tenants speaking up and with promises of support from the councilmen there. Now it is up to every local tenant, housing, civic, or trade union group. See your councilman NOW and tell him you want him to stand up and fight for strong rent control -- with no new rent increases and no decontrol at all.

WNYC taped an interview with MCH chairman Jane Benedict about the meeting and aired it several days later, on Jan. 23.

La Pagina Hispana

HABLANDO LEGISLATIVAMENTE
por Frances Goldin

Como cambiamos el record deplorable del ano pasado de la legislatura estatal a uno que beneficie a los inquilinos este ano?

La contesta es TOMAR ACCION. Primero el Comite Legislativo del MCH se esta reuniendo ahora en la ciudad con legisladores de gran influencia para obtener el respaldo de las siguientes leyes que se describen mas abajo.

Segundo, MCH celebra una conferencia legislativa el 4 de febrero, sabado.

Aqui estan algunas de las cosas que los inquilinos quieren y demandan de la Legislatura del 1967 del estado de Nueva York:

*Garantias de Albany que el control de rentas no sera destruido por los duenos de casa.

*Mejor legislacion para las huelgas de rentas.

*Proteccion para los inquilinos de los proyectos publicos, tanto fisicamente y en contra de los aumentos de rentas y desahucios.

*Entradas privadas, con timbres y sistema de comunicacion para la seguridad de todos los inquilinos de la ciudad.

*Leyes para mantener las rentas sin subir in proyectos de ingresos medianos.

*Leyes significativas, efectivas y encontra de la discriminacion.

MCH tambien se reune con el representante del alcalde sobre legislacion, para tratar que la ciudad adopte nuestro programa. Esto seria un empuje poderoso a nuestros esfuerzos.

Pero todas nuestras esperanzas en verdad dependen del respaldo y el poder de millares de inquilinos que necesitan beneficiarse de estas leyes.

INQUILINOS POR TODA LA CIUDAD COMIENZAN A ORGANIZARSE PARA QUE SE MANTENGA EL RENT CONTROL

El Concilio Metropolitano de Viviendas ha comenzado una lucha incansable para mantener a los inquilinos de la ciudad de Nueva York, al tanto de lo que ha estado sucediendo.....por anuncios en los periodicos se ve que los dueños de casa estan lanzando millones de dinero en su campaña para que el Consejo Municipal en marzo le de fin al Control de Rentas. ¿Quienes son las victimas de ésta campaña para terminar el Control de Rentas? Pués aquellos inquilinos que pagan rentas exhorbitantes por apartamientos frios,sin agua caliente, paredes rotas, y que comparten sus apartamientos con los ratones, ratas y sabandija.

EL GOLPE MAYOR VENDRA EN MARZO, cuando los dueños de casa comparescan ante el Consejo Municipal y demanden la descontinuación del Control de Rentas.

Los inquilinos no debemos de olvidarnos que ellos tienen el dinero y el poder con sus abogados para hacer su presentación ante el consejo.

Pero nosotros los inquilinos podemos derrotar sus esfuerzos uniéndonos y organizandonos en una fuerza mayor y desde ahora ir preparándonos para confrontarnos en el día de las audencias públicas en la alcaldia, con ellos y pedir energeticamente que la ciudad mantenga el Control de Rentas en vigor hasta que los inquilinos puedan conseguir viviendas a rentas que ellos puedan pagar y vivir decente.

Comuníquese con el ConcilioMetropolitano y obtenga las hojas sueltas para ser distribuidas y las peticiones para recojer firmas, donde le delineamos al alcalde nuestras demandas en relacion con el Control de Rentas. Unase con nosotros desde ahora para obtener nuestra victoria en marzo cuando se celebran las vistas publicas. Telefono: 255-8455.

Petra Rosa

SPOTLIGHT ON: WEST SIDE BLOCK ASSOCIATIONS

The West Side Block Associations, just over a year old and a MCH affiliate, operates from 104th to 108th Streets, between Broadway and Central Pk.West, with headquarters at 946 Columbus Ave. How did it start and where is it going?

Some students from Columbia CORE, with experience in other areas of the city, decided that the soundest approach to community organizing is working where there is a natural relationship. A specific block was chosen because many of the group lived there & the others could work closely with them. They began with direct personal contacts -- talking to people in the street & discussing neighborhood problems. This was done with the ultimate objective of achieving a wider organization, democratically based, well-structured, taking in the whole range of community needs.

Need No. 1: Housing

Theirs is a complicated & diverse area, 60% Spanish-speaking (Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican); 30% Negro, 10% other. It has most of the problems that trouble minorities in our city -- neglected housing, harassment of tenants, and language difficulties which often result in young children having to deal with officials for their Spanish-speaking parents.

The Block Associations received a grant from the OEO (anti-poverty program) for the summer which enabled it to employ 7 organizers and enlarge its activities. The group made good use of the older members of the community to convince their neighbors to take action. Since the summer the WSBA has received help with some private contributions and a grant from the Columbia FacultyCouncil RightsGroup, enabling it to continue its headquarters, organize picketlines against landlord abuses, hold rallies and entertainments and give legal advice. Its corps of organizers includes both students and members of the community.

The rocky road

The WSBA has had its ups and downs, struggling against apathy but holding to the main objective of broad organizing and hoping to become the spokesman for the community with the City.

Margaret Forsyth

AN EXPLANATION . . . . . .

of the words on page 6 of TENANT NEWS: "Advance bulk orders at $2 per 100 copies." That means that your organization can buy a stack of TENANT NEWSs for only $2 per 100. Give them to your members, distribute at meetings, mail them to your members. TENANT NEWS is the only publication which concentrates on housing news and tells the truth about tenant activities all over the city. Copies must be ordered before the issue is printed. Or you can place a regular order and get every issue. Deadline for the next issue is February 28.

MORE ON QUEENS PUBLIC HOUSING

Supporters of the Forest Hills public housing project in December (see Nov.-Dec. TENANT NEWS) included, in addition to the 100 groups in the Ad HocCommittee for Public Housing, an important spokesman for organized labor.

This was Bill Michelson, exec.vice-pres. of District 65, Retail, Wholesale, and Dept. Store Union, AFL-CIO, who is also a homeowner in Queens. He spoke as a representative of his union and for the NY City Labor Council, and made a forthright, positive statement which certainly helped swing the vote in favor. Michelson scored the bigotry which motivated many opponents of the project. He charged that the talk about overcrowding because of the project was "utter hypocritical nonsense" and pointed to the huge Lefrak "monstrosities" and other big private developments which brought no objection from the community although they are "monuments to ineptitude and lack of planning." His speech was reprinted in full in The 65er of Dec. 31.

And a correction

TENANT NEWS stated in its Nov.-Dec. issue that Councilman Katzman of Queens had reneged on his promise not to further oppose the Forest Hills public housing project. Counc. Katzman has taken exception to this. He states that he appeared at no further public meetings in opposition after he had met with a delegation which supported the project, and that, in fact, he had appeared at only one such meeting previously. He also says that TENANT NEWS is in error in associating him with any group which might undertake a lawsuit to block the project. We welcome his corrections.

WELCOME TO . . . . . .

* Dayton Beach Park Cooperative, Queens
* Empire State Baptist Missionary Convention
* E. Roberts Moore Houses, Bronx
* Housing Committee, Peace and Freedom Movement, Brooklyn
* Lenox Terrace Tenants Association (middle-income rental), Manhattan

our newest affiliates. Each new affiliate strengthens MCH -- and strengthens the affiliate, also.

Welcome also to Janet Karlson who was selected to fill a vacancy on the exec. bd. Mrs. Karlson is from the Manhattanville Tenants Assn. and has worked with the Public Housing Ten. Comm. of MCH.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

What is meant by Sec. 221(d)(3)?

The latest gimmick in housing sounds like a chemical formula. It's Sec. 221 (d)(3), which is sometimes mentioned as an alternative to new public housing. It is a provision of the National Housing Act of 1965. It provides that non-profit organizations can borrow money at low-interest rates for housing construction, with the FHA insuring and guaranteeing the lender that the loan will be repaid in full. If private lenders are not available to make loans at such low interest rates, Federal agencies will lend the money or take over the mortgage.

Sec. 221(d)(3) may be useful for building middle-income housing -- if it is used along with tax-exemption and other government aids. But it cannot build housing at rents that low-income families can afford. The rents just would not be low enough. In fact, if the provision is used to build high-rise apartments, of the type usually built in New York City, the rents would be too high for even moderate-income families.

MCH $6 JOIN MCH $6 JOIN MCH $6 JOIN MCH

DID YOU KNOW?

●Tenants are not paying 1943 rents -- as landlords claim. Since 1943, when rent control began, the average rent has almost doubled -- from an average of $43 to an average of $82.

●Landlords' profits have not gone down under rent control. In 1943, an owner had the expense of frequent paintings, several men to take care of the building and prompt repairs. He also lost many months' rent because of vacant or unrentable apartments. Now he has full occupancy and never misses a month's rent. And he paints less frequently, has a smaller staff, and makes less repairs.

●Landlords have a guaranteed minimum profit. Any landlord making less than 8% (6% on the property plus 2% on the building alone) can apply for a rent increase up to 15%.

●Rent control does not cause slums. Some of the worst buildings in the city are the decontrolled buildings with sky-high rents. Slums are caused by landlords who neglect their buildings and by government officials who don't enforce the laws. Slums existed before rent control -- even in colonial days.

●Even with the protection of rent control, tenants get cheated. A 1962 Housing Census revealed that 1 out of every 4 tenants was paying more than the legal maximum rent. And not just by a few cents. They were overpaying an average of $13 per month.

Can you imagine what would happen if we lost even the little protection we have under rent control?

Read the RENT CONTROL ACTION CHECKLIST on page 1 and do something!

HOUSING BOOKSHELF

A Crisis in Rent Control, a statement on the danger to rent control. Prepared by planner Walter Thabit for the New York chapter of Planners forEqual Opportunity and available from PEO, 289 - 7th Ave., NY 10001. It points out some of the threats to rent control. Read it.

MET COUNCIL DIARY

Hunts Point Committee for Progress Center, Dec. 14: Mamie Jackson, MCH board member & exec. dir. of Bronx Council on Rents and Housing, led a discussion for tenants on "Things We Can Do."

Sandy Lesberg program, WOR-AM, Jan. 4, midnight to 1 a.m.: Three MCH board members debated continuation of rent control with three landlord representatives. Our three heroes were: Frances Goldin, Legis. Comm. chairman; Mamie Jackson; & Bill Stanley, Uptown Tenants Council.

Hotel Trades Council, Jan. 5: Rent control and the fight to save & strengthen it was the subject for Richard Levenson, MCH Law Comm. chairman, at the Manhattan Neighborhd.Service Council of this union.

MEND, Jan. 13: Jane Benedict, MCH chairman, discussed organizing techniques with a group of community organizers in the El Barrio subcommunity of MEND.

Bakers Union, Local 3, Jan. 14: Edna Slatkin, MCH board member, spoke to the Community Services Committee about rent control. As a result, the union decided to circulate rent control petitions and wrote to all city councilmen,urging them to attend the Jan.19 meeting(see page 1).

WINS, Jan. 15: Frances Goldin was the tenant spokesman in a half-hour debate with a representative of the Metropolitan Fair Rent Committee. The MFRC has nothing to do with "fair rent." It's the biggest, wealthiest landlord organization in the city. You may have read its $6,000 ad in the New York Times this month against rent control (see page 1).

United Neighbors of 138th St., Jan. 17: Richard Levenson spoke on rent control to this MCH affiliate in uptownManhattan.

Community Progress Center, Lower West Side, Jan. 23: Jane Benedict talked to a group of block workers about organizing techniques.

Council for a Better East New York, Jan. 25: Frances Goldin spoke to this group.

A future event: WCBS-TV, Feb. 19: On Jan. 20, three leaders of the Housing Committee of RENA videotaped a typical scene at their HousingClinic for showing on WCBS-TV, Sun., Feb. 19 at 10 a.m.

It's part of a program about the role of the churches in community affairs -- and the RENA clinic, altho RENA is non-sectarian, is held at the Chapel of the Intercession on West 155th Street.

NEEDED....URGENT....NEEDED....URGENT....

A standard office typewriter -- manual or electric -- is urgently needed for the MCH office. It is wanted even if repairs are necessary. Call MCH, 255-8455, if you have a typewriter to donate.

METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING
219 Seventh Ave., New York, N.Y. 10011
Phone, 255-8455. Chairman, Jane Benedict

MCH welcomes the support of every organization and individual who wants to work for more decent, integrated housing at rents that people can afford to pay. Yearly membership is $15 for organizations; $6 for individuals.

TENANT NEWS, a MCH publication, is free to members. Subscription, $1 per year to non-members. Advance bulk orders at $2 per 100 copies.

Editor, Ruth Beinart; Staff, Margaret Forsyth, Frances Goldin, Maria Harriton, Richard L. Levenson, Petra Rosa.

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THESE PHOTOS captured some of the activity at the 39th annual Convention of the National Pan-Hellenic Council which was held in Richmond recently, attracting delegates from eight national fraternities and sororities. First panel shows Samuel L. Owens of Richmond (left) chatting with old friends, Mrs. Maelle Gray of Houston, Texas and George E. Mears of Brooklyn, national president of Omega Psi Phi Fraternity. Center panel shows participants in Phi Beta Sigma session. They are (clockwise) Albert W. Johnson, Richmond chapter president; C. L. Townes Sr., national treasurer; Mrs. Sarah H. Whitehead, James E. Squire, Washington chapter president; Mr. and Mrs. William E. Doar Jr., national executive secretary and secretary of the Council; William N. Tayton Jr., Dr. Alvin J. McNeil, national president; and W. W. Craighead. Third panel shows Everett "Cutie" Carter of Washington and Mrs. Jerry Carter of Richmond at the Pan-Hellenic Dance.

First Cross Burner Draws Three Years

RICHMOND

An all-white Hustings Court jury handed down what is believed to be the first conviction under Virginia's laws against cross - burning and sentenced a 30-year-old white man to three years in prison Wednesday for the crime.

The all male jury delivered its historic decision against Wilson R. Price of the 3000 block Irisdale Ave. after about 30 minutes deliberation.

The action against cross-burning, the trademark of the Ku Klux Klan, was the second recent setback for the Kluxers in court cases here.

* * *

IN THE OTHER case, the Rev. Robert R. Long of Richmond, a KKK chaplain, faces sentencing in Federal District Court here March 27 from a March 9 conviction of assaulting an FBI agent.

Price, his wife and another man were arrested early New Year's Day after a cross was burned in front of a business in the 1200 block N. Blvd.

Police reportedly acted on a tip and were watching the site when the incident occurred.

SGT. D. R. DULING of the police intelligence squad testified that he saw Price light the cross and then go to a car nearby.

Police said after the arrests that loaded guns and Klan literature were found in the car.

The all - white jury resulted from the fact that both sides in a trial case have the right to exclude a certain number of jurors without giving any reason.

Five colored jurors were among 20 empaneled, but all were excluded in the selection of the final 12.

THE OTHER MAN arrested in the case, Joe Junior Sammons, 33, of Rt. 1, Glen Allen, was due to be tried Wednesday also but his case was continued to March 20 after he showed up in court without a lawyer.

Price's wife, Mrs. Nannie Price, 27, was also to be tried Wednesday as an accessory before and after the fact, but her lawyer asked a postponement.

All three defendants are to be tried in Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court April 21 on charges of contributing to the delinquency of Price's children, who were in the car. at the site of the cross burning, according to police.

Virginia law forbids burning a cross on public property, or on private property without consent of the owner. Price's lawyer noted an appeal.

* * *

THE KKK chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Long, was convicted of assault by Judge John D. Butzner Jr. after Long changed his plea from innocent to guilty and a jury called to hear the case was dismissed.

The Klansman faces up to

PALM SUNDAY SERVICES at Abyssinian Baptist Church were conducted by Associate Minister David [illegible] palms to children. Licerio told the congregation that Powell was wise in a recent [illegible] listening to extremist seeking to promote violence (UPI Telephoto).

Stokely Carmichael And Nervous Nellies

(AN EDITORIAL)

With the announcement that Stokely Carmichael will be speaking at the Mosque April 5, up popped a bunch of Nervous Nellies — among them white pseudo-liberals and "responsible" colored "leaders" — who questioned the wisdom of the Richmond Human Relations Council inviting the young militant to give Richmond an opportunity to hear his point of view first-hand.

Right off the bat, we thought it was a good move on the part of the Council.

First, we believe that every man, whether we agree with him or not, has the right to say his piece. Then, considering the solid line of conservatives (Alabama Sheriff Jim Clark, Barry Goldwater and Al Capp the most notable among them) that have hogged the floor at the Richmond Public Forum and elsewhere locally in recent months, there is a huge need for another point of view to bring about a little philosophical balance. Plus, we think well-mannered and pretentious Richmond, still with its filthy discrimination, deserves to be jolted.

Perhaps the most misunderstood and misquoted civil rights activist, Mr. Carmichael's appearance will provide the opportunity for us to judge his controversial "Black Power" concept for ourselves.

We congratulate those members of the Council who had guts enough to override the Nervous Nellies. In doing so, they exhibited their knowledge and value of free speech in a democracy and their willingness to stand up for this high principle.

William Penn's case continued to April 8

W. End man gets 30-year

..I'M OF THE OPINION:

Contempt Penalties Often

OLIVER W. HILL

CALVIN JEFFERS

Hill fights back in housing case

RICHMOND

The Federal Housing Authority (FHA) has been unable to find "any discrimination" at FHA-supported all-white Eastbourne in Henrico County, although the AFRO has documented that discrimination does exist.

Oliver W. Hill, former FHA official and attorney for Calvin Jeffers, a Vietnam veteran who said he was discriminated against at Eastbourne, said Tuesday that Richmond FHA Director Claude Hart denied in a letter to Hill that Eastbourne discriminates.

Eastbourne is supposed to be non-discriminatory because it receives FHA insurance guarantees that forbid bias.

* * *

HILL SAID he immediately fired back a reply to Hart, disputing the FHA finding.

Hill said he told Hart, "There is distinct evidence of discrimination in the Jeffers case and I insist on a hearing."

Hill did not reveal the exact contents of the FHA letter, but stated that its substance was that the FHA has failed to find discrimination at Eastbourne.

The AFRO later asked Hart Tuesday whether he had found any evidence of racial discrimination in the Jeffers case.

"I suppose I'll have to have a hearing," Hart said I want to do everything I can to satisfy Mr. Hill and Mr. Hill is not satisfied."

"In Hill's opinion Hart is trying to improve the situation without running all the builders away from FHA."

* * *

IF WE had just accepted his statement and done nothing further, the matter would have been closed, Hill asserted.

And Hart confirmed that it would have been this way.

According to Hill, Abe Pfeffer, a representative of the Builders of Eastbourne, assured FHA that there has never been a policy of discrimination at Eastbourne.

In rebuttal to that statement, Hill said he sent Hart a copy of an AFRO story by a white reporter who said he was offered a house for sale at Eastbourne only three days after Jeffers said he was told there were none available.

Hart indicated Tuesday that the AFRO story was not material to Jeffers' complaint.

* * *

THE KKK chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Long, was convicted of assault by Judge John D. Butzner Jr. after Long changed his plea from innocent to guilty and a jury called to hear the case was dismissed.

The Klansman faces up to three years in prison and a maximum fine of $5,000.

Long was charged with striking FBI agent Walter L. Parker after Parker and another agent, Wilson B. Waddy, went to Long's home in the 200 block E. Brookland Park Blvd. Nov. 21 to ask his help in an investigation of the KKK.

* * *

WADDY TESTIFIED at the trial that after he had shown Long his FBI credentials Long said, "Damn you, Waddy; you have harassed me for a long time . . . if you are not careful, I'll hit you."

Waddy said he grabbed his credentials back from Long after Long had stepped into the house with them, and said it was after this that Long struck Parker in the face.

Waddy also quoted Parker as asking Long, "Do you have to be unusual or queer to be a member of the Klan?"

Both agents grabbed Long after he struck Parker, but Long resisted and yelled, "Get me my gun," Waddy said.

CARWILE SPEAKS OUT:

Twin Friends of the Klan

By HOWARD H. CARWILE

RICHMOND

Ruthless nonchalance and contagious cowardice are the twin friends of the Ku Klux Klan in this Commonwealth.

The Richmond Henrico meeting of the NAACP at the Bethlehem Baptist Church, 1920 Fairmount Ave., on Friday night, March 16, is conclusive proof that colored citizens and liberal whites of this metropolitan area are not moved or inspired by arson, bombing, the harassing of homes and the terrifying of children.

This meeting had been advertised on the front page of the AFRO-AMERICAN Newspaper and in the churches. The daily press gave some publicity to it. The Bethlehem Baptist Church should have been packed — and surrounded by thousands of indignant citizens.

John M. Brooks, the national registration director of NAACP, said it is far less difficult to get a church in Mississippi for a protest meeting than it is in this area.

* * *

THE KU Klux Klan thrives on the nonchalance and cowardice of its victims and potential victims. The fact that a jury of twelve white citizens, in the Hustings Court of the City of Richmond, convicted a defendant for illegally burning a cross and sentenced him to three years in prison should serve to alert the Ku Kluxers and their ignorant dupes that this city is gradually getting sick and disgusted with the vicious violence and ghoulish bigotry of the Ku Klux Klan. The dedicated skill of Sgt. D. R. Duling of the Police Bureau's Intelligence Squad, the able prosecution of the case by the Commonwealth's attorney, James B. Wilkinson, and the commendable courage of the twelve jurors consummated in a conviction of a cross burner — a flaming victory for decency and democracy.

* * *

IT IS a flagrant error for anyone to treat the savagry of the Ku Klux Klan as a special curse designed and reserved for the colored person. The Ku Klux Klan know no race lines. They perpetrate their dastardly deeds against crusading, humanitarian white citizens with the same blood - soaked bigotry that they utilize against the colored person.

In some instances, the venom and hellish hate is even greater against the whites.

To pretend that the colored person is the only target of the Klan is to fortify the Klan with more concentrated white bigotry.

The Klan is elated with this chauvinistic contention by some colored people that the Klan is out to destroy only the colored person.

PALM SUNDAY SERVICES at Abyssinian Baptist Church were conducted by Associate Minister David N. Licorish, handing out palms to children. Licorish told the congregation that Powell was wise in n returning to Bimini and not listening to extremist seeking to promote violence (UPI Telephoto).

William Penn's case continued to April 8

RICHMOND April 17.

The trial of William Penn Jr. for the murder of a Church Hill man last April, of which Penn says he is innocent, was continued in Henrico Circuit Court Monday to June 8-9.

The delay was asked by the prosecution because one of its witnesses, an FBI laboratory specialist, was reported unable to attend court this week.

The trial case concerns the death of Willie Sexton Jr., 21, of the 2800 block E. Broad St., whose bullet-riddled body was found floating in the Chickahominy River last

* * *

PENN'S BROTHER, Thomas Lee Penn, 19, has admitted six area slayings and is serving a life sentence from a Dec. conviction for one of them.

William Penn is also charged with three of those six murders, including Sexton's, but insists that he is innocent and that he was jailed because he didn't report his brother to police.

Court actions in the other two cases against William have resulted in mistrials because of hung juries, and he faces retrial in both.

Henrico bombing case continued

RICHMOND

A hearing for the Rev. John J. Nash Jr., who is charged with arson in connection with two fires at his home that he believes were set by the Ku Klux Klan, was continued in Henrico County Court Friday to April 25.

The Rev. Mr. Nash, who said he was upstairs in bed asleep when a fire broke out in his ear, told an anti-KKK protest rally at Bethlehem Baptist Church Thursday that his children downstairs were awakened by a neighbor who saw the blaze.

The fire, which followed threats the minister said he received from the KKK, spread to the house before firemen put it out, he told the

W. End man gets 30-year prison term

RICHMOND

A 31 year old West End man was given 30 years in prison Wednesday after a Hustings Court jury found him guilty of first-degree murder in the Jan. 30 stabbing of Grant Banks, 35, of 1210 Dance St.

The convicted man, Henry William Harrell of the 1700 block Southhampton Ave., was arrested Feb. 3.

Banks was pronounced dead on arrival at MCV Hospital after his body was found in front of a Blair St. house with a one-inch stab wound in the chest.

NAACP-sponsored rally.

Taking note of the charges against Nash, NAACP national voter registration director John M. Brooks told the rally, "It seems awfully peculiar to me how quickly blame is put upon the colored person."

"You cannot hide" by steering clear of civil rights activity, warned Brooks. "They're going to stomp on you just like anyone else."

INSURANCEMEN CITED: These four representatives of North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company were honored last week at a banquet sponsored by the Richmond District Agency Club which is composed of company employees. They are (from left): Edward Shearn, club president; James C. Crockett who was recently promoted staff manager of the Richmond District; Rufus E. Hackett, newly-appointed assistant agency director; and Alfred J. Middleton, club vice-president who will represent the Richmond District at the company's club Convention which includes a cruise to the Bahamas. Mr. Middleton was awarded the trip for his outstanding work as a representative in 1966.

I'M OF THE OPINION:

Contempt Penalties Often Abridge Rights

By DAVID E. LONGLEY

RICHMOND

I don't believe any judge should have unlimited power or authority to impose penalties in connection with "contempt of court."

I concede that the court must be given some latitude to enforce its decisions if it becomes necessary. I also concede that there is danger of a break down in law enforcement if judges are not armed with reasonable power to cause the implementation of decrees.

* * *

BUT ALL of us know that there are judges who are biased, often incompetent, and frequently exercise their powers without wisdom or voluntary restraint.

If this were not true, there would not be so many reversals when cases are appealed to higher courts where judges are usually better versed in the law.

Most adults, at sometime or other during their lives, have sat in court rooms and heard judges threaten lawyers and others with penalty for "contempt of court." In some instances the contention of the lawyers was proven to be valid in the appellate courts.

* * *

WE HAVE read of numerous cases in which judges have levied exhorbitant fines and even imprisonment for failure of persons to comply with injunctions or mandates which were subsequently declared unconstitutional by other tribunals.

Often the penalties have been so obviously unreasonable and unjust that the very nature of them has motivated people to defy the courts involved.

I have wondered whether the penalties affixed in the Adam Clayton Powell case do not fall within that classification. Time and litigation will furnish the answer. Powell has some very good lawyers.

* * *

IN VIRGINIA, the contentions of capable lawyers that the court erred in causing the arrest and conviction of civil rights demonstrators, when the injunctions were based upon ordinances which are questionable as to their legality, may ultimately be proven fully meritorious.

Charge changed in man's death

RICHMOND

A charge of felonious assault placed against James Brice Jr. of the 700 block N. 6th St. was changed to murder after the man he is accused of shooting in a March 12 incident died two days later at MCV Hospital.

Brice, who was arrested and released on bond following the shooting, turned himself in Friday for arrest on the amended charge, police said.

The victim of the shooting was Paul Charles Brigman, 52, also of the 700 block N. 6th St.

Brice, 43, was again released on bond after a preliminary hearing was set for March 29.

This is what FHA is looking for in Chicago and Boston Areas — K.J.B.

SPARTANBURG NEWS

Teacher groups attend PTA meet; Macedonia mission aries have tea

By EDNA BROWNING

SPARTANBURG, S.C. — Beatrice Cleveland directed a choir from Carver High School at the recent Parent-Teacher Association convention in Columbia.

Among the teachers attending from Spartanburg were Mr. and Mrs. Edward Barksdale, Mr. and Mrs. Frederick McJimpsey, J. R. Wright, The Rev. E. C. Gaffney, Charlie Mae Campbell, Mable Hill and the Rev. and Mrs. C. M. Johnson.

From Union came the Rev. and Mrs. Will S. Young, the Rev. and Mrs. J. R. Ezell, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Moorer, and Mesdames Mable McKissick, Madora Martin, Grace Blackwell, and Ruby Brown.

* * *

THE ANNUAL fellowship tea of the Senior Missionary Society of Macedonia Baptist Church was held recently.

Mrs. Edna C. Davis, was mistress of ceremonies. Music was by the Zion Hill Choir of Monks Grove Church; the scripture was by Mrs. Lucille Rookard, The prayer was by Mrs. Iola Gilliam and the solo was by Mrs. Elizabeth Shands.

Mrs. Jessie Wilson, the president, introduced the speaker, Mrs. Pauline Brewton. The tea followed a program in the Sunday School auditorium.

Attending the tea were: the Rev. K. R. Brewton, the Rev. D. G. Anderson, Mesdames Levada Anderson, Fannie Mae Jackson, Ruby Johnson, Peggy J. Whiteside, Jackie Jackson, Petunia P. Leak, Dorothy F. Lyles;

Mesdames Pearl Williams, Barbara Douglas, Gertrude Boozer, Lizzie Fields, Iris Wingo, Mabel Blakely, Doris Reed, Ella Henderson, Dorothy Wilkins, Mamie Meadows, Ella Dawkins, Ora Mills, Elizabeth Brown, Annie Maude Rogers, Elizabeth Miller, Louvenia Neely;

* * *

MESDAMES Sallie Ashton, Mozelle Austin, Mamie Staggs, Minnie Gist, Eva Campbell, Margret Shell, Charlotte Wells, Ida Moore, Joseph McKinzie, Grace Wideman, Mahalia Lee, Mary Wallace, Hattie Mooney, Floree Rookard, Annie L. Sims;

Mesdames Maggie Wheeler, Lottie Rogers, Iola Gilliam, Inez Jones, Floy Pressley, Nellie Thompson, Mabel Levels, Carrie Henderson, Loretta Dawkins, Nancy Brower, Lelia Wheeler, Regina Glenn, Francis Davis, Ada Jones, Mamie Hill, Ethel Shuler and;

Mesdames Geneva Watson, Lois Evins, Alma Proctor, Frances Davis, Queenie Linder, Lula Mae Cohen, Lucile Farr, Bessie Cherry, and Kenneth Wilson.

Also Mr. and Mrs. J. T. Templeton, J. W. Wilkins, Jonah Durham, Preston Meadows, Joseph McKinzie, W. W. Davis, George Giles and James Zoober.

* * *

MEMBERS OF Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority worshipped at Macedonia Baptist Church recently on Founder's Day.

Present were: Catherine Thomas, Helen Bell, Matilda C. Rogers, Willie B. Dawkins, Edith W. Duffie, Cammie F. Clagett, Geraldin W. Cureton, Daisy L. Rice, Sara W. Fair, Rena M. Hagler, Esther V. Campbell and Jessie M. Davenport.

The Spartanburg delegation at the fifty - eighth Anniversary, NAACP in Florence recently were Mrs. Alberta Avinger, Mrs. Edna Browning, Mrs. Georgia Rogers, Mr. John Stephens and Rev. A. C. Jones.

* * *

BEAUTICIANS REGION 12 held its regular monthly meeting at the home of Mrs. Linease Green, 215 Woodview Ave., recently. The meeting was opened by the state regional director, Mrs. Alberta Samuel.

Mrs. Green and Mrs. Lucile Owens were co-hostesses.

Members present were: Mesdames Samuel, Lula Littlejohn, Ella King, Cora Cheeks, L. B. Gaffney, Lucile Owens, Ella Jane Nesbitt, Francis Miller, Lillian Smith, Floree Smith, Katrine Little, Johnsie Goodwin, Tecora Pearson.

* * *

THE BOARD of Trustees of Morris College recently honored Dr. W. L. Wilson, pastor of Macedonia Baptist Church, and the late Rev. E. M. Booker by naming the college's new science building for them.

Dr. Wilson accepted the honor at the recent college banquet. Accompanying him and his wife to the affair were:

Mrs. Iola Gilliam, Mrs. Edna Davis, and Messrs. and Mesdames J. T. Templeton, John Foster, Gerry Giles, and Joe English.

* * *

THE MEN'S Fellowship Club held its fourth anniversary recently at Macedonia Baptist Church. Gary Giles and Arthur Turner spoke.

The Rev. Mr. Wilson introduced the speaker, the Rev. W. L. Smith of Smith Chapel, Blacksburg. Music was furnished by Mayfield Chapel Baptist Men's Chorus, the Ebenezer Baptist Choir, and J. E. Kimpson.

Greetings were read from Fred Duke, President of the Upper Piedmont Region for the Baptist Layman's auxiliary. Richard Posey was master of ceremonies. Mr. James D. Gist is president.

Other memers are J. M. Foster, S. H. Freeman, Gary Giles, L. C. Davis, John Fitzpatrick, Tommy Lee Hall, R. C. Montgomery, Furman Williams, Rev. D. C. Wilson and Rev. J. W. Surratt also took part.

* * *

FUNERAL SERVICES for Mrs. Viola S. Beatty were held recently at Macedonia Baptist Church with the Rev. W. L. Wilson officiating.

She belonged to the Bee Street Sympathy Club.

Surviving are her husband, Boyce, her mother, Mrs. Fannie Sims, a sister, Notie, six brothers Eulas, Royal Floyd, Marion and Robert Sims, all of Philadelphia and Otis of Charlotte, N.C.

A step - daughter, Dorothy Moorer of Columbia and two step-sons, Robert and Warren Beatty of Philadelphia and Brooklyn, New York, respectively.

Participating on the program were Mrs. Edna Browning for the sympathy club, Mrs. Edna Davis and Deacon J. T. Templeton. The solo was by Mrs. Mattie Alexander.

Flower Bearers were Lucinda Burgess and Mesdames Henrietta Davis, Marie Jones, Ora Mills, Mozelle Austin, Mae Lillie Boozer, Elizabeth Hardy and Wilhemenia Bobo.

Pall bearers were Ernest Butler, Jack Hill, James Devlin, Roy Bruce, Robert Zooer and George Giles. Interment was in Lincoln Memorial Gardens.

Services for Mrs. Dollie B. Holland, 71, were held recently at Cleveland Chapel Baptist Church, Whitney with the Reverend James Whitmore, officiating.

Mrs. Holland was a Sunday school teacher, vice-president of the Missionary Society, secretary of the Burial Aid Society Home Demonstration Club.

* * *

SHE IS survived by nine children, Robert L., Hubert and Mesdames Jeonia Rice, Mary E. Clifton, Roenia Foster and Pearl Philson, of Spartanburg; Earl, of Dayton, Ohio, Arthur of Newport News, Va., and R. D. of Columbia and

Twenty - nine grandchildren, five great grandchildren, two uncles, three nieces and a nephew.

With the Rev. J. R. Ezell, ex-pastor, presiding, the message was delivered by Pastor Whitmore. Other ministers present were Dr. W. L. Wilson and the Reverends B. T. Sears, N. J. Alexander, Brockman and Jimmie Kerns.

Mrs. Cammie Clagett and John Jefferies spoke.

Casket bearers were Nathan Rice, Jeffries, Otis Kerns, Arthur Mills, Joe Haywood, George Kennedy, James Davis and Jonas Miller.

* * *

FLOWER BEARERS were Mesdames Vennie Rice, Evelyn Jeffries, Lottie Kennedy, Loreece Haywood, Ruth Miller, Alice Mills, Ruth Kerns and Bessie Davis.

Eulogistic services for Mr. Wade R. Blackwell, Sr. were held recently at Corinth Baptist Church, Union with the Rev. M. A. Zimmerman officiating.

He was an employee of the

MAKING THEIR BOW TO SOCIETY —Theta Beta Omega Chapter of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc. presented its twelfth annual debutante presentation at J. T. Barber recently. The young ladies presented were, Vivian L. Alston, Lula Beatty, Irene E. Best, Beverly R. Blount, Joann M. Blount, Florence High School, Jamesville, N.C., M. Brown, Yvonne D. Cordon, Gloria J. Fisher, Vivian A. Fisher, Loretta Fonville, Bernadette R. Gregory, Georgia A. Green, Ida D. Hargett, Janice G. Harris, Rosetta M. Korengay, Carol J. McKinnon, Glendora D. Manly, Fannie C. Martin, Beverly R. Monk, Carrie E. Nelson, Vicki D. Nixon, Gail M. Nobles, Martha Pugh, Belinda S. Redmond, Harriette E. Richardson, Flonnie M. Slade, Marian E. Smith, Mildred L. Taylor, Lila R. Wallace and Cecelia E. Williams.

WILMINGTON NEWS

Palm Sunday cantatas great as native son offers sermon

By EUNICE B. KIRTON

WILMINGTON, N.C. — One of Wilmington's native sons returned to preach here on Palm Sunday.

He is the Rev. Michael H. Hall, son of Dr. and Mrs. B. Frank Hall. Presently enrolled at Union Theological Seminary of Virginia, he spoke at Pearsall Memorial Presbyterian Church.

The Rev. Hall expects to return to Virginia as a pastor after he has spent a summer in Europe for post-graduate study.

* * *

IN OTHER Palm Sunday services, several cantatas were presented, including "Hear My Prayer" at St. Paul's Lutheran; "The Seven Last Words of Christ" at Westminster Presbyterian; "Alleluia" at First Baptist; and "God's Greatest Sacrifice" at St. Andrew's Presbyterian.

* * *

AT ST. Mark's Episcopal Church "God So Loved the World" was the offering, and Bishop Thomas H. Wright received a class of 13 for Confirmation.

* * *

THE CAPE Fear DuPont Plant is expected to begin its production by the end of 1968 according to Personnel Superintendent Joseph A. LaMotte. The training of new employees for this plant will be announced in the near future, and will be carried in this column.

* * *

IT IS NOW Clean-Up Time in the Port City as municipal authorities, area merchants, newspapers and leading citizens urge one and all to Clean-Up, Fix-Up and Paint-Up. Mayors of New Hanover municipalities joined Mayor O. O. Allsbrook in the signing of a proclamation to this effect. The purpose is to make Wilmington more attractive to the thousands of visitors who will come here for the Annual Azalea Festival, April 6-9th.

* * *

THE CAPE Fear Technical Institute recently graduated a class of 14 practical nurses. They will take their State Licensing Examination on April 10th. Official graduation exercises for the class will be held on May 23rd. Members of the Class are: Misses Janet D. Mayor O. O. Allsbrook cut a ribbon to officially open three new community buildings in the City to be located in the new housing for the elderly at Nesbitt Courts, Hillcrest and Taylor Homes projects. Open house after the ribbon cutting was held in the three buildings from 3:30 until 5:30 p.m., and the senior citizens and elderly of each of these projects served refreshments. The Parks and Recreation Department will staff these community buildings with programs for the elderly which will be coordinated by special activities director, Mrs. Marion Rogers.

* * *

THE TRUSTEES of New Hanover Memorial Hospital have indicated their support of the program of the local Mental Health Clinic's Directors to get federal funds for a clinic on the new hospital grounds. An acre has already been set aside for construction of a Mental Health Clinic with an out-patient center. Federal funds will pay 84 per cent of the building costs.

* * *

COLLEGE STUDENTS living in New Hanover County can now participate in a statewide program designed to furnish financial help to college students. The program is called PACE (Plan Assuring College Education) and is coordinated in North Carolina by the Division of Community Services of the State Board of Public Welfare.

PACE is a program designed to allow students to stay home and work during the summer to earn money for college expenses. They are employed by a non-profit organization which pays approximately one-fourth of the salary. The Federal Government pays the balance through the college where the student is enrolled.

To be eligible to work in PACE, the family income must be approximately $3,000 per year with an additional $600 allowed for each dependent. For further information, see the New Hanover Coordinating

FUNERAL SERVICES for Mrs. Sophia Elizabeth Artist were held at 3:30 p.m. at Mt. Zion AME Church with the Rev. D. Morrison in charge. He was assisted by the Revs. Edwin E. Kirton, J. A. Humphrey, and E. S. Hassell.

Mrs. Artis is survived by her husband, William T. Artis, Sr; six daughters: Mrs. Helen Coles of Cleveland, Ohio, Mrs. Rosetta Williams of Columbia, S.C., Mrs. Louise Batts of St. Albans, N.Y., Mrs. Sophia Mayor of Columbia, S.C., Mrs. Mozelle Rhodes of Tampa, Fla., and Miss Christine Artis of Rocky Mount, N.C.; two sons: William T. Artis Jr., and Preston Artis. Interment was at Pine Forest Cemetery.

Women baptists meet at Hebron

By ETHELYN M. PARKER

CHARLESTON, S.C. — Plans were laid last week at Morris College for the Woman's Baptist Convention meet to be held in June at Hebron Baptist Church, Clinton, S.C.

In addition to sermons, there will be talent pageants, community singing and health instruction. For additional information, contact the Rev. W. D. Coker, P.O. Box 98, Gray Court, S.C.

* * *

THE GUIDANCE Services Department of Burke High School held its annual Career Month activities last month.

Among events was a field trip to the Charleston Naval Base where Rear Adm. E. H. Batcheller, commander of the base, spoke on job opportunities in federal installations.

Another event was a speech by Mayor J. Palmer Gaillard at C. A. Brown High School on job opportunities in government and politics.

* * *

CLARENCE MAYS III, son of Clarence Mays II and Mrs. Mays (Margaret Bennett) was awarded a scholarship for two summers at Knoxville College through the summer study skills program.

* * *

SIXTY ONE housekeepers graduated from the Charleston Trident Chamber of Commerce's housekeeping training program in special ceremonies at Burke High School, last week.

The Rev. J. T. Enwright, pastor of Plymouth United Church, was elected president of the Interdenominational Ministers Association of Charleston and vicinity. Vice presidents are: the Revs. H. B. Butler, J. E. Spear, G. A. Thomas, S. A. Brown, B. J. Finklea, W. A. Felder, messenger; J. J. Taylor and J. Gathers.

MRS. VIVIAN MOULTRIE has been the office nurse for Dr. B. Kater McInnes for 25 years. Dr. McInnes recently retired at age 81. He was a friend as well as a doctor to all of his patients. A product of the Medical College of Charleston, he alsograduated from the Univ. of Pennsylvania.

MRS. E. L. JACKSON has been chosen as the delegate to the national convention of the YWCA from the Circle Central "Y."

The annual bridge whist charity party of Links, Inc. will be held at Father Cleary Hall on April 20.

Congratulations to the Bond-Wilson High School Band that has been named to the All State Band, making them eligible for the cup for the fourth time in five years. The 64-piece All-State Band will play in concert at the S.C. State College April 26 with Alan Raph, a charter member of the American Symphony Orchestra. The Junior All-State Band will also have six additional members of the Bond-Wilson Band on the program.

Shaw University recruiters at Work

RALEIGH, N.C. — Ten Shaw University recruiters, led by the Rev. John W. Fleming, director of admissions, are currently attending College Day Programs, holding conferences with high school counselors on policies of admission, compensatory and remedial education and conducting interviews.

The College Day Programs are held at various dates and areas during the month, following prior visitations and conferences arranged by appointment.

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seph McKinzie, W. W. Davis, Mrs. Viola S. Beatty were held

Mesdames Vennie Rice, Evelyn Jeffries, Lottie Kennedy, Loreece Haywood, Ruth Miller, Alice Mills, Ruth Kerns and Bessie Davis.

Eulogistic services for Mr. Wade R. Blackwell, Sr. were held recently at Corinth Baptist Church, Union with the Rev. M. A. Zimmerman officiating.

He was an employee of the Eagle Grocery Company for 46 years, where most people on his route were called "Couc" by him.

He is survived by his wife, Lizzie; a daughter, Mrs. Grace B. Wideman; two sons, Wade Jr. and Joe F., six grandchildren; three great grandchildren; and a brother, James.

Shaw University—14 pt.

...nual Azalea Festival, April 6-9th.

* * *

THE CAPE Fear Technical Institute recently graduated a class of 14 practical nurses. They will take their State Licensing Examination on April 10th. Official graduation exercises for the class will be held on May 23rd. Members of the Class are: Misses Janet D. McBane, Evelyn E. Howe, Betsy W. Key, Linda V. Holliday, Virginia E. Griggers, Gwendolyn Clay, Shirley G. Bowman, Mary L. Sparks, Shirley W. Smith, Ernestine R. Rochelle, Gertrude W. Powell, Mary M. Piner, Ann H. Nolf, and Geraldine N. Pridgen.

* * *

ON SUNDAY, March 19th, ...of the salary. The Federal Government pays the balance through the college where the student is enrolled.

To be eligible to work in PACE, the family income must be approximately $3,000 per year with an additional $600 allowed for each dependent. For further information, see the New Hanover Coordinating Committee under the chairmanship of Mrs. Herbert Bluethenthal, whose office is located at Opportunities Inc., 205 Ann Street.

* * *

THE NEW Hanover Memorial Hospital will be dedicated on May 7th when Governor Dan K. Moore will be the speaker. The ceremonies will be held out-

QUEEN —Miss Vivian A. Fisher was selected queen at the 12th annual debutante presentation in Jamesville, N.C. She was chosen from 29 other debs presented by Theta Beta Omega Chapter of AKA.

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Please send bulletin:
Name ..... Age .....
City ..... State .....
Street No. .....
Are You High School Graduate? .....

DURHAM BUSINESS COLLEGE GIRLS basketball team took second place in the Women's Division of the Durham City League, defeating Lincoln Hospital School of Nursing in the semi-final rounds. The team also took second place in season team play; winning 11 and losing 5. Coach Walter Wilson (extreme left) is in a happy mood after winning his second straight successful year in the League. Players and Plater personnel are from left to right: Shirley Waller, Henderson; Nettie McPherson, Elizabeth City; Patricia Humphrey, South Boston, Va.; Gwendolyn Howell, Sunbury; Nancy Goodings, Kinston; Catherine Upchurch, Durham; Alice Nedvin, Durham; Brenda Claxton, Elliston, Va.; Gwendolyn Wilder, Franklinton; Lee Ann Evans, Ocean Drive, S.C.; Eva Ratliff, Wadesboro; Patricia Goodman, Portsmouth, Va.; Juanita Hendricks, South Boston, Va.; Terry Gills, Washington, D.C.; Carolyn Blackwell, Salisbury; and Dannette Neely, Salisbury.

TAKING SECOND PLACE in the Men's Division of the tournament, the Tigers fought from 4th place in League standing to clinch a second place spot by downing John Avery Boy's Club in the semi-finals. The team lost to W. D. Hill in the championship game. The players are, Thomas Moore, Faison; Curtis Toms, Rutherfordton; Charles Newton, Atlanta, Ga.; Linwood Hobbs, Faison; Steve Humphrey, New York; Coach Walter Wilson; Alonza Tapp, Greensboro; Herbert William; Ronald Culpepper; James Woodard, Wilson; Jose Beatty, New York; Dwight Middegge, Durham; John Walker, South Carolina; Fred Walker, Faison; Bud Lyon, Ill.; and Mat Green, New York.

AFRO CARRIERS WANTED IN THE FOLLOWING TOWNS

ASHEVILLE, N.C.
Mr. J. R. Wilkes
164 Cortland Place
Phone: AL. 3-0828

CHARLOTTE, N.C.
Mrs. Louise Warner
1111 McCall St.
Phone: 332-6386

DURHAM, N.C.
Mrs. Catherine McCray
1324 E. Pettigrew St.
Phone: 688-6433

GREENSBORO, N.C.
Mr. M. Freed
403 Radiance Ave.

MOCKSVILLE, N.C.
Rev. F. D. Johnson
508 Pine St.
Phone: 634-2642

NORWOOD, N.C.
Mrs. Annie Brannon
P. O. Box 432
Phone: 474-4217

REIDSVILLE, N.C.
Mrs. Walker Miller
304 Vance St.
Phone: 349-8500

STATESVILLE, N.C.
Mr. George Dalton
652 S. Elm St.
Phone: 873-7103

WILMINGTON, N.C.
Mrs. Carrie Artis
911 N. 6th St.
Phone: 762-7134

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.
Mrs. Essolene McNeil
1200 W. 14th St.
Phone: Park 5-3104

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.
Mrs. Lossie Robinson
339 Claremount Ave.

AIKEN, S.C.
Rev. W. L. Mines
740 Lincoln St., N.W.
Phone: 648-1242

CHARLESTON, S.C.
Rev. Frank McKenzie
21 Cannon St.

COLUMBIA, S.C.
Mr. Bradford Patterson
745 Wilkes Road
Phone: 754-3302

DARLINGTON, S.C.
Mrs. G. P. Kelly
984 S. Main St.
Phone: 393-3694

GREENVILLE, S.C.
James T. Nance
206 Green Acre Road
Phone: 239-6379

LANCASTER, S.C.
Mrs. Hattie Gamble
406 E. Gay St.
Phone: 283-3246

ROCK HILL, S.C.
Mrs. Madge Robinson
142 Wiley St.
Phone: 327-4952

SPARTANBURG, S.C.
Dr. Edwin Oliver
375 S. Liberty St.

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file Housing

CENTER FOR FAIR HOUSING

The Center for Fair Housing, with which local fair housing groups may affiliate, is a program operation of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing recently created by the NCDH Executive Committee.

Initiation of the Center is in response to the growing number of requests from local fair housing and other community groups to affiliate with NCDH. Its purpose is to establish a national coordinated service which will give practical assistance to groups throughout the country in their work to combat discrimination and achieve integrated communities. It is also hoped that affiliation with the Center will provide them with a realistic sense of identification with the rapidly expanding national fair housing committee movement.

In addition to having a channel through which new program ideas and experiences can be shared, those groups affiliated with the Center will have available to them a wide range of specific services designed to enhance the effectiveness of their program efforts. These will include:

* Direct consultation and guidance in the development and implementation of local program activities.

* Technical assistance in the analysis and evaluation of urban renewal plans and of other programs or problems.

* Field visits to counsel with local groups on matters of particular complexity or significance.

* Regional and national conferences.

* Representation of the interests and concerns of local fair housing committees before national public and private organizations.

* Periodic distribution of informational literature, including pamphlets, brochures, reprints and other publications of significance. Special effort will be made to meet the needs and "gaps" as indicated by the affiliates of the Center.

* Development and distribution of a series of "how to" materials on specific techniques: how to encourage more rapid movement of minority groups into the general housing market; how to make effective use of the services and programs of local, state and Federal agencies; how to promote the cooperation and involvement of responsible builders, brokers and mortgage lenders; how to combat panic selling and maintain racially-integrated neighborhoods.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING (NCDH)
323 Lexington Avenue New York, N.Y. 10016

N Immigration Project

APR 14 1966

63 Avenue D, Apt. 3-A
New York, N.Y. 10009
11 April 1966

Mr. Floyd McKissick
National Director
C.O.R.E.
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. McKissick:

I was recently given a memo from you to the Law Students Civil Rights Research Council in which you ask for some information about immigration quotas. On 30 September 1965, a bill was passed that eliminates the quota system. A short outline of the basic provisions of this bill (H.R. 2580) is attached. I have written to the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization requeting the information on the quotas and actual immigrants in the past ten years. When this information arrives I will forward it to you.

If you would like any further work done on this project, please feel free to contact me, or the Council.

Sincerely,

S. A. Law

1. Under the system that had been in effect since the 1920's, each quota area was entitled to a quota of immigrants equivalent to 1% of the total number of inhabitants from that quota area in the United States in 1920. Only two nations had quota's larger than 20,000 per year -- Great Britian, 65,361 and West Germany, 25,814. States created, or granted independence subsequent to 1920 generally had quotas of 100 per year. Thus, most African nations had quotas of 100. There have never been any quotas imposed on the nations of the Western Hemisphere. No Asian nations were allowed quotas until 1952. (Apparantly all Asians in this country came here illegally, or under some special permission, though I am not certain of this.) In 1952 a quota of 2,000 per year was allowed for all of Asia. In addition, any person of Asian descent was counted as part of the Asian quota, irrespective of the place of his birth. This rule has never applied to any other group and it was eliminated with respect to Asians by the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. In 1961, the limitation of 2,000 Asians was eliminated and each Asian country was given a minimal quota of 100 per year.

2. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (H.R. 2580) will go into full effect in July 1968. In the interim, surplus quotas of one nation will be given to other nations which have waiting lists of those desiring to immigrate to the United States. These will be assigned on a first come, first serve, basis. There are several nations that do not fill their quotas, so this provision should provide for a considerable immediate reduction of waiting lists.

3. The following provisions will go into effect in July 1968.

a. Preference shall be given to admission of aliens who have close family ties with United States Citizens or permanent resident aliens, and to those individuals who have special skills of value to the United States.

b. Parents, children, brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens (over 21 years of age) shall be admitted freely and will not come under any numerical limitation.

c. A limitation of 170,000 is placed on the number of immigrants who may be admitted to the United States in any fiscal year. (Those mentioned in "b" are not included in this limitation.)

d. Within this 170,000 special preference is given to spouses and children of non-resident citizens (not to exceed 34,000); political refugees (10,200); professionals, artists, and scientists (17,000); workers with special skills for which there is a need in the American labor market (17,000).

e. The number of immigrants from the Western Hemisphere shall not exceed 120,000 in any one fiscal year.

f. The yearly maximum for any single nation outside the Western Hemisphere is 20,000.

THE INTERNATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
POST OFFICE BOX 334
PHILLIPSBURG, NEW JERSEY 08865

January 1968

The I.M.A. is filing a Class Suit on behalf of all Negro and other American citizens who have received M.D. degrees from abroad. The I.M.A. is bringing this suit on behalf of all Negroe and other American citizens who are studying Medicine at Universities outside the United States. The I.M.A. is charging Discrimination and Conspiracy against the ECFMG Corporation of Philadelphia.

Specifically: 1) We, the International Medical Association, contend that any Negro or other American citizen with an M.D. issued from a University listed in the World Health Directory of Medical Schools of the World Health Organization in Geneva, Switzerland, be allowed to take any State Board Examination to practice Medicine without being forced to pay money to the private ECFMG Corporation, 3930 Chesnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and being forced to take the ECFMG examination. There are over 45,000 M.D.'s now practicing Medicine in the U.S. who have never taken the ECFMG examination who graduated

from Medical Schools in England and abroad.

2) We contend that any Negro or other American citizen with an M.D. degree be treated on an equal basis with all other "American Citizen" M.D.'s and be allowed to work in any hospital in the U.S.A. that receives Federal or State or County financial support from taxes from "American citizens" without being forced to pay money to the private ECFMG Corporation Employment Agency of Philadelphia, Tel. EV-6-1300, and being forced to take the ECFMG examination. Hospital jobs are available now for M.D.'s. There are many "American Citizens" M.D.'s on the Staff of hospitals in the United States who have never paid money to the private ECFMG, and have never taken the ECFMG examination. It is a violation of Federal laws to Discriminate between American Citizens with M.D. degrees who want and need jobs that are available. The ECFMG Corporation blocks Negro and other American citizens from getting hospital jobs.

Civil rights are being discriminated against, as not every M.D. "American citizen" in the State of Pennsylvania (and other States) has taken the ECFMG examination, yet they were, and are, permitted to take the Pennsylvania and other State Board examinations and are practicing Medicine now, and

are supporting their families by practicing Medicine.

We contend that some Negro and other "American citizens" have been forced into unemployment by the ECFMG Corporation of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and blocked from working in the field that they are trained for, their chosen profession of Medicine. They have spent thousands of dollars for B.A. and M.D. degrees, and now are being deprived of using their training. They are being blocked from working and supporting their families. They are being treated as second class citizens. We contend that some of our members are being cheated of their Constitutional rights as "American Citizens"!

The ECFMG Corporation is a private employment agency whose officers are: 1) Mr. G. Halsey Hunt; 2) Mr. A.C. McGuinness; 3) Mr. Madison B. Brown.

We contend it is a violation of the Constitutional rights and civil rights of Negro and other American citizens for the private ECFMG Corporation to block Negro American citizens from working in American hospitals that are Federal, State, City, County financed in part, or in full; or any American hospital that receives, or has received, any Federal government funds. We contend Constitutional and civil rights are

being violated by the tactics of the ECFMG Corporation by keeping Negro and other American citizens from taking the State Board examinations. They cannot support their families until they take the State Boards and practice Medicine as their chosen work and profession.

We contend it is unconstitutional for the ECFMG private corporation to make private laws only to apply to "second class Negro and other American citizens" and to make private arrangements "and deals" with men on State Boards, and at certain hospitals, to force Negro American citizens to <u>pay money</u> to the ECFMG private corporation while "other white American citizens" do <u>not</u> have to pay money to the ECFMG private corporation. We contend any such private agreement between the ECFMG corporation and State officials on any State Board is collusion and conspiracy against Negro and other American citizens.

We contend that the only examination required of every American citizen is that individual and <u>same</u> identical State Board examination given to each and every M.D. American citizen of the State at the same time, place, and graded openly. <u>Not</u> all white American citizens with an M.D. degree are forced to take the ECFMG private corporation examination. We contend

that until every "American citizen" in every State now practicing Medicine does pay the ECFMG corporation the same equal amount of money and openly take and openly pass the same ECFMG corporation examination, that Negroes do not have to pay the ECFMG corporation money and do not have to take their examination. We contend equal rights for "American citizens" to take any State Board in the State where they pay taxes, or in any State they so desire.

There are approximately 45,000 M.D.'s with degrees from schools outside the U.S. and these M.D.'s did not have to pay money to the ECFMG private corporation and did not take the ECFMG examination, yet they are supporting their families and working by practicing Medicine. We contend we do not have to pay money to the ECFMG private corporation employment agency and we do not have to take the ECFMG examination before we are permitted to take the State Board and practice Medicine.

American citizens with an M.D. degree were not discriminated against before the ECFMG private corporation was set up in 1959 by three men to make money. We contend the ECFMG private corporation discriminates between American citizens by making "first" class citizens of those American citizens with M.D. degrees inside the U.S. and "second" class citizens of those

Negro American citizens with M.D. degrees from England and Europe and outside the U.S.A.

The ECFMG is a private corporation type of employment agency whose function is to secure cheap labor for hospitals. The ECFMG private corporation has made "private laws" and these laws state:

1) Any Negro "American citizen" who studies Medicine abroad and receives an M.D. degree from any University located outside the United States must:

   A) Pay money to the ECFMG private corporation employment agency.

   B) The Negro "American citizen" must take any gimmick examination the ECFMG private corporation so desires to give to the Negro American citizen. The ECFMG examination given during the last three years lasted over 8 full hours and consisted of over 5,000 questions, many of which had no answer.

The ECFMG exam is a tactic to fail Negro "American citizens". The ECFMG exam is never returned to the Negro M.D. "American citizen", therefore no one knows who really failed or passed. No one ever sees which question was missed.

No Negro with an M.D. degree from abroad is ever allowed to see their own completed exam after it is "graded" even though the Negro "American citizen" has paid for the exam! Foreigners from Jugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia and other Communist countries pass the ECFMG exam but Negro "American citizens" are continually failed!! Thus, the Negro "American citizen" is blocked from getting a job. The citizens of Communist countries are permitted by the ECFMG corporation to work in our hospitals because the Communist citizens are allowed to pass the ECFMG exam.

2) If one "American citizen", regardless of his race, who has an M.D. degree from an University listed in the World Health Directory of Medical Schools is forced to pay money to the ECFMG private corporation employment agency and take the ECFMG examination, then all M.D.'s who are "American citizens" must also do the same. We demand equal rights for all Negro American citizens.

The private ECFMG corporation employment agency is guilty of:

1) Discrimination - the ECFMG lets citizens of Communist countries and Chinese and other races pass to get jobs in our hospitals, however, the ECFMG fails Negro American citizens.

2) Conspiracy to block Negro and other "American citizens" from practicing Medicine.

3) Conspiracy to block Negro and other "American citizens" from jobs in American tax supported hospitals. (See enclosed letters from hospitals.)

4) The ECFMG corporation blocks Negro and other American citizens from getting to take State Board examinations. This blocks Negro American citizens from practicing Medicine and working to support their families.

5) The ECFMG private Corporation has made secret deals with certain men on State Boards. Certain of the State Boards tell the Negro and other "American citizen" with an M.D. degree from abroad that he must obey the "private laws" of the ECFMG corporation. Thus, the Negro American citizen with an M.D. from outside the U.S. is not permitted to take the State Boards to practice Medicine in his home town until he has paid money to the ECFMG private corporation employment agency of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Yet, there is no State law

and no Federal law on the books that requires any Negro or other American citizen to pay money to the ECFMG private corporation employment agency or to take the ECFMG examination!!

Therefore, the ECFMG private corporation is guilty of discrimination and conspiracy to deny jobs to Negro American citizens.

6) When a Negro or other "American citizen" with an M.D. degree from abroad applies for a job at a tax supported State Hospital (see attached letter from Hospital as proof!) the Negro M.D. is told he must go to the employment agency called the ECFMG corporation and pay money to this type of employment agency. The Negro M.D. is denied the hospital job. Yet there is no State law or City law or Federal Civil Service law requiring any Negro to pay money to the ECFMG private corporation for a job in a hospital! There are white "American citizen" M.D.'s working in these same hospitals who have never paid money to the ECFMG. Before 1958 the ECFMG private corporation never existed! Therefore, all M.D.'s practicing Medicine since 1958 should also take the same exam and pay money to the ECFMG corporation today!

No Negro "American citizen" with an M.D. from abroad can get a job in a hospital, or practice Medicine, unless the ECFMG gives their approval! Doctors are needed everywhere! Who is the ECFMG? What laws do they work under? The ECFMG is a private corporation type of employment agency whose function is to block Negro "American citizens" from jobs in hospitals that are available now! The ECFMG private corporation has made private deals with men at hospitals and men on State Boards to discriminate and conspire to deny Negro "American citizens" jobs!

These persons conspiring with the ECFMG must be removed from these tax supported hospitals and also be removed from State Boards! All city governments with city hospitals that are conspiring with the ECFMG must rectify this discrimination!

7) The ECFMG corporation employment agency sells examinations and discriminates between Negro "American citizens" and foreigners because:

    1) A foreigner, meaning a citizen of a foreign country, can take the ECFMG examination "free" in the foreign country. The foreign citizen never pays any money to the ECFMG until they

come to the U.S. to work in our hospitals! Then they pay on installments.

2) Yet, all Negro "American citizens" must pay in advance, no matter where the exam is taken! This is clear discrimination for jobs in our hospitals, as the foreigner is given the greatest advantage.

8) The ECFMG says their exam is for M.D.'s as it covers all courses in Medicine. The ECFMG prevaricates about this! The ECFMG corporation gives the examination to medical students <u>before</u> the student has even completed all courses and before the foreigner receives the M.D. degree! The ECFMG exam is a gimmick and an unethical low tactic to fail Negro "American citizens" and pass foreigners. How can students pass any exam over courses in Medicine when these students have never even completed these courses! The exam is supposed to be given to Graduates!

The name ECFMG is misleading and is a deception! The ECFMG is not an Education Council for any Foreign Medical Graduates! The ECFMG is an employment agency selling a gimmick examination to anyone at any medical school!

The ECFMG is a discriminatory private corporation operated by three men that "threaten" and "intimidate" Negro "American citizens" who want to study Medicine abroad. The ECFMG threatens Negro Americans with an examination that no one can pass unless the ECFMG wants them to pass!

The ECFMG examination is never returned to the M.D. American citizen seeking hospital employment, so there is no proof of what questions were marked correct or incorrect! Employees at the ECFMG corporation have a derogatory attitude towards Negro "American citizens" studying Medicine abroad, yet the ECFMG takes money from the M.D.

The ECFMG corporation has been outlawed in many foreign countries such as India, the U.A.R., and Sweden to name a few countries that will not permit the gimmick ECFMG exam to be given to their citizens.

The ECFMG corporation unfortunately assists the South Vietnamese Doctors to come to U.S. hospitals for employment. As proof, their center is Number 621 in Saigon. The ECFMG passes almost all South Vietnamese Doctors which gives these Doctors a hospital job in the United States. South Vietnamese Doctors are used by the ECFMG employment agency as cheap labor for hospitals in the United States. South

Vietnam needs their own M.D.'s to treat the sick and wounded in the Vietnam War. South Vietnamese M.D.'s would never come to our country if it were not for the ECFMG type of employment agency tactics. South Vietnam is at war! Their people need their own Doctors!! The South Vietnamese M.D.'s should stay home to treat their own people! Because the South Vietnamese Doctors come here, then Negro American Doctors must go to the War in South Vietnam!

The ECFMG also gets Doctors from Thailand and these Doctors are needed by their own people in Thailand. The ECFMG private corporation obtains foreign citizen Doctors to come in to the U.S. to work in our tax supported hospitals. However, Negro "American citizens" are continually failed on the ECFMG exam so Negroes are denied jobs in their own American tax supported hospitals! American State, City, County, and Veterans hospitals have numerous M.D. foreign citizens of Communist countries and citizens of countries friendly to the Communists (Poland, etc.)!

However, the ECFMG private corporation blocks Negroes from working in American hospitals. The ECFMG blocks Negroes from getting to take State Boards and therefore Negroes cannot

practice Medicine in their own home towns. Negro American Doctors are needed in the United States! Negro M.D.'s are needed in ghetto communities in large cities. The ECFMG corporation is Racists! The ECFMG corporation brings in Chinese from Formosa, whites from Poland, Jugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia to take the jobs from Negroes.

We demand equal justice and equal civil rights for all Negroes and other American citizens. We demand equal job opportunities for all American citizens.

A copy of this complaint of job discrimination is being sent to the following groups who are interested in helping secure equal civil rights for all Negro and other American citizens:

1) The Urban League
2) N.A.A.C.P.
3) C.O.R.E.
4) S.C.L.C.
5) Young Great Society
6) Student Health Organization
7) Certain Religious Groups
8) Commission on Human Relations
9) American Civil Liberties Union
10) Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (Federal Government)

THE INTERNATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
POST OFFICE BOX 334
PHILLIPSBURG, NEW JERSEY 08865

June 3, 1968

RECEIVED
JUN 5 1968
Per

Mr. Floyd McKissick, Executive Director
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. McKissick:

There are certain private groups that have oppressed people for hundreds of years. These private groups are now going into the cities; they are getting old buildings, old apartment houses, and old houses; they are getting Federal financing; they are putting in only new fixtures, adding some paint and calling these "new" apartments; they are renting these apartments, or selling these apartments, but holding the mortgage themselves with guarantee of payment by the Federal government. The rents are three times the rate they should be! It is impossible for oppressed people who are forced to live in these low economic ghettos to afford these "new" apartments. The poor people will soon be depriving themselves of food and their children will have less food because money must go to these "new type slum landlords". Therefore, these private "do-gooder" groups are stepping in to free financing from Government funds to continue to oppress poor Negro families and poor white families!

Some of these old apartment houses have been donated title free and clear to these cunning private groups of professional money making "do-gooders" who are interested only in making money off the backs of poor people.

Some of the city land and some of these old apartment houses should be donated free and title clear to C.O.R.E. C.O.R.E. could then go to the Federal government with clear title of the land as collateral to get FHA funds, and build new apartment houses, new stores, new businesses in the community for lasting stability. C.O.R.E. could rent these new apartment houses for low rents.

I will be pleased to meet with you to outline an approach whereby some of the land will be donated free and title clear to you for National C.O.R.E. from several of the cities throughout the entire

nation. To have strength in depth, it is imperative for you to own your own land! C.O.R.E. should own, operate, and direct a portion of the housing for the people in your areas. C.O.R.E. must own and operate your own business and factories.

I will assist you and C.O.R.E., providing you will also assist us. We are of all races in America and we have filed a complaint against a private corporation run by one man, with two silent partners (one lives in New York City). We are being deprived of our civil rights. We are enclosing a copy of our complaint for your files. We have already sent a copy of our complaint to the Philadelphia C.O.R.E. We do not want money from C.O.R.E. What we need this summer is a small group of about ten people, high school students on vacation, etc., who will carry small signs of "Discrimination" and march in front of the house where the ECFMG private corporation office is located in Philadelphia.

I hope you and C.O.R.E. will help us so we can help you. Mr. H. Hulett, The Urban League of Philadelphia, informed us that we have a valid complaint of discrimination. ACLU also is of the same opinion.

Please let me hear from you. I can meet with you at your convenience half-way between here and New York City. I suggest Sommerville, New Jersey, which is about half way, at Howard Johnson's on Highway 22. You can call me collect in Easton, Pennsylvania, at (215) 252-8381 any time after 5 P.M.

Sincerely yours,

Howell Harris, M.D.

Howell Harris, M.D.
Executive Secretary

HH:me

Enclosure - 1

THE INTERNATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
POST OFFICE BOX 334
PHILLIPSBURG, NEW JERSEY 08865

June 11, 1968

File

Mr. Floyd McKissick, Executive Director
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. McKissick:

In reference to our June 3, 1968 communication to you, we are enclosing a copy of the letter from the Urban League of Philadelphia for your files. We sent them a copy of our complaint of discrimination and they studied it and sent us their thoughts on our case.

I hope you will also help us. Please let us hear from you, or from one of your assistants. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Howell Harris, M.D.

Howell Harris, M.D.
Executive Secretary

HH:me

Enclosure - 1

RECEIVED
JUN 13 1968
Per afh

The Urban League of Philadelphia

PENN SQUARE BUILDING • JUNIPER & FILBERT STREETS • PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19107 • PHONE: 215 LOcust 9-1662

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Reverend Thomas J. Ritter
Joseph Schwartz
William Tucker
Mrs. Robert B. Wolf
The Honorable Charles Wright

June 6, 1968

Howell Harris, M.D.
Executive Secretary
The International Medical Association
Post Office Box 334
Phillipsburg, New Jersey

Dear Dr. Harris:

The Philadelphia Urban League has traditionally become involved with individuals, groups, or organizations who have gone on record to protest discrimination in any form.

You, without a doubt, have a legitimate case and it has been well presented. Commendations to you and your staff for such a beautiful presentation of the facts. We know much time and effort was expended in gathering the facts.

Feel free to contact the Philadelphia Urban League at any time and please keep us apprised of any new developments.

Sincerely yours,

Henry L. Hulett

Henry L. Hulett
Director of Skills Bank

HLH:jm

Is Integration Necessary? *Floyd McKissick*

Reprinted From

THE NEW REPUBLIC

December 3, 1966

A Communication

Sirs:

It is not my custom to take pen in hand every time a magazine article affronts my sense of rationality. But the October 1 issue of *The New Republic* contained a review of extraordinary importance: as much because of the reviewer as the book being reviewed. The book was the now famous Coleman Report, *Equality of Educational Opportunity* written of, by, and for the educational establishment. The reviewer, Christopher Jencks, has made a mark for his unorthodoxy, his lack of awe of the educational establishment – and his creative fertile mind.

Out of this dialectic came a remarkable conclusion, and one that is likely to haunt us for a long time to come: *"a really superior school for Negroes must indeed be racially integrated."*

The logic that compels this conclusion leaves much to be desired.

It runs roughly as follows:

The Coleman Report reveals that school facilities for Negroes and whites are remarkably alike.

Nonetheless, it is equally clear that Negroes do not learn in these wonderfully equal schools.

Ten years ago, it would have been proper to conclude that Negroes are just plain inferior. Today, that is not fashionable.

So instead, we are told that Negroes must be integrated into middle-class (and that means, white) schools. We are told that something called the *student culture* really makes the difference. In other words, mix Negroes with Negroes and you get stupidity. The reviewer was careful to acknowledge that you could mix Negroes with dumb whites and that that would not automatically elevate the Negro. To do him justice he said:

> "Integrating poor Negroes with middle-class Negroes might do as much good as integrating them with middle-class whites, but as a practical matter there aren't enough middle-class Negroes to go around. . . . For the foreseeable future class integration will be impossible without racial integration."

It is difficult to live with this conclusion: that the Negro will have educa-

tional opportunity only with racial integration when it is quite clear, as Jencks notes, that *"white America is not ready to do what would have to be done to integrate Negroes."*

At first blush, one might well think that the $1.5 million was spent on a study in order to get white America off the hook, to prove conclusively that spending money trying to educate the Negro was just a waste. In the old days, such an assertion would have been accepted, without documentation. Science appears to have made such conclusions expensive.

But is that what the study really proves? I think not. And I am, for the sake of argument prepared to take Mr. Jencks at his word as to what the study says and does not say.

Let us take for granted that Negroes and whites have equally good schools, that simply pouring money into Negro schools will probably accomplish little or nothing, and that as yet untried improvements in school facilities and programs and similar kinds of innovation have made very little difference in the past.

It is not necessary for purposes of this discussion to assume that Negro schools and white schools are in all respects equal. It is only necessary to assume that the disparity in educational achievement is far greater than can be accounted for by the disparity in resources allocated to Negro and white schools respectively. One might instead speculate that the almost equal resources allocated to Negro schools have in fact gone into the creation of what one Harlem resident called a comprehensive system of "designed retardation."

Scattered throughout the review – as throughout the report are hints that point in a rather different direction from the panacea of integration – a panacea which the reviewer admits to be highly unfeasible politically.

He pointed out that while Negro students showed no less academic self confidence than the average white, they did not show *as much conviction* that their personal behavior would affect what happened to them. I wonder why that should be.

Second, he points out that the Report notes that "A Negro child's achievement is very highly correlated with his feeling that he can control his own destiny."

Third, he notes that "good teachers are much more important to Negroes than to whites." My point is that even if better teachers, a changed student culture, middle-class schools and ability to control one's own destiny are the critical variables, they do not compel the conclusion that integration is the *sine qua non* of learning for Negroes.

In fact, total reliance on integration – which amounts to reliance on acceptance by the white man – is at direct odds with that sense of "control over one's destiny" that Jencks notes correlates so directly with achievement.

One wonders if a good teacher is not really one who increases that sense – that sense of ability to cope, to perform, to succeed.

And finally, one wonders if that thing called "middle class" is not really a way of saying that the middle-class child is less helpless and vulnerable, that he knows his parents can and will go to bat for him, that he carries that attitude around with him, that his teachers perceive him differently and that he is treated differently.

David Hunter of the Stern Family Fund once recounted an experiment where a teacher was told that certain of her children were retarded. Sure enough, at the end of the year, their performance was considerably lower than the rest of the class. The only hitch was that those students were picked at random and the teacher's belief in their inadequacy was made

self-fulfilling by the mode in which she treated them.

Perhaps this debate over alternatives to integration would be largely academic and theoretical if the recent controversy over IS 201 in New York did not make clear to all the nation that the facile liberal equation between excellence in education and integration is one which Negroes (as well as whites) are no longer prepared to accept.

And the Coleman Report implicitly supports much of what the parents were fighting for (without $1.5 million at their disposal to make their demands more scientific). In Jencks' words:

> "The Report makes a convincing though not definitive case for the view that student achievement depends largely on forces over which today's schools exercise little control. Whether they could exercise more influence if they were organized and run differently remains an open question."

The parents of IS 201 have an answer to that "open question." They contend: If the school is organized and run differently, and if the school is more directly involved with forces which it now treats as outside its concern, student achievement would rise. Educational excellence without integration is possible.

These parents knew – perhaps better than the professional educators – that their individual and collective feeling of powerlessness and the resulting lack of self respect had had and would continue to have a crippling effect upon their children. They therefore demanded:

1. Black authority figures (*e.g.* a black principal) with whom their children might be able to identify and to whose position they might aspire. This was particularly important in view of the fact that the students were adolescents, thus impressionable and in the process of making life decisions.

2. Sympathetic teachers who respected black children, were supportive and encouraging, who did not reinforce feelings of insecurity, and who expected black children to learn.

3. Curriculum that reflected the Negro's contribution to world and American history and filled the knowledge gaps left by years of omission and neglect.

4. Increased participation in their children's educational lives. The parents knew that they, unlike white middle-class parents, had no place in the power equation of the New York school system. They also probably sensed that by being vigilant and unintimidated, they would compel responsiveness and respect, not only from the school administration and teaching staff, but also from their own children.

They have said that the parents of Negro children must be as fully articulate, vigilant and unintimidated as those of middle-class children. Moreover, those parents must be perceived and responded to by school authorities precisely as middle-class parents are, accorded the same respect and listened to with the same attentiveness.

In effect they are saying to educators that if a child with native intelligence is not achieving, the fault does not lie in the child. One must assume the technique is wrong, the relationship is wrong, the measure of achievement is wrong, the perception of the child is wrong. As with a doctor with a sick patient, it is more prudent to try changing the medicine and mode of treatment than to curse the patient for not getting well.

We have heard – and will continue to hear – much of the slogan, "Black Power." But it is to be noted that the

parents in IS 201 at several points have been willing to settle for a white principal – and that insistence on a Negro was not one of their original demands. What they wanted was a chance to participate in such a way that their children, seeing them, would know that even in Harlem a child has a chance. . . .

It is not just the student culture, or the quality of the teachers that is critical. It is the reality of respect and concern, the reality of helplessness in the face of indignity, the reality of failure at tasks which every student has the capacity to perform. This is what the Coleman Report, the Jencks review and the IS 201 controversy really point to. And if the change is to come, meaningful improvement in the quality of education, dramatic alteration in achievement and opportunity, then we must alter a system that in G. B. Shaw's terms condemns a man to be a bootblack and then goes on to prove his inferiority by his occupation.

The schools have long done that to the Negro. They have said to the parent: You are unworthy in our eyes to act as a parent; your understanding and your perception of your child count as naught; your beliefs about his ability and his potential are worthless. Of course, if you mix in enough middle-class children that attitude changes perceptibly. Parents become respected members of the community – persons whose approval and acceptance is desired by teachers.

But IS 201 says there is a different route to respect and a different route to educational excellence. Professional status and office confer a public trust. The parents are entitled to see that that trust is honored. But it has not been. Regardless of good intentions, regardless of gestures and rhetoric, that trust has been betrayed for generation after generation of educationally crippled children.

Democracy places in each man's hand the ability to compel officials to pay heed. The middle class has found ways of making that accountability work – in fact, it works so well that by and large it takes very little effort at all. The perception of accountability, the assumption of accountability is self-validating.

In IS 201, the parents have sought another way to compel accountability – to insure that they are no longer dismissed as irrelevant, untutored, ignorant and inferior. They say: we don't care what you think. We want a say and we are going to have a say. And they may be right. They certainly have not yet been proven wrong. Maybe a school committed to respect the individual, a school enjoying the confidence and support of the community, a school reorganized to reflect its faith in the pupil and the parent can achieve excellence – even if that community is poor and black.

It might even offer as much as the opportunity to be bused at 8:00 a.m. into hostile lily-white suburbs to attend a school where acceptance is from nine to three and where membership in the glorious student culture is merely at sufferance.

And that is the point that the Coleman Report leaves open, that Jencks appears to have missed – but that both unwittingly support.

FLOYD MCKISSICK

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CORE AND EDUCATION TODAY

The Congress of Racial Equality has devoted years to the struggle to integrate the nation's schools. That struggle will continue in those areas where integration is feasible for the present generation of school children ---- the South, the suburbs, border districts, smaller towns. We will not retreat from a position that demands quality integrated education as a right which this nation has an obligation to provide for all children.

We are faced, however, with the reality of ever increasing de facto school segregation in the urban ghettoes of our larger cities. The deterioration of education in those ghettoes is a well-documented fact. Our worsening schools can no longer be ignored. Nor will the problem be solved through dreams of an integrated utopia which, in view of present political realities, cannot be realized.

CORE is not content to let the minds of black children now trapped in ghetto schools wither and die. Here are some features of a CORE program for "quality education with dignity" which can be implemented immediately.

1. CORE supports and aids efforts made by parents to have more influence on educational policy and programs. In New York City, we have backed the parents in the I.S. 201 and P.S. 125-36 controversy and have aided the People's Board of Education's efforts to mobilize parents for better education now. We shall continue to organize and support picketing, school boycotts, and other forms of action planned by parents which call attention to the serious shortcomings of public schools and the parents' lack of power or voice to deal with them. We call for stronger Parents' Associations and other organizations which are able to deal with teachers, administrators, and other school officials from positions of strength.

2. CORE supports and encourages student organization. We support the involvement of Student Councils in educational issues and suggest the creation of student Boards of Education or similar groups in those instances where student government is not free or responsive enough to reflect student concerns.

3. CORE has established and supports the development of Liberation or Freedom Schools in major cities which can serve as models of learning success in black communities. These schools feature Negro history and culture as a means of developing pride and dignity in black students, but also promote informal class discussions, student initiatives in developing and carrying out action projects, training in practical skills necessary for finding and keeping jobs, scholarship information and understanding of legal, consumer and welfare rights. Students in Freedom Schools and their parents are organized as pressure groups on existing school systems so that the successful results of the experimentation in Freedom Schools can become part of official policy.

4. CORE supports all efforts to provide more financial resources for public schools, providing that priorities are given to the schools which are in greatest need. We support the

theory of preferential treatment for black and poor children and insist that ghetto schools must become not simply "as good as" but "better than" those serving other children. CORE also aids campaigns for teaching materials which realistically reflect black community life.

5. CORE calls for the establishment of a National Board of Education to develop an overall education plan, supervise and coordinate existing state systems, developing national standards for curriculum and teacher qualifications and administering the large amounts necessary to make quality education available for every child in this nation.

YOU MAY ORDER EXTRA COPIES OF THIS PAMPHLET

WRITE:

Public Relations Department
National Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, N.Y. 10030
281-9650

Prices: Single copy - 10¢

20 - $1.00 / 100 - $5.00

250 - $10.00 / 500 - $20.00

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, N.Y. 10030

Dear Mr. McKissick:

I enclose_____as a special contribution to the National Congress of Racial Equality to support the program in education outlined above.

Name_____

Address_____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

Make checks or money orders payable to CORE

ITINERARY - FLOYD MCKISSICK

Thursday, February 3rd 1966

727-2000 Institute

11:45 - Leave JFK, Eastern flight #107
1:51 - Arrive Atlanta
2:55 - Leave Atlanta, Eastern flight #763
2:55 - Arrive Montgomery (time change)

205
Tel 727-0510

Friday, February 4th

8:00 - Leave Montgomery, Delta flight # 600
9:49 - Arrive Atlanta
10:35 - Leave Atlanta, Delta flight #910
12:07 - Arrive Detroit, Metropolitan Airport

~~Saturday~~ SUNDAY, February 6th

8:15 - Leave Detroit, Delta flight #847
9:45 - Arrive Atlanta
10:30 - Leave Atlanta, Delta flight #839
10:46 - Arrive New Orleans

— Haley

Wednesday, February 9th

9:00 - Leave New Orleans, Eastern flight #60
12:24 - Arrive New York, JFK Airport

#270.06

Lincoln –

R.A.C. – Chicago

Feb. 26.

File

FLOYD B. McKISSICK - Itinerary March 26, 1966 - March 29

Saturday 3/26 - Lv. New York 2 pm
JFK, TWA # 55

Arr. St. Louis 3:35 pm

Monday 3/28 - Lv. St. Louis 8:15 am
TWA, #95

Arr. Kansas City 9:05 am

(free time)

Lv. Kansas City 1:00 pm
Central, #102

Arr. Manhattan, Kansas 1:55 pm

Due at Kansas State Univ.

3:00 pm

Mr. Ralph R. Lashbrook
Journalism Dept.
(913) JE 9-2211 x 264

HOTEL RESER. Holiday Inn, Manhattan, Kansas

Tuesday 3/29 Lv. Manhattan, 7:32 am
Central #50

Arr. Kansas City 8:20

Lv. ~~Kansas City 9:35~~ → 9:15
~~TWA, #95~~ Branniff # 31 - change at Dallas, 2:45 Eastern # 205

~~Arr. Los Angeles 10:35~~
Arr. N. Orleans, La 1:05

Floyd B. McKissick - Itinerary - April 2 to April 4

Saturday, April 2, 1966

Leave Grand Central, New Haven Railroad....3:00

Arr. New Haven, Conn 4:30

You will be met by someone from
Yale Law School
Law Students Civil Rights
Research Council
(Mr. D'Army Bailey)

Sunday, April 3 - Return to New York
~~Sunday~~ April 3 –
~~Monday, April 4~~ (Los Angeles)

Leave Kennedy, United Airlines #1 .....9:30

Arr. Los Angeles..... ..... 12:10

Alice Trevedi will meet you at the
Airport

(Return flight is open)

F.B. McKissick - Itinerary - April 15 - 19, 1966

Friday, April 15

Lv. New York via JFK airport,

TWA # 25 ....3:45

Arr. Dayton, Ohio 5:30

Bethel Baptist Church
Home & Summit Streets
222-9754

You will be met at the airport

Saturday, April 16

Lv. Dayton, TWA #152... ... 1:00

Arr. New York..... 2:30

Sunday, April 17

Lv. home 1:00 (E. Smith will pick you up)

Arr. East Orange, N.J.....2:30

Lv. East Orange no later than 3:30 to

Arr. Newark airport before 4:00

Lv. Newark airport 4:05,

NY Airways Helicopter #426A
Arr. La Guardia Airport 4:20

Lv. La Guardia, United #333Y 5:00
Arr. Cleveland, Ohio ... 6:18
(You will be met at the airport)

NOTE: Please change your United ticket to Flight #333Y at La Guardia.

Tuesday, April 19

Lv. Cleveland, United #158... .9:30 am

Arr. New York, JFK 10:45

-PHILADELPHIA CORE CONFERENCE-

Friday, April 22

Press Conference 3:00 pm adelphia (215) 203, 3000

Reception 7:00

Saturday, April 23

Address the convention and participate in convention discussion and any activities the convention will decide.

Sunday, April 24

Will be principal speaker at Rally

(Don Smith will have details)

F. McKISSICK - Schedule May 7 - May 9, 1966 File

Saturday, May 7

Leave New York..... 4:30

You will be picked up at home

MORRIS COUNTY CORE RALLY - Reception to follow
B. Barrow

8-11 P.M.

Sunday, May 8

WCBS - NEWSMAKERS - 12 Noon

(You have to be at the studio at 11:30)

524 W. 57th Street

Monday, May 9

Conference (John La Farge Institute) 9:00 A.M.

106 W. 56th Street
581-4640

File

F. B. McKissick Schedule Week of May 23, 1966

Monday, May 23

D. Hunter, Stern Family Fund — 12:00
Williams Club, 24 E. 39th St.

Tuesday, May 24

Joseph Willen, Lincoln Lynch,
Ben Petersen — 12:30

Oak Room, Plaza Hotel

WNEW SPEAK OUT (taping) — 6:00
205 E. 67th Street

Wednesday, May 25

Maryland Commission on Interracial
Relations ?????
301 West Preston Street — 10:00 am
Baltimore, Maryland

Thursday, May 26

Mrs. Helen Buttenweiser — 1:00
NYU CLUB
123 West 43rd Street
JU 6-4242

WHITE HOUSE RECEPTION — 6:30
Honoring African Ambassadors
SouthWest Gate

Friday, May 27

B. Barrow
Eldridge Smith — 12:00
(Morristown County Core)

Thursday, July 7, 1966 F.B. McKissick

ITINERARY

10:45 Harvey Aronson of Newsday will interview you on tape, by phone, for fifteen minutes. "Black Power" will be the topic. Similar interviews will be given by Young, Wilkins, etc.

2:00 p.m. Press Conference - ~~National Office~~ 135th YMCA

4:15 p.m. Mr. Chase (here) ideas for CORE.

4:30 p.m. Charles Dowd (here)

7:30 p.m. Meet with David Livingston - 13 Astor Place

CC: Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

Friday, July 8, 1966

ITINERARY

11 a.m. WNEW Radio - 565 5th Ave., (at 46th St. between Madison & 5th)

Discuss: Black Power
Interviewers: Mike Stern & Mr. Pluntze
Name of Show: News Close-Up
To be Aired: Sunday - 8:05 p.m.
Length of Show: 30 minutes

Contact: Mike Stein YU 6 7000

1 p.m. WNBC Radio - between 49th & 50th off 6th Ave.
(Take Studio elevator to 5th floor - "Monitor Studio"

Discuss: "Is the government Failing the Negro?"
Debate - Moderator - Brad Crandall
1. Raymond Havera - Exec. Dir of CCHR
2.
3.
Name of Show: Brad Crandall Show
To be Aired: Sunday - 7:30 p.m. to midnight
Length of Show: 90 minutes

Contact: Gary Stadling CI 7 8300 ext. 2031

3:20 p.m. NBC Radio - 30 Rockefeller Plaza (Center Elevator to Studio 7H)

Discuss: Topic of your choice - Must be of National interest and not dated.
Syndicated Program
Length of Show: Until 4:15 p.m.

Contact: Judith Morris MU 8 5700

CC: Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

7 p.m. Dinner with William Worthy at "Brownie's"
21 East 16th (off Union Square - between Union Square and 6th Avenue)

Ask for waitress named Allison

Monday, July 11, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

3:00 p.m. CBS Radio - 51 West 52nd St. - 16th fl. - 53rd St. entr.
Discuss: CORE's New Direction
Moderator: Ed Joyce
Name of Show: "Talk of New York"
Length of Show: 40 minutes

This show is frequently covered by AP.

Today, will also be taped and filmed by many News Services.

Contact: Mr. Morsky 765-4321 ext. 2124

Go home and sleep

Tuesday, July 12, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

12:00 noon — Color pictures to be taken at National office for "Elegant" magazine by William Alexander.

2:00 p.m. — WHIO Radio, Dayton, Ohio
Live interview by phone from Dayton, Ohio
Will call on your private number.
There will be phone inqueries from listeners.
Length of show: 50 minutes

10:50 p.m. — WNCA Radio - 415 Madison Avenue (bet. 48 & 49-13th fl.)
Discuss: Events in Chicago this weekend.
Show Time: 11:00 - 12:00
Name of Show: Barry Gray Show
Moderator: Barry Gray

Also - Fund-Raising appeal

Contact: Shelley Andrews MU 8 5700

July 12, 1966

Floyd,

There is no definite itinerary for tomorrow, since we canceled the Harvard Law School speaking engagement.

However, Don would like to set up an appointment with Il Espresso, the Italian newspaper in the office for late tomorrow afternoon--around 3:00. If you could get to the office about 2:00, we could take care of some calls before the interview.

Then, if nothing else happens, the rest of Wednesday will be clear.

Irma

Also, pick up your passport on your way to the office (the address of the Passport Agency is on the manila envelope in your satchel) {630-5th ave
You'll need $10 & your driver's license in addition to the material in the envelope.

Also plan on a brief (15-min.) interview with the Insider's Newsletter right after Il Espresso.

That should do it!

Wednesday, July 13, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

3:00 p.m. Interview for Il Espresso at National Office (Italian newspaper)

After interview, call Insider's Newsletter for telephone interview.
Interviewer: Jane Ostrowska MU 8 0300 x 559

4:00 p.m. (approx.) Appt. w/Dr. Snieska for shots.
145 East. 15th St.

6:30 p.m. Shuttle Flight # 729 for Boston N.E. Airlines La Guardia
You will be met by Mr. Brown at the airport

To speak at a dinner at Harvard Law School, Special summer program for 41 black college students from Southern Negro Colleges.

Possible topics: Why young Negroes should consider law as a career.
How you feel the law is helping or hindering the realization of the black man's goals.
Describe the life you led as a lawyer in the South.

There will be a question-answer period immediately following your speech. You should speak for approx. 30 mins.

Return via shuttle flight. They run hourly, on the half-hour.

Address of restaurant: Midget Restaurant
1712 Massachusetts Ave.
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Prof. Sander's.

Friday, July 15, 1966 Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

10:00 a.m. Staff meeting in conference area.

Bill McCleary (WLIB) called to cancel 11:30 a.m. appt.

1:00 p.m. CBS Radio (and possibly TV) - 524 W. 57th St.
You will be met at front door.
Discuss: Black Power and CORE's New Directions
Interviewer: Mike Wallace
Length of Show: 30 minutes

Contact: Merle Gelène 765 4321, ext. 2871

7:30 p.m. WLIB Radio - 310 Lenox Avenue
Name of Show: Community Opinion
Also Appearing: William Booth, CCHR
Format: Telephone Show
Length of Show: 40 minutes

Contact: Leon Lewis TE 1 1000

Saturday, July 16, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

9 p.m. "Black Power" rally in Bronx
168th and Boston Road
Sol Herbert will pick up. (at your house)

Tuesday, July 19, 1966 Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

As soon as you arrive:
Call WWRL 335 1600 News Desk
Discuss: Cambodia - Why?
You were reported to have said "Non-violence is dead." on Newsmakers.

2:30 p.m. Fortune Magazine - Interview - at National office
Interviewer: Dan Cordtz

Contact: Miss Kennedy 556 2411 or 556 3717

4:00 p.m. Jerome Smith

8:00 p.m. Columbia CORE "What is Black Power?"
Address: McMillan Theatre, Broadway and 116th
You will be met at the subway stop, at Broadway & 116

Wed., July 20, 1966

F. B. McKissick

ITINERARY

1:00 p.m. Meeting re Harlem office, 200 W. 72nd
Mr. Spingarn SU 7 1035

2:30 Meeting with Andrew Hatcher
"Gallagers", 52nd & 8th Ave.

4:00 p.m.- approx.-Dr. Snieska, 145 E. 15th
AL 4 2121

7:00 p.m. Meeting of Neighborhood Board (Har-you)
-Harlem lawyers-

Contact: Jack Packard 865 3300 x 14, 16 or 18

Thursday, July 21, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

8:00 a.m. Meet Clora at 200 W. 135th St.

10:30 a.m. Appt. w/Herbert Zweion (arranged by T. Frazier)
Address: 2707 - 8th Ave.

12:30 p.m. Meeting with Committee at Freedom Nat'l Bank
(Black Power Fund-Raising Campaign)

1:45 p.m. Conference - Catholic Interracial Council
Topic: Black Power
Executive Director: Arthur Wright
Address: 55 Church St.

This conference is being held for the benefit of editors and writers of the Catholic press.

Friday, July 22, 1966 Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

9:00 a.m. Appt. with Mr. Brown at Freedom Nat'l Bank to sign papers.

Immediately thereafter: Breakfast w/Mr. Bundy of Ford Foundation
Address: Gotham Hotel - 55th & 5th
Ask at desk for Mr. Bundy. He will meet you in the lobby. (Mr. Ylvesacker may not be able to make it.)

Sunday, July 24, 1966 Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

11:00 a.m. Service at Powell's church. Meet with Powell immediately thereafter.

4:00 p.m. Reception for group going to Cambodia.
Address: 88-49 193rd Street. Hollis Park, Queens
Host: Ambassador Huot Sambath
Phone: 479-3538

Length of Affair: 4 til 7 p.m.

Monday, July 25, 1966 Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

9:30 a.m. Leave La Guardia via American Airlines Flight #717 for Washington.

There is a 44 lb. weight limit and don't pack your passport. Carry it with you.

2:30 p.m. Press Conference - Old Senate Office Building Room 457 w/Senator Morse and rest of group.

6:00 p.m. Due at Dulles Airport .

Refer to itinerary of trip - July 25 through Aug. 11

August 11, 1966

FOUNDATIONS - To be discussed

$100,000.00 (One Hundred Thousand Dollar) loan to underwrite staff salaries.

Also to meet payment of certain obligations.

Establishment of Fund-Raising Department

PROPOSALS:

A. Chapter Development
B. Education - re racism in America and abroad.
C. Development of Cooperatives.
D. Establishment of Harlem Cooperative.

Monday, August 15, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

10:50 p.m. WMCA Radio - 415 Madison Ave. (bet. 48th & 49th - 13th fl.)
Discuss: Cambodia trip
Show Time: 11:00 - 12:30
Name of Show: Barry Gray Show
Moderator: Barry Gray

Contact: Judity Morris or Shelley Andrews MU 8 5700

Tuesday,

Leave immediately after Barry Gray Show for Baltimore.

Wednesday, August 17, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

4:30 p.m. WOR-TV, 1440 Broadway (40th St.). The television Studios are on street level. The entrance is from the lobby of the building via two glass doors, quietly marked, WOR-TV Studios.

DO NOT TAKE ANY ELEVATORS

Contact: Clifford Evans LO 4-8000 (Producer)

LADIES OF THE PRESS

WOR-TV • 1440 BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10018 • AREA CODE 212 LO 4-8000

CLIFFORD EVANS
Producer

JUL 26 1966

July 25, 1966

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. McKissick,

We are looking forward to your visit with us on LADIES OF THE PRESS Wednesday, August the 17th.

The time-and-place details are as follows:

DATE: Wednesday, August 17

TIME: You are expected at 4:30 p.m.

PLACE: We videotape here at WOR-TV, 1440 Broadway (40th St.). The television Studios are on street level. The entrance is from the lobby of the building via two glass doors, quietly marked, WOR-TV Studios.
DO NOT TAKE ANY ELEVATORS.

Looking forward to greeting you in person.

Sincerely,

Cliff Evans

ce/cn
cc: Mr. Lincoln Lynch
Mr. Don Smith

Thursday, August 18, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

9:30 a.m. Appointment with Bonnie Barrows (at National Office)

11:30 a.m. Appointment with Suzanne Bodenheimer (Americans Want to Know) for lunch.

Friday, August 19, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

9:30 p.m. (National Educational Television - NET) Channel 13
Name of Show: Focus
Moderator: Mitchell Krausse

Address: 841 Ninth Avenue (at 55th Street)
Phone: LT 1-6000

Show Time: 10:15 - 11:00 p.m.

Must be at studio at appointed time, however. (9:30 p.m.)

Drive to Vermont -

Saturday, August 20, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

Drive from camp to New York.

Shuttle to Washington for Meet the Press.

Sunday, August 21, 1966

2:30 p.m. NBC Studios (4001 Nebraska Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.)
Name of Show: Meet the Press
Other Participants: Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, James Meredith, Stokely Carmichael.

Contact: Lawrence Spivak 332-4477

Show Time: 3:30 - 5:00 p.m.

Shuttle back to N.Y.

Monday, August 22, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

2:00 p.m. Meeting with Malagasy Republic Students at National Office
(African American Institute)

Contact: Herschelle Sullivan YU 6 5320

7:00 p.m. RKO-General Studios (1440 Broadway)
Name of Show: Firing Line
Moderator and debator: William Buckley

Thursday, August ~~18~~ 23, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

9:30 a.m. Appointment with Bonnie Barrows (at National Office)

11:30 a.m. Appointment with Suzanne Bodenheimer (Americans Want to Know) for lunch.

2:00 Ford Foundation - Mc George Bundy
477 Madison Ave.

5:00 Irving Flain - Essex House

Friday, August 26, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

Call News & Observer, Durham to schedule interview.

Call Nathan Glaser, N.C. Fund 919 682 5789 re income tax.

7:30 Speaking engagement - Interdenominational Ushers Assoc.
Address: St. Joseph's A.M.E. Church

Contact: L.E. Austin 682-2913 -- 681-8512

Saturday, August 27th, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

2:20 p.m. Eastern Airlines Flight #291 Y from Raleign-Durham, N.C.
4:25 p.m. Arrives LaGuardia

You will be met at LaGuardia and driven to conference of black writers at home of Irving Burgie, 119-02 111th Avenue, Hollis, Queens

Contact: John Killen SL 6-9270

Sunday, August 28, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

Buses leave from Porta Authority Terminal every ten minutes after 10:00 am on Sunday afternoon.

Bus #118
Platform 61

Length of trip: 35 minutes

3:00 p.m. Panel discussion at Douglas Harrison Park - Newark, N.J.
Other participants: Stokely Carmichael
Baba Oserjeman Adefumi, Prime Ministe
UJAAMA
Harold Cruse, Author
Kenneth Gibson, Candidate for
Mayor, 1966

Address: Douglass-Harrison Project Playground (outside)
Spruce & Somerset Street, Newark, N.J.

Topic: "Black Power and Civil Rights"

Contact: LeRoi Jones 624-9709

Buses return from front of Public Service Building - #118 every ten minutes, arriving at Port Authority Terminal.

Monday, August 29, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

File Internal Revenue file

ITINERARY

1:00 p.m. Luncheon appt. at Frank's Restaurant w/two contributors.

2:45 p.m. Appt. w/Internal Revenue, 120 Church Street, 17th floor.
Mr. Gamley

8:00 p.m. Appt. at home of Whitney Young

Mr. Lem Robertson Roberson 1706 B floor 264-2255

Tax exemption man ~~who~~ who is handling account.

Tuesday, August 30, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

8:30 a.m. Appt. w/Mr. Gamley, Internal Revenue Service
120 Church Street - 7th floor

4:00 p.m. Appt. w/Ted Brown at National Office
(American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa)

Thursday, September 1, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

2:30 p.m. Appt. (re book) w/William Worthy, Phyllis Seidel and Ed Kuhn

Address: New American Library
1301 Sixth Avenue - 28th floor
(between 52nd & 53rd Streets)

8:00 p.m. Appt. w/Jim Farmer (your house)

Tuesday, September 6, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

10:00 a.m. (N.Y. time) American Airlines Flight #315 leaves from La Guardia for Chicago (coach)

10:57 a.m. (Chicago time) arrives

8:30 p.m. (Chicago time) depart American Flight #324 for La Guardia
Arrives: 11:11 (New York time)

Round trip $91.77

Pick up tickets at airport one-half hour prior to flight time.

Monday, September 12, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

2:00 p.m. Interview with American Dialogue Magazine.
Interviewer is Tina Vanderpool's (Jocelyn's friend) fiancee.
Name: Alvin Simon

Place: National office

Phone: YU 2-7221

3:00 p.m. French TV -

Place: National office
Interviewer: Mr. Sedouiy
Length ofiinterview: 15 minutes

Phone: MU 7-4400 or LT 1-1771

4:30 p.m. Grenada (British) TV
Interviewer: Mr. Blakely

Phone: 762-2031

6:00 p.m. Mr. Winston

Address: 347 Madison Avenue
Apftel and Englander

Tuesday, September 13, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

8:55 p.m. New Orleans radio hook-up.
Will call at your home.

Length of show: ~~Two~~ One hours

Format: Interview with questions from listeners.

Friday, September 16, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

11:00 a.m. Appt. with Tom Johnston (and Ruth)
110 East 45th Street - 4th floor

3:00 p.m. Appt. at Nat'l office with Mark Crawford (Publisher)
Contact: Jackie Hayes TR 7-8486

Monday, September 19, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

2:00 p.m. Tax date with Mr. N. Lehrman
Group 20 7th floor
Internal Revenue Service - 120 Church Street

3:00 p.m. Percy Sutton being worn in at his office.

4:30 p.m. Roy Innis at National office.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 1966

FLOYD B. McKISSICK

ITINERARY

12:00 NOON — LUNCHEON WITH MR. YLVISACKER AND RUTH AT FORD FOUNDATION
ADDRESS: 477 MADISON AVENUE

5:30 P.M. — WEVD RADIO
INTERVIEW WITH VICTOR RIESEL (LABOR COLUMNIST FOR WORLD-JOURNAL TRIBUNE)

ADDRESS: 117 WEST 46TH STREET, 6TH FLOOR

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1966

F. B. McKISSICK

ITINERARY

1:00 P.M. LUNCHEON WITH MARY HAMILTON (AND JOHN O'DELL - PUBLISHERS)

6:00 P.M.8 MEET WITH JOHN LOEB JR.
ADDRESS: 237 EAST 61ST STREET

PHONE: PL 2 1351

Tues.
~~MONDAY~~, SEPTEMBER ~~26~~ 27, 1966

FLOYD B. McKISSICK

ITINERARY

11:00 A.M. — FORD-Y-SULLIVAN

12:30 — FRANK'S RESTAURANT
MEET WITH CURTIS GOODWIN 394 5031

6:15 P.M. — DINNER - AMERICANA HOTEL w/MRS. McKISSICK
ADDRESS: 7TH AVE. & 52ND ST. - 5TH FLOOR
ST. JAMES A ROOM
WITH OTHERS SCHEDULED TO SPEAK AT PALM GARDENS.

PARTY WILL BE IN NAME OF LEON KUHL.

8:00 P.M. — SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT - REPORT ON CAMBODIA TRIP
ADDRESS: PALM GARDENS
310 W. 52ND ST. AT 8TH AVE.
TOPIC: TALKS WITH PRINCE SIHANOUK:
CAMBODIAN DEVELOPMENT
COLONIALISM AND RACISM
TIME: 8:00 P.M.
LENGTH OF TALK: 20 MINUTES

OTHERS SCHEDULED TO SPEAK:

WILLIAM WORTHY
RUSSELL JOHNSON
DONALD DUNCAN

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28TH, 1966

FLOYD B. McKISSICK

ITINERARY

10:00 A.M. MEETING WITH CHARLIE DOWD (STOCK EXCHANGE) AT NATIONAL OFFICE.

3:00 P.M. MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER OF ZAMBIA AT ZAMBIAN MISSION TO UNITED NATIONS

ADDRESS: 641 LEXINGTON AVENUE
(ENTRANCE ON 54TH STREET)

NAME OF FOREIGN MINISTER: KAPWEPWE

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1966

FLOYD B. McKISSICK

ITINERARY

10:30 A.M. MEETING RE KENNEDY DINNER
AT YOUR HOUSE

8:00 P.M. SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT - NYU CORE
ADDRESS: NYU LOEB STUDENT CENTER
(MIDDLE OF GREENWICH VILLAGE)

TOPIC: BLACK POWER AND THE ROAD AHEAD

10:30 P.M. RECEPTION W/PROFESSORS, COMMUNITY LEADERS AND
HEAVY CONTRIBUTORS TO NYU CORE.

TAKE 8TH AVENUE SUBWAY DOWNTOWN TO WEST 4TH STREET.

WALK SEVERAL BLOCKS EAST TO WASHINGTON SQUARE. LOCATED ON
WASHINGTON SQUARE SOUTH.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1966

FLOYD B. McKISSICK

ITINERARY

7:45 A.M. ARRIVE AT NEWARK AIRPORT TO PICK UP TICKETS.

8:20 A.M. FLIGHT #503T LEAVING NEWARK AIRPORT FOR DURHAM-EASTERN AIRLINES (BREAKFAST FLIGHT)

RE: MARION FRANK CRAWFOBD CASE

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 4, L966

FLOYD B. McKISSICK

9:40 A.M. FLIGHT #540T - EASTERN AIRLINES LEAVING DURHAM FOR N.Y. (LUNCH FLIGHT)

1:28 P.M. ARRIVE KENNEDY AIRPORT

MONDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1966

FLOYD B. McKISSICK

ITINERARY

2:00 P.M. MR. VIVIAN B. MAHONEY OF METROPOLITAN LIFE.

BRING YOUR POLICY WITH YOU TO THE OFFICE.

PHONE: 568-3411

I WON'T BE IN TODAY. COURT CASE COMES UP TODAY.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1966

DON SMITH

ITINERARY

6:30 - 8:30 P.M. COCKTAIL PARTY
(GIVEN AT THE HOME OF AMBASSADOR JIRONDE OF UGANDA
IN HONOR OF FOREIGN MINISTER ODEKA OF UGANDA)

ADDRESS: 111 EAST 70TH ST., N.Y.C.

INVITED BY: WENDELL FOSTER (AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA) TN 7 8733

OCTOBER 6, 1966

FLOYD B. McKISSICK

ITINERARY

SHUTTLE FLIGHTS LEAVE LAGUARDIA EVERY HOUR FROM NEW YORK TO BOSTON -

EASTERN AIRLINES (SEATS GUARANTEED IF YOU ARE AT AIRPORT TEN MINUTES IN ADVANCE OF FLIGHT)

PLANNED FLIGHT: 11:00 A.M. ARRIVES BOSTON 11:40 A.M.

YOU WILL BE MET AT AIRPORT BY REPRESENTATIVE OF BOSTON CORE.

12:00 NOON MEETING WITH EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF BOSTON CORE
ADDRESS: CAREY TURNBULL
22 NORMANDY STREET
BOSTON, MASS.

2:00 P.M. MEETING OF COMMUNITY LEADERS
ADDRESS: BOSTON CORE
373 BLUEHILL AVENUE
445-9458

3:30 P.M. INTERVIEW WITH PRESS AT BOSTON CORE.

4:45 P.M. REPRESENTATIVE FROM HARVARD-RADCLIFFE YOUNG DEMOCRATS WILL PICK YOU UP AT BOSTON CORE OFFICE AND TAKE YOU TO DINNER AND THEN TO YOUR SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT.

CONTACT: LAURENCE SEIDMAN, PRESIDENT
HARVARD-RADCLIFFE YOUNG DEMOCRATS
547-0032

IF POSSIBLE, HARVARD RADIO WOULD LIKE A SHORT INTERVIEW.

SHUTTLE FLIGHTS LEAVE BOSTON EVERY HALF-HOUR UNTIL 10:30.
PLANES LEAVING ON THE HOUR ARRIVE AT NEWARK.
PLANES LEAVING ON THE HALF-HOUR ARRIVE AT LAGUARDIA.

PLANNED FLIGHT: 10:30 P.M. LEAVING BOSTON - EASTERN AIRLINES
ARRIVES LAGUARDIA AT 11:10 P.M.

FIRST FLIGHT IN A.M. LEAVES 7:00 A.M.

OCTOBER 7, 1966

FLOYD B. McKISSICK

ITINERARY

4:00 P.M. AT HOME - APPT. W/VIVIEN MAHONEY OF METROPOLITAL LIFE

8:30 P.M. PARTY AT VIVIEN NEARINGS (GEORGE SCHIFFER)
ADDRESS: 95 CHRISTOPHER STREET

12:00 MIDNIGHT TRAIN FROM GRAND CENTRAL FOR WESTPORT, CONN.
THIS IS THE LAST TRAIN.

HONEY KNOPP AND BILL WORTNY WILL MEET YOU AT THE STATION IN WESTPORT.

HONEY KNOPP 5 DAYBREAK LANE
WESTPORT, CONN.

227-7476

BRING TAPES OF SPEECHES YOU THINK WILL BE HELPFUL AND ANY TRANSCRIBTS.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1966

FLOYD B. McKISSICK

ITINERARY

8:00 A.M.	FLIGHT #37 LEAVES ~~XXXXXXX~~ KENNEDY AIRPORT FOR L.A. AMERICAN AIRLINES
10:20 ALM.	ARRIVES LOS ANGELES
12:00 NOON	ADDRESS UCLA ASSOCIATED STUDENTS SPEAKERS PROGRAM
1:00 P.M.	INFORMAL COFFEE HOUR WITH STUDENTS AND FACULTY

MEETING WITH CHAPTERS IN AFTERNOON (MORE INFO NEEDED)

10:30 P.M.	FLIGHT #46 - AMERICAN AIRLINES - LEAVES L.A.
6:13 A.M.	ARRIVES NEWARK AIRPORT

Thursday, October 13, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

3:00 p.m. New York City Board of Directors Meeting
(National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing)

Flight to Rochester, N.Y. for fund-raising rally and reception

John Cartwright
Home: 439 Chaplain Street ID 6-4681
Office: 1020 Plymouth Street FA 8-3840

Time: 8:00 p.m.

Place: Madison High School Auditorium

Will be met at airport by welcoming committee.

Reception prior to speech.

Close out for fund-raising drive.

thursday, October 13, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

10:20 a.m. American Airlines Flight #459 from LaGuardia

Pse-paid tickets

11:20 a.m. Arrive Rochester

You will be met at the airport by representatives from Rochester CORE.

1:00 p.m. Press Conference

3:00 p.m. Reception with black community leaders.

8:00 p.m. Address at Cornhill Methodist Church, 144 Edinburgh St. at Plymouth Circle.

Chairman - John Cartwright
Rochester CORE Address 1020 Plymouth Avenue South

Phone: (328 3840)

Friday, October 14, 1966

7:00 a.m. American Airlines Flight #464 (pre-paid)

7:53 a.m. Arrive La Guardia

Creditors Day - Belmont Plaza

456
Rochester
LaG
8:41
9:37

national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

CORE

to end all forms of racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods

1020 PLYMOUTH AVENUE SOUTH
ROCHESTER, N. Y. 14608
Phone: (716) 328-3840

436-4681

OFFICERS

John Cartwright
chairman
439 Champlain Street
Rochester, N.Y.

Elizabeth Hampton
vice-chairman
95 Hanover Street, Apt. 3G
Rochester, N.Y.

Claire Urquhart
recording secretary
86 Hickory Street
Rochester, N.Y.

Elizabeth Ingram
corresponding secretary
217 Jefferson Terrace
Rochester, N.Y.

Geraldine James
treasurer
246 Troup Street
Rochester, N.Y.

September 30, I966

Dear Sir,

As you know Floyd McKissick, National Director of CORE, will be speaking in Rochester on October I3, I966 at Cornhill Methodist Church at 8 p.m. In addition, Rochester CORE is holding an open meeting for the community to hear the candidates in the upcoming elecion, Mr.Brown, Mr. Good, Mr. Gerst and Mr. Smith. This meeting will be held at Baden St. Settlement on October 6, at 7:30 P.M. It would be of gf the greatest help if you could announce these meeting at your services.

Such Civil Rights activities are just one step in man¦s struggle with current problems and serve toward the greater fulfillment of God¦s will. The support of the Church is needed in this effort to make human rights a living reality. Any help you can give us, is most appreciated.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Very truly your,

John Cartwright

John Cartwright

Chairman

MOHAWK 2 PRESS

FLOYD MCKISSICK

NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF CORE

(Congress of Racial Equality)

WILL SPEAK ON

BLACK POWER

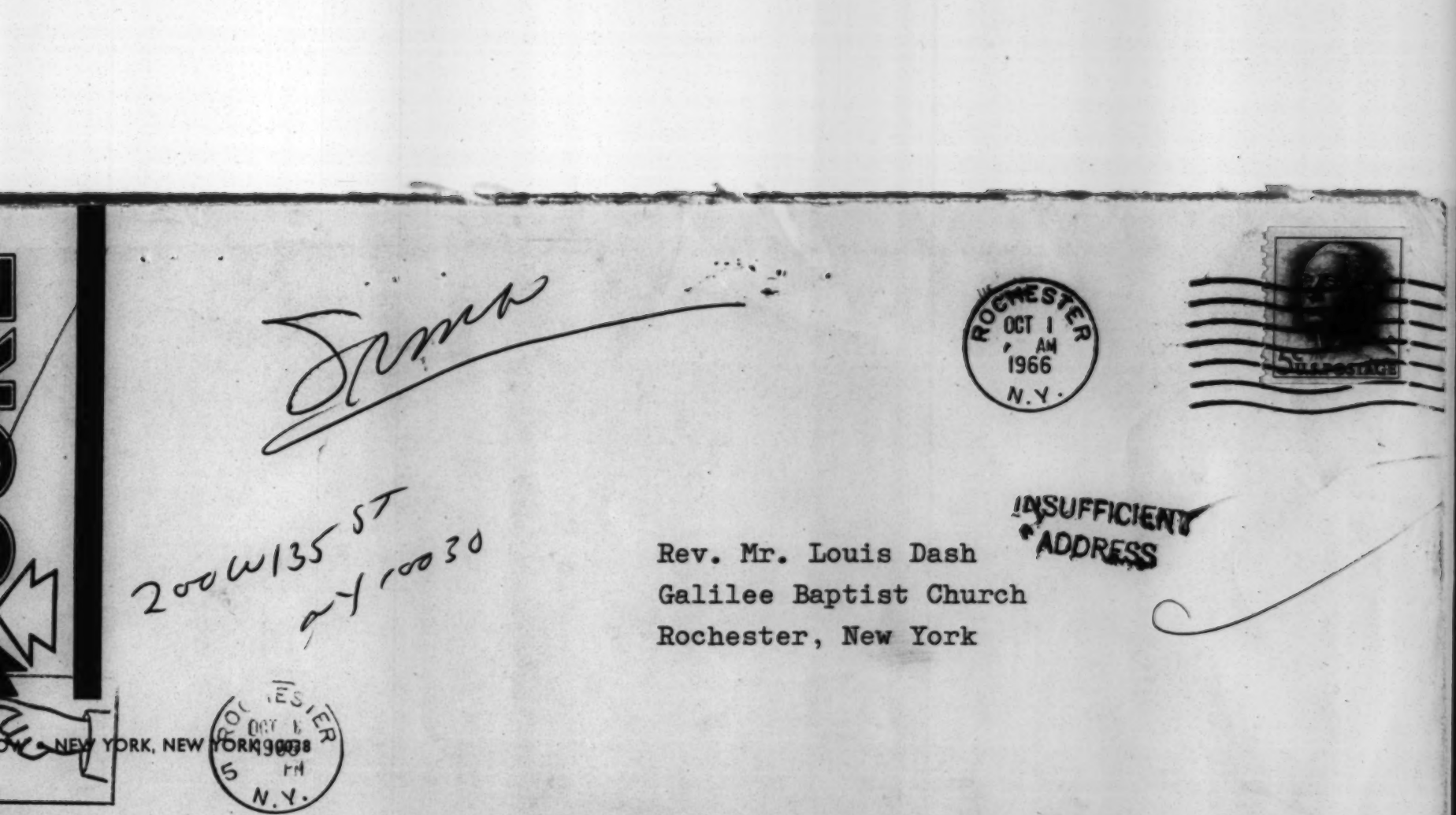
Thursday, October 13, 1966 at 8P.M.

Cornhill Methodist Church

144 Edinburgh St. at Plymouth Circle

SPONSORED BY ROCHESTER CORE

CORE
263


ROCHESTER
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ADDRESS
200 W 135 ST
NY 10030
Rev. Mr. Louis Dash
Galilee Baptist Church
Rochester, New York
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10038
ROCHESTER
OCT 1
PM
N.Y.

Wednesday, October 19, 1966

Floyd B. McKissidk

ITINERARY

5:00 p.m. Strategy Meeting - I.E. #201
2092 Seventh Avenue
Har-You Board Room (Called by Wingate and Clark)

8:15 p.m. Charmaine - P.T.A.

Friday, October 21, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

8:15 a.m. American Airlines Flight #123
Leaving Kennddy Airport

10:10 a.m. Arrive Detroit

Connect:

10:10 a.m. North Central Airlines Flight #814

10:48 a.m. Arrive Battle Creek

You will be met by representatives of Battle Creek CORE (Herb Tillman, Chrmn)
Phone - WO 2 5841

12:00 noon Luncheon and press conference in Battle Creek, Mich.

Battle Creek CORE - 101 South Kendall, Battle Creek and
204 Grove Street, Battle Creek, Mich.

You will be driven by representatives of Battle Creek CORE TO Ann Arbor for speaking engagement

8:00 p.m. Speaking engagement in Ann Arbor
City Community Center, 625 North Main Street
Chairman - Ezra Rowry 761-1282

<u>Saturday, October 22, 1966</u>

6:00 a.m. Eastern Airlines Flight #735A - Depart Detroit for Durham

9:42 a.m. Arrive Charleston, W. Va.

12:44 p.m. Depart Charleston for Durham aboard Piedmont Airlines
Flight #625 A

1:29 p.m. Arrive Durham, N.C. Fare: $50.75 + 5% tax

<u>Monday, October 24, 1966</u>

5:35 p.m. Depart Durham aboard United Flight #824

8:23 p.m. Arrive Newark Airport

October 25, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

In Philadelphia, Pa.

11 a.m. WJZ-TV (Westinghouse Broadcasting)
Panel: Panel on Race Relations

Contact: Herb Kahan 301 664 7600

Wednesday, October 26, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

4:00 p.m. Depart LaGuardia aboard Eastern Airlines Shuttle Flight for Washington.

You will be met at airport by Leonard McCant and Ronald O. Ross DU 7 2336

6:00 p.m. Dinner at Howard University

7:30 p.m. Address at Howard University (Crampton Auditorium)

Other speakers: Stokely Carmichael, Walter Faunteroy, Sterling Tucker (tentative)

10:30 p.m. Last shuttle flight leaving Washington for New York (Eastern)

If you miss that plane, Vera Wells (McCant's secretary) has arranged facilities where you can stay the night.

Thursday, October 27, 1966

7:30 a.m. First shuttle to New York (Eastern)
Shuttles leave every ½ hr. on the ½ hr.

2:00 p.m. Appt. at Nat'l office with Mr. Mahoney
(Metropolitan Life)

Cancelled

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1966

FLOYD B. McKISSICK

ITINERARY

BERKLEY CALIFORNIA SDS

EXPENSES PLUS $500.00 HONORARIUM

JERRY RUBIN 841-0389 (4)
2632 REGENT
BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

LATE AFTERNOON OR EARLY EVENING.

George Raymond
opr. 33
Jackson, Miss

Canton 85-9-2412
Bernie Arons.

ITINERARY

Floyd B. McKissick

Friday, November 11, 1966

2:15 p.m. Depart Newark Airport aboard United Airlines Flight #315

3:30 p.m. Arrive Cleveland

You will be met at airport by Hilbert Perry, Art Evans, of Cleveland CORE.

Press Conference in afternoon. Reps of Cleveland CORE will get you to Oberlin.

6:20 p.m. Banquet at Oberlin

8:00 p.m. Speech: Topic of Conference is "Black Man in the Urban Ghetto"

Saturday, November 12, 1966

10 a.m. Discussion period at Oberlin

You will be driven to airport by reps of Oberlin

12:35 a.m. Depart Cleveland for New York aboard United Airlines Flight #372

1:49 a.m. Arrive Kennedy airport. Luncheon flight.

You will be met at airport by Bill Worthy and the Sidney Ungers.

Evening at Honey Knopp's - 5 Daybreak Lane, Westport, Conn.

Sunday, November 13, 1966

Meeting at Honey's with Muste, Lynd etc.

6:59 p.m. Train for New York or ride into city.

Tuesday, November 15, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

2:00 p.m.	Appt. at National office with Mr. Mahoney (Metropolitan Life)
3:00 p.m.	Telephone interview -Mr. Alpern of Newsweek
5:00 p.m.	Will be picked up at home by John Runyon, Swen Robinson, Rick Schell, Lynn Folinuss of Drew University
	Dinner at Drew University
8:00 p.m.	Speech at Drew University, Madison, New Jersey
	Topic: American Civil Rights Movement in 1966
	Contact: Lynn Folinuss 377-3000, ext. 329
	You will be driven home by the same people who drive you to the University.

Wednesday, November 16, 1966

Kay Boyle will be coming to stay at your home.

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

Saturday, November 19, 1966

4:00 p.m. National Conference of the Jewish Cultural Clubs

Address: Governor Clinton Hotel, in the Governor's Room, off the main lobby, - 31st Street and 7th Avenue, New York City.

This group has already contributed $500.00 to CORE. You will be presented with another check, also for $500.00.

You may speak for as long as you like, preferably about forty min. There will probably be a question and answer period, which will last until 6:00.

Contact: Sam Pevzner ORegon 5 8854

7:00 p.m. Shuttle to Washington - LaGuardia Airport - with Val

Sunday, November 20, 1966

12:00 noon Due at studio for "Face the Nation"

Address: 2020 Main Street, Washington, D.C.

Interviewers: Martin Agronsky, Daniel Shore, one other

2:00 p.m. Shuttle flight to New York

9:00 p.m. SNCC Benefit at Small's, 2294 Seventh Avenue, N.Y.C.

Complimentary tickets in attached envelope.

Monday, November 21, 1966

Floyd's birthday - April McKissick

12:00 p.m. Mr. Shiffman

FACE THE NATION - Sunday, November 20th

12 noon 2020 Main Street
Washington DC

2 p.m. shuttle flith to N.Y.

Interviewers: Martin Agronsky and Daniel Shore

ITINERARY

Tuesday, November 22, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick

10:00 a.m.	Appt. with Mr. Prince (business plan) at National office.
3:30 p.m.	Val Coleman at National office re Susskind show.
6:30 p.m.	Reception at United Nationa Dining Room - U.N. Building BURUNDI

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ITINERARY

Floyd B. McKissick

Friday, November 25, 1966

8:30 p.m. David Susskind Show
205 East 67th Street

Saturday, November 26, 1966

9:30 p.m. African Ambassador's Ball
Address: Rockland Palace Ballroom
155th Street and 8th Avenue
Attire - Semi-formal

Monday, November 28, 1966

12:30 p.m. David McCall for lunch at Frank's

3:00 p.m. Meet with Walter Hooke at National office
OX 5 7500 x 446

(Friend of Wil Ussery's. Has contributed frequently.

You wrote and invited him to arrange an appointment to discuss how he may be of help to CORE)

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

November 29, 1966 - TUESDAY

4:00 p.m. Depart Newark Airport aboard Mohawk Airlines Flight #107

You will be met at airport by Ronald Podell of Cornell Forum.

Dinner with members of the Cornell Forum.

8:15 p.m. Address, followed by question period.

Topic: "The Black Revolution"

Reception following.

You will be met after your speech by members of the William L. Moore Chapter of CORE (Larry Gottheim, Executive Secretary RA 3 9067) who will transport you to Binghamton, New York, where you will stay with Ed Wilson, who you knew in Durham and now teaches art there.

November 30, 1966 - WEDNESDAY

Larry Gottheim is arranging a series of meetings - with chapter people, leaders of the black community and one public meeting with the Civil Rights Club (possible source of funds) of Harvard University.

9:50 p.m. Depart Binghamton airport (Change ticket at airport)

10:25 p.m. Arrive, Newark Airport

December 1, 1966 - THURSDAY

12:30 p.m. Luncheon appointment with Jack Greenberg.

3:00 p.m. Appointment with Bob Powell of Elegant Magazine re Schenley Products.

Friday, December 16, 1966
Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

2:00 p.m. CBS Radio

Show: "Talk of New York"
Moderator: Ed Joyce
Participants: Whitney Young, Roy Wilkins, you

Address: 51 West 52nd St., 16th floor

Format: 80 minutes of air time
40 min - Civil Rights '66
40 min - Civil Rights '67

Contact: Mr. Marsky 765 4321 ext. 2125

Evening -- Steering Committee Meeting

Saturday, December 17, 1966

Steering Committee Meetings

9:00 p.m. Holiday Party - your house

Monday, December 19, 1966

11:00 a.m. Tentative appt. with Raymond Miles
United Black Labor Union - Arranged by Sol Herbert

2:30 p.m. Appt. with David Livingston - District #65

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

Friday, December 23, 1966

1:30 p.m. Luncheon at Frank's (Josephson)

Saturday, December 24, 1966

10:00 a.m. Ben Malcolm (at home)

Monday, December 26, 1966

11:00 a.m. Dr. Pachia from Malawi - Referred through State Department by John Drake - The Dr. is Indian born, but is now from Malawi.

Tuesday - Thursday - December 27 through 29, 1966

North Carolina

I will not be in on Friday.

Floyd B. McKissick —Dan

I TINERARY

5:00 p.m. Meet with Charles Zimmerman
(Dressmaker's Joint Council)

218 West 40th Street, New York City

8:30

Mr. Fairchild - Green Room 8:15-

8th St between 3rd & 4th.

~~$100~~

AL-4-6300

Mrs. Casso.

Lincoln O. Lynch

ITINERARY

Thursday, January 5, 1967

Pick up tickets one half hour before departure.

12:05 p.m.	Depart from LaGuardia Airport Aboard American Airlines Flight #359
1:15 p.m.	Arrive Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
	Change for United Airlines Flight #667 for Charleston, West Virginia
	You will be met at the airport by Dean Edwin Hoffman, have dinner with him and stay at his home.

Friday, January 6, 1967

10 a.m.	Address the American Affairs Forum of West Virginia State College.

Pick up tickets one half hour before departure.

2:45 p.m.	Depart Charleston, aboard American Airlines Flight #704
5:19 p.m.	Arrive LaGuardia Airport.

DCA ?

ITINERARY

January 17, 1967

License Bureau test

4:00 p.m. Meet re SEDF at Andy Norman's office

Address: 275 Madison Avenue - 3rd floor

Arrangements made through Marvin's office - 964 8210

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

January 21, 1967

10:55 a.m. Depart LaGuardia Airport aboard Alleghany Airlines Flight #600 .

11:47 a.m. Arrive Providence, R.I.

Taxi to Irving Fain's - 400 Laurel Avenue, Providence, R.I.

In case taxi driver is unfamiliar with area - Laurel avenue is on the East Side. It is off Black Stone Blvd, overlooking the river. It is the last house on the left and the street is a dead end.

7:10 p.m. Leave Providence aboard American Airlines Flight #793

8:03 p.m. Arrive at Kennedy Airport.

Lincoln O. Lynch

ITINERARY

January 25, 1967 - Wednesday

4:00 p.m. Visit Floyd at Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center - Neurological Institute - 168th St. and Fort Washington, Room 919 9th floor.

Take A train - 8th Avenue Subway Line

Discuss with Floyd:

1. National CarlRental - Mr. Brown called re this.
2. Sowers agreement
3. Advisory Committee Meeting
Discuss major administrative changes, which will be a part of the agenda for tomorrow's meeting.
4. Discuss $1,000 check to be endorsed by the Rev. Hall of Bethel Baptist Church, who is nowhere to be found.
5. Cash status of CORE
6. Problems in Baltimore
7. Yesterday's staff meeting (Minutes and orig. document in Floyd's folder)

8:00 p.m. Meet with Don, Ruth, Marge, at Rogatz's to discuss California speech.

January 26, 1967 - Thursday

10 a.m. Advisory Committee Meeting - until 4 p.m.

Address: Belmont Plaza Hotel (Blue Room)
49th Street and Lexington Avenue

Ollie Leeds

January 25, 1967

ITINERARY

10:50 p.m. The Barry Gray Show
Address 415 Madison Avenue - 13th floor

Topic: Freedom National Bank and black businesses

Other participants - William Hudgins, President, Freedom Nat'l
State Senator Basil Patterson

Contact: Carol Ketay
MU 8 5700

Ollie Leeds

January 25, 1967

ITINERARY

10:50 p.m. The Barry Gray Show
Address 415 Madison Avenue - 13th floor

Topic: Freedom National Bank and black businesses

Other participants - William Hudgins, President, Freedom Nat'l
State Senator Basil Patterson

Contact: Carol Ketay
MU 8 5700

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

Saturday, February 4, 1967

Afternoon - Discussion of New Black Power Directoton of CORE

Especially as it effects chapters.

353 W. 57th
Henry Hudson Hotel

M-K:

Saturday, February 18, 1967

MAKEY Flight

Eastern Flight #979 leaves Kennedy 10 p.m.

12:40 p.m. arrive Miami

9:05 a.m. Depart for Bimini, stop at Fort Lauderdale

10:29 a.m. Arrive Bimini

or

Depart aboard Pan Am Flight #205 at 10:45 a.m.

1:30 p.m. Arrive Nassau

3:25p.m. Depart aboard Eastern Flight #586

4:48 p.m. Arrive Bimini

Lincoln O. Lynch

I T I N E R A R Y

Wednesday, February 22, 1967

3:00 p.m. Depart from Kennedy Airport aboard American Airlines Flight #91 for Detroit, Michigan

4:41 p.m. Arrive Detroit

You will be met at the airport by Dean Cummins or Mark Hodak (student)

Fare: $33.23

6:00 p.m. Dinner

7:30 p.m. Speech - "Black Power"

Speech to be followed by press conference and interview.

Thursday, February 23, 1967

11:10 a.m. Depart Detroit aboard Delta Airlines Flight #637 for Colombus

12:06 p.m. Arrive Colombus, Ohio

You will be met at the airport, probably by the Rev. Donald Rogan. You will also be staying at The Rev. Rogan's home.

Fare: $13.40

Friday, February 24, 1967

3:00 p.m. Kenyon College Conference entitled "The Urban Ghetto: Black Neck in a White Noose."

Several short speeches (with question periods) and panel debate.

Saturday, February 25, 1967

8:40 a.m. Depart Colombus aboard TWA Flight #514 for Baltimore

10:32 a.m. Arrive Baltimore

Reservations clerk: Miss King

Fare: $25.62

Lincoln Ol Lynch
February 25, 1967

ITINERARY

12:00 noon Depart from Kennedy Airport aboard TWA Flight #171

1:27 p.m. Arrives St. Louis, Missouri (Coach Class)

TICKETS MUST BE PICKED UP AND PAID FOR BY 15th OF FEB. TO GUARANTEE RESERVATIONS.

Fare: One way - $56.49
Round trip - $112.98

Booking distance on #3
for Lov Mr. Tinore
Chicago
MON 6:7H
(1) Confirmed & St Lo
(2) r
4421 McPherson
12:45 Kennedy

Bob Curtis
JE 1 3270
} St Loo
CO1 0138.

re: Cars

LCLOC

New Orleans, La.

Hoffman

Koppel

Leasing

504 - 523 - 1797

504 - 944 - 5347

Lincoln O. Lynnh

ITINERARY

Tuesday, February 28, 1967

10 a.m. Depart Kennedy Airport aboard American Flight #213

11:43 a.m. Arrive Detroit Michigan

12:45 p.m. Depart Detroit Michigan aboard United Airlines Flight #867

1:26 p.m. Arrive Grand Rapids, Michigan

You will be met at the airport, probably by Dr. Rider, and driven 25 miles to Holland Michigan.

There will be late afternoon meetings with students, dinner and

8:15 p.m. Speech at Hope College, Holland, Michigan

Wednesday, March 1, 1967

7:00 a.m. Depart Grand Rapids aboard United Airlines Flight #684

8:08 a.m. Arrive Detroit, Michigan

9:00 a.m. Depart Detroit, Michigan aboard American Airlines Flight #124

10:18 a.m. Arrive La Guardia Airport

Dr. Rider 616-396-4661 x252

Gresham

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

March 2, 1967

9:00 a.m. Speaking Engagement - "Civil Rights and Black Power"

Richard Fulton will pick you up at home at 9 a.m. and drive you to New Jersey. He will also drive you back.

3:00 p.m. Appt. with August Meier (re CORE History)

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Friday, March 3, 1967

2:~~00~~ 30 p.m. Appt. with Leslie Dunbar - Field Foundation

250 Park Avenue (at 46th Street)
Room 2015

YU 6 6688

7:00 p.m. You will be picked up at home, probably by Karl Bernhard

Address: "Long Island United for Peace"

688 0928 or 516 PY 6 3478

Sunday, March 5, 1967

3:00 p.m. Meeting re Powell

Abyssinnan Baptist Church

5:00 p.m. Cocktail Party "Special Events Committee" - Clora

Midway Lounge
125th Street between Morningside and Amsterdam

Lincoln O. Lynch

I T I N E R A R Y

Saturday, March 4, 1967

8:45 a.m. Depart Kennedy Airport aboard American Airlines Flight #125

10:19 a.m. Arrive St. Louis

Sunday, March 5, 1967

6:20 p.m. Depart St. Louis aboard American Airlines Flight #106

9:24 p.m. Arrive Kennedy Airport

Fare: (round trip) $112.98

Lincoln O. Lynch

I T I N E R A R Y

Tuesday, March 7, 1967

4:15 p.m. Depart Newark Airport aboard Eastern Flight #559T

5:07 p.m. Arrive Baltimore

Wednesday, March 8, 1967

4:00 p.m. Depart Friendship Airport in Baltimore aboard Eastern Flight #648T

4:55 p.m. Arrive Kennedy Airport

Ollie Leeds 1

March 7, 67

I T I N E R A R Y

10:50 p.m. Barry Gray Show

Topic: "The Draft"

415 Madison Avenue, 13th floor

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

March 10, 1967 (Friday)

2:00 p.m. District Local #1199

Address: 709 Eighth Avenue - 3rd floor

Debate with Bayard Rustin

Should be $5,000.00 contribution.

Contact: Moe Fonner

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Saturday, March 11, 1967

8:00 p.m. — Dinner with Mr. & Mrs. Tom Johnston
Address: 130 East 67th Street, Apartment 11E, New York City

Sunday, March 12, 1967

11:30 p.m. — "Newsmakers" CBS-TV
524 West 57th Street, New York City

Air Time: 12 noon until 12:30 p.m.

Lincoln O. Lynch

I T I N E R A R Y

Sunday, March 12, 1967

8:15 a.m.	Depart LaGuardia Airport aboard Eastern Airlines Flight #151
9:50 a.m.	Arrive Charlotte, North Carolina
10:25 a.m.	Depart Charlotte, North Carolina aboard Eastern Airlines Flight #371
10:52 a.m.	Arrive Columbia, South Carolina

You will be met at the airport, probably by the Rev. Lewis, of Sumter CORE.

Monday, March 13, 1967

7:40a.m.	Depart Columbia aboard Eastern Airlines Flight #370
8:05 a.m.	Arrive Charlotte, N.C.
8:45 a.m.	Depart Charlotte aboard Eastern Flight #150
10:08 a.m.	Arrive Kennedy Airport

Round trip fare: $86.94

Lincoln O. Lynch

I T I N E R A R Y

Tuesday, March 14, 1967

3:25 p.m. Depart Kennedy Airport aboard American Airlines Flight #748

4:12 p.m. Arrive Bradley Air Field, Hartford, Connecticut

You will be met at the airport.

6:30 p.m. Dinner at the University.

8:00 p.m. Speech

Wednesday, March 15, 1967

8:15 a.m. Depart aboard Eastern Airlines Flight #659

11:32 a.m. Arrive Lexington, Kentucky

Friday, March 17, 1967

2:42 p.m. Depart aboard Eastern Airlines Flight #634

3:59 p.m. Arrive Washington, D.C.

5:10 p.m. Depart aboard National Airlines Flight #292

5:29 p.m. Arrive Baltimore

Sunday, March 19, 1967

5:45 p.m. Depart aboard National Airlines Flight #292

6:28 P.m. Arrive Kennedy Airport

Total Fare: $101.69

Floyd B. McKissick

Wednesday, March 15, 1967

ITINERARY

1:00 p.m. Appt. with Internal Revenue, 120 Church Street, 17th floor

Mr. Gamley, Mr. Lehrman, Mr. Zuriches

6:00 p.m. George Schiffer
157 West 57th Street - 14th floor

CI 5 0190

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Tuesday, March 21, 1967

1:00 p.m. — Appt. (at National) with John Garber (architect)
865-8811

6:30 p.m. — Dinner at Frank's with Dennis Brutus, South African poet, who will be featured speaker at evening's rally.

8:00 p.m. — Rally (American Committee on Africa)

St. Marks' Methodist Church
St. Nicholas Avenue (137th Street

Contact: Mary Hooper TN 7 8733

Wednesday, March 22, 1967

11:45 p.m. — Lunch with Ivanhoe

1:00 p.m. — Appt. (at National) with Lin Say, Cambodian delegate

PL 3-7763

6:00 p.m. — Appt. with George Schiffer
157 West 57th Street, 14th Floor

CI 5 0190

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Wednesday, March 22, 1967

11:45 a.m.	Lunch with Ivanhoe
1:00 p.m.	Appt. at National Office with Lin Say, Cambodian delegate PL 3 7763
2:30 p.m.	Appt. at National Office with James R. Foster (N.Y. Stock Exchange) HA 5 8000
6:00 p.m.	Appt. with George Schiffer 157 West 57 Street, N.Y.C. 10019 - 14th floor CI 5 0190

Floyd B. McKissick

I TII N E R A R Y

Thursday, March 23, 1967

1:00 p.m.	Appt. at National office with Paul Simms of City College Newspaper - SP 6 7219
2:30 p.m.	Appt. at National office with Charles P. Howard
3:00 p.m.	Meeting at National office re Baltimore with Wil, Lincoln, Ruth, Walt Brooks
7:00 p.m.	Political Meeting at National office Dr. Anna Hedgeman, Ella Baker, Charles Howard, SNCC, Harlem CORE, Brooklyn, CORE.

Floyd B. McKissick

I TII N E R A R Y

Saturday, March 25, 1967

3:40 p.m. Train (New Haven Railroad) from 125th Street Station

4:43 p.m. Arrive in Westport

You will be met at station by Betty and Lou Zemel.

5:00 p.m. Press Conference with Waverly Yates, Chairman of Norwalk CORE

(Letter attached)

Dinner with Betty and Lou Zemel.

8:30 p.m. Speech at Southern Connecticut Ethical Society, Staples High

Questions by panel and audience.

Overnight with Betty and Lou.

They will drive you to train in the morning

Wil Ussery

I T I N E R A RYY

Monday, March 27, 1967

12:00 Luncheon with Jim Arnold
Queen Booking, 1650 Broadway (at 51st)

265-3350

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Tuesday, March 28, 1967

10:00 a.m.	Meet with Clora at office
12:00 noon	Jim Booker at National Office

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Wednesday, March 29, 1967

6:00 p.m. Meet with George Schiffee and Andy Norman

157 W. 57th St., 14th Floor

CI 5 0190

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Saturday, April 1, 1967

2:00 p.m. Brooklyn CORE Rally

You will be picked up at home at 1:30 and driven back.

9:00 p.m. Depart Kennedy Airport aboard American Airlines Flight #331

10:20 p.m. Arrive O'Hare Airport, Chicago

Sunday, April 2, 1967

Rally for Dick Gregory

7:00 p.m. Depart O'Hare Airport aboard American Airlines Flight #66

9:50 p.m. Arrive Kennedy Airport

Monday, April 3, 1967

--- Clear

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Tuesday, April 4, 1967

11:00 a.m. Telelecture - Northern State College

THEY WILL PLACE CALL TO NATIONAL OFFICE AT 10:45 a.m.

20 minutes - address student body on "The Black Revolution"

40 minutes - questions and answers

2:30 p.m. Flossie Little hearing

Lincoln O. Lynch

I T I N E R A R Y

Saturday, April 8, 1967

6:45 p.m. Depart LaGuardia Airport aboard Eastern Airlines Flight #189

8:14 p.m. Arrive Saint Louis

Sunday, April 9, 1967

fare: $50.66

Wilfred T. Ussery

I T I N E R A R Y

Saturday, April 8, 1967

12:00 nonn — Depart aboard American Airlines Flight #3 from Kennedy Airport.

2:45 p.m. — Arrive Los Angeles

Fare from L.A. to S.F. - $16.00

Fare from S.F. return (excursion fare) $228.53

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Friday, April 14, 1967

10:15 a.m.	Depart Raleigh-Durham aboard Flight #540 (probably Eastern)
12:40 p.m.	Arrive Kennedy Airport
2:00 p.m.	Press Conference re Spring Mobilization
	Barbizon Plaza Hotel - Studio K - 4th floor - 106 Central Park South (off 6th Ave.)
7:00 p.m.	Dinner w/Dorothy & Jack Woods (Bill Worthy, Dagmar Wilson, etc.)
	147 East 36th St., (between Lexington Ave & 3rd Ave)

Saturday, April 15, 1967

10:00 a.m.	Frank's
11:00 a.m.	Lead parade from Harlem (135th & Lenox Ave) or from Sheep Meadow (6th Ave. & West Drive - at extreme South end of Central Park)
3:00 p.m.	Rally at United Nations Plaza (1st Ave. &47th St.)
	Speech - 10 minutes (After Dr. King, before Rabbi _____ & Bevel)

Sunday, April 16, 1967

2:00 p.m.	Harlem YMCA - (meeting of NAC reps in region)
	(Room will be posted)

Monday, April 17, 1967

Clear

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Sunday, April 16, 1967

8:55 p.m. Depart Kennedy Airport aboard Eastern Flight

11:08 p.m. Arrive Raleigh-Durham

Tuesday, April 18, 1967

10:15 a.m. Depart Eastern Airlines Flight #540 from Raleigh-Durham

12:40 p.m. Arrive Kennedy Airport

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Wednesday, April 19, 1967

8:15 a.m. Depart LaGuardia Airport for Pittsburgh aboard Trans World Airlines Flight #197 Y

You will be met at the airport, probably by Richard A. Cohen

10:00 a.m. Press Conference

12:00 noon Talk at Point Park College (Honorarium $250)

1:00 p.m. Lunch

4:00 p.m. Talk at Duquesne University (Honorarium $400)

6:00 p.m. Supper and rest

8:00 p.m. Talk at Hill District Rally (collection would be for CORE after expenses are deducted. The collection at the Carmichael Rally was $540 .)

You may stop at a fund raising cocktail party but Mr. Cohen agreed to have you to the plane by

10:55 p.m. Depart for Washington aboard United Air Lines Flight 610 A

12:02 a.m. Arrive National Airport in Washington (Taxi to Shoreham Hotel, Wash.)

Thursday, April 20, 1967

A member of ASNE will contact you in the morning at the hotel.

9:00 a.m. First part of urban problem symposium

10:30 a.m. Your speech on "The Black Revolution and the Urban Ghetto" and Daniel' Moynihan's remarks.

Shuttle to New York

(cont.)

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Friday, April 21, 1967

10:00 a.m. Appt. at National office with William Percy (tentative) WA 7 7589

11:00 a.m. Appt. at National office with Queen Mother

12:30 p.m. Appt. at National office with Mrs, Ruth Roff of Newsweek re major civil rights article (tentative) 421 1234 ext. 644

2:00 p.m. Appt. with Grace Killens and Trident Press
630 Fifth Avenue
Rockefeller Center - 20th floor

10:55 p.m. Depart Kennedy Airport aboard American Airlines Flight #269

12:54 p.m. Arrive Cleveland

You will be met at the airport, probably by Art Evans (541 8122)

Saturday, April 22, 1967

9:45 a.m. Ann Eaton

NAC meeting

Sunday, April 23, 1967

6:00 p.m. Depart Cleveland aboard American Airlines Flight #370

5:10 p.m. Arrive LaGuardia Airport

6:00 p.m. Dinner of Ansonia Democrats
Hotel Pierre (5th Ave. & 61st St)

(Meet with Stokley after)

Monday, April 24, 1967

3:35 p.m. Depart LaGuardia Airport aboard American Airlines Flight #723

4:21 p.m. Arrive Albany, N.Y.

You will be met at the airport, probably by Professor Martin

6:00 p.m. Dinner at Union College

8:00 p.m. Speech at Union College

Tuesday, April 25, 1967

10:10 a.m. Depart Albany, N.Y. aboard American Airlines Flight #688

11:00 a.m. Arrive Kennedy Airport

Wil Ussery

ITINERARY

Friday, April 21, 1967

10:30 p.m. Depart San Francisco aboard United Air Lines Flight #307

11:31 p.m. Arrive Los Angeles

11:50 p.m. Depart Los Angeles aboard United Air Lines Flight #1136

6:39 a.m. Arrive Cleveland, Ohio

Open return.

Fare: one way $123.40 + 5% tax

Lincoln O. Lynch

I T I N E R A R Y

Friday, April 21, 1967

1:45 p.m. Depart LaGuardia aboard American Airlines Flight #365

3:05 p.m. Arrive Cleveland

Sunday, April 23, 1967

6:20 p.m. Depart Cleveland aboard American Airlines Flight #173

6:44 p.m. Arrive St. Louis, Missouri

Tuesday, April 25, 1967

8:15 a.m. Depart St. Louis aboard American Air Lines Flight #272

11:08 a.m. Arrive New York - LaGuardia Airport

James Farmer

I T I N E R A R Y

Saturday, April 22, 1967

8:20 a.m. Depart LaGuardia Airport aboard Eastern Airlines Flight 348F

8:57 a.m. Arrive Bradley Field, Hartford, Connecticut

You will be met at the airport, probably by David Clayborne.

10:15 a.m. Keynote speech (approx. one hour, 15 minutes)

11:30 a.m. Questions and answers (approx. one half hour)

You are scheduled for two seminars in the afternoon - one if you must return early. Open return.

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Sunday, April 23, 1967

6:00 p.m. Dinner of Ansonia Democrats (arranged through Stokley) - dress optional (Honor Rabbi Klein & Belefonte)
Hotel Pierre - 5th Ave. & 61st

(Meet with Stokley afterward)

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Wednesday, April 26, 1967

10:55 a.m. Barry Gray Show w/Eugene Calenday "Projection of Summer 1967"

415 Madison Avenue - 13th floor

Thursday, April 27, 1967

11:00 a.m. Appt. with McGeorge Bundy, Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue - 11th floor

Meet Rabbi Lelyveld at Bundy's office. Jim Farmer will try to call from Colorado, but may not be able to, depending upon his flight schedule.

7:00 p.m. Meet with Mrs. Glover (Queens CORE) and Stan Hamilton (S. Jamaica CORE)

Lincoln O. Lynch

ITINERARY

Friday, April 28, 1967

1:40 p.m. Depart Kennedy Airport aboard Eastern Airlines Flight #663T

2:40 p.m. Arrive Friendship Airport, Baltimore, Maryland

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Saturday, April 29, 1967

10:00 p.m. Surprise party for Basil Paterson

466West 132nd Street - Apt. 15E (FO 8 0907)

Stan Jarret's Apartment

Monday, May 1, 1967

2:00 p.m. Stephanie Harrington (AL 4 7589) Village Voice

8:00 p.m. Speech at Columbia College Citizenship Council

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

Thursday, May 4, 1967

6:00 p.m. TV filming for Urban League dinner

Versailles Terrace (onto the Ballroom Floor of the Americana Hotel)

7th Ave. at 52nd St.

7:00 p.m. Urban League dinner

Friday, May 5, 1967

8:24 a.m. Depart LaGuardia Airport aboard United Airlines Flight #169

9:20 a.m. Arrive in Baltimore

2:00 p.m. Press Conference w/Representative of the Ministerial Alliance & the Steelworkers' Committee

8:15 p.m. Depart Washington from National Airport aboard Eastern Airlines Flight 517Y

9:03 p.m. Arrive St. Louis

Saturday, May 6, 1967

5:35 p.m. Depart St. Louis aboard TWA Flight #108F

9:15 p.m. Arrive Philadelphia

You will be met at the airport by Joseph Miller, Peace Convocation and possible Philadelphia CORE.

Accomodations will be arranged by the Peace Convocation.

Sunday, May 7, 1967

8:00 p.m. Session of Philadelphia Peace Convocation

Topic: "The PROBLEMS OF YOUTH"

~~8:59 p.m.~~ A

8:20 p.m. Depart Philadelphia aboard National Airlines Flight #296T

8:59 p.m. Arrive Kennedy Airport

Monday, May 8, 1967

Clear

Lincoln O. Lynch

I T I N E R A R Y

Friday, May 5, 1967

3:40 p.m. Depart Kennedy Airport aboard Eastern Airlines Flight #617

4:56 p.m. Arrive Richmond.

Sunday, May 7, 1967

3:45 p.m. Depart Richmond aboard Eastern Airlines Flight #344

4:38 p.m. Arrive LaGuardia

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Tuesday, May 9, 1967

10:30 a.m.	Interview with Morton Kondracke - Chicago Sun Times (Arranged through Ed Cahn)
12:00 noon	Interview with Mr. DePeuw - Broadcasting Magazine (Arranged through Don)
2:00 p.m.	Mr. Cuzens & Don re fund-raising project
3:30 approx.	Meet with Ruth and Don

Lincoln O. Lynch

I T I N E R A R Y

Tuesday, May 9, 1967

8:20 a.m. Depart LaGuardia Airport aboard American Airlines Flight #357

9:s39 a.m. Arrive Cleveland, Ohio

One way fare: $28.61

Cleveland - integration?
Ralph Temple
202-726-7129

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

Ed Cahn
202-337-8983
332-4743

Thursday, May 11, 1967

7:45 a.m. Be at airport early to pick up all tickets provided for in this itinerary. Tell clerk Eastern Airlines has been notified to have all tickets ready for you at Northwest Counter. (Northwest does not have advance ticketing service.)

8:30 a.m. Depart Kennedy Airport aboard American Airlines Flight #205Y (Breakfast on board)

9:07 a.m. Arrive Detroit, Michigan

You will be met by Clyde Cleveland
655 Hartford Avenue, Detroit, Michigan (TY 8 6459)

7:00 p.m. Detroit Federation of Teachers and Michigan Federation of TEachers

"Conference on Racism in Education"

Topic: "American Education: A Partner in the Perpetuation of Racism?"

Memorial Fieldhouse, University of Detroit, Detroit, Michigan

NORTH LAND INN - 313-357-4700 Rm. 187

Friday, May 12, 1967 GLORIA BROWN - 313-896-3910

8:35 a.m. Depart Detroit aboard North West Airlines Flight #318

10:08 a.m. Arrive Cleveland, Ohio Cleveland CORE
216-791-2111

You will be met by Art Evans
1996 Hayden Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio (541 8122)
Don Bean - 12807 Locke Ave., Cleveland, Ohio (268 1292)

8:00 p.m. Ohio Student Conference on Vietnam (Western Reserve U)
Cleveland, Ohio

Contact: John W. Tudker, 11205 Bellflower Rd, Cleveland, Ohio
(791 9578 or 764 4422)

Howard Johnson 107th St.
231-6300

Saturday, May 13, 1967

10:35 a.m. Depart Cleveland aboard Eastern Airlines Flight #314 Y

Floyd B. McKissick
ITINERARY
(cont.)

10:05 a.m. Arrive Detroit, Michigan

You will be met at the airport by Ezra Rowry
818 Pomona Street, AnnArbor, Michigan (313 761 1282)

8:00 p.m. Rally sponsored by Ann Arbor CORE

Ann Arbor Community Center
625 North Main Street
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Sunday, May 14, 1967

1:30 p.m. Depart Detroit aboard North West #334T

3:56 p.m. Arrive National Airport, Washington, D.C.

You will be met at the airport by The Rev. Jefferson Rogers (529 4356)

6:00 p.m. Speech at the Church of the Redeemer, Washington, D.C.

15th & Girard St., N.E.,

~~6:00~~ 10:00pm
Monday, May 15, 1967 Air Canada #21 -8000

Tuesday, May 16, 1967

Vancouver, British Colombia
8:00 p.m. Western Washington College, Bellingham, Washington
(Will be escorted by Michael Botkin - Assoc. Student -)

Transported back to Seattle following engagement.

Wednesday, May 17, 1967

10:00 a.m. Press Conference - Seattle

L1:00 a.m. Interview - Black Press

7:30 p.m. Garfield High School (with Julian Bond) Seattle - 23rd Ave.

Depart for New York

THE COMMITTEE

SEATTLE
OREGON

Thurs 15 — 4:00 pm Oregon State U.
Corvallis Ore

16 Western Washington Coll
8pm Bellingham, Wash

17 am - 10 am Press conf
7:30 pm - Garfield High School
Julian Bond

Fri 18 — Whitman College
4 pm - Walla Walla, Wash.

19 — 8 pm - Wash State - Pullman, Wash

Sat 20 —

Wilfred Ussery

I T I N E R A R Y

Tuesday, May 16, 1967

7:20 a.m. Depart San Francisco aboard Western Airlines Flight #71

8:18 a.m. Arrive Los Angeles

Wednesday, May 17, 1967

9:00 a.m. Depart Los Angeles aboard American Airlines Flight #2

4:55 p.m. Arrive Kennedy Airport

Fare:

S.F. to L.A.	$23.70
L.A. to N.Y.	145.10
	168.80
	8.44
	177 24

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Friday, May 19, 1967

4:45 p.m. Picked up at home with Mrs. McKissick.

Dinner at the home of Leon Quat
16 Elliott Rd., Great Neck, L.I., N.Y. (516-HU 2-8862

Panel with Stokley Carmichael. (Arranged by Lincoln)

Saturday- May 20, 1967

7:00a.m. Depart LaGuardia Airport (Shuttle to Washington)

9:15 a.m. Depart Washington aboard Eastern Airlines #659 (National Airport)

9:50 a.m. Arrive Lexington, Kentucky

Monday, May 22, 1967

Evening Rally in Lexington, Ky. (have not yet received form return from Julia Lewis)

11:15 p.m. Depart Louisville, Ky. aboard Eastern Airlines Flight #518Y

2:37 a.m. Arrive Newark, Airport

Tuesday, May 23, 1967

1:00 p.m. Luncheon at UN Dining Room with Tanzanian delegation.

2:00 p.m. Appt. (tentative) with George Murphy (Afro-American)
301 685 6951

8:00 p.m. Charmaine's school

Wednesday, May 24, 1967

Wilfred Ussery

I T I N E R A R Y

Friday, May 19, 1967

2:55 p.m. Depart Kennedy Airport aboard Eastern Airlines Flight #655T

4:05 p.m. Arrive Lexington, Kentucky

Sunday, May 21, 1967

7:08 p.m. Depart Lexington aboard Piedmont Airlines Flight #405

7:36 p.m. Arrive Louisville, Ky.

11:55 p.m. Depart Louisville aboard Eastern Flight #435

1:45 a.m. Arrive Atlanta, Georgia

3:44 a.m. Deppart Atlanta aboard Delta Flight #121

7:07 a.m. Arrive Los Angeles

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Tuesday, May 23, 1967

11:45 a.m.	Meet at Tom Johnston's office
	110 East 45th Street (at Lexington) - 4th floor
1:00 p.m.	Luncheon with Tanzanian delegates - UN Dining Room (42nd & 1st)
4:00 p.m.	Interview at office with George Murphy of Afro-American
8:00 p.m.	Dharmaine

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Wednesday, May 24, 1967

4:45 p.m. Depart Kennedy Airport aboard North West Airlines Flight #221

6:27 p.m. Arrive Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota International Airport

You will be met at the airport by Reginald G. Young and Yani Sinanoglou (645-4431 x323)

Speech at Carleton College, Northfield, Minnesota

507 - 612 - 721 - 3511 -

726 - 2521

Thursday, May 25, 1967

7:00 a.m. Depart Minneapolis-St. Paul aboard North West Airlines Flight #200

10:20 a.m. Arrive Kennedy Airport

Meet at office with Val Jorrin and students (tentative)

1:00 p.m. Mr. T. K. Mahadevan (Author from India) re book he is writing on non-violent action (has met with most other Movement leaders)

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Saturday, May 27, 1967

10:00 a.m. Leave for Ken Clark's home Hastings-on-Hudson
17 Pine Crest Drive.

(travel time - approximately 45 minutes)

Take West Side Highway to Saw Mill River Parkway. Continue on Saw Mill River Parkway through two traffic lights. Turn left at the third traffic light. (Farrget Parkway). Continue on Farreget Parkway about two miles to the next traffic light (Broadway, Route #9). Turn left on Broadway, Route #9 and continue about one mile to Pine Crest Drive. Turn right on Pine Crest Drive to near the bottom of the hill. Park car before the dirt road at an angle where other cars are parked.

17 Pine Crest Drive is the second house on the dirt road leading from Pine Crest Drive.

11;00 a.m. Meet at Ken Clark's home.

7:00 p.m. Depart Kennedy Airport aboard American Airlines Flight #121
(Tickets are pre-paid by Wil in L.A.)

9:30 p.m. Arrive Los Angeles

You will be met at the airport, probably by Wil Ussery and Alice Trivedi.

(Information on the Conference is attached)

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Saturday, June 23, 1967

Eastern Airlines Shuttles leave from LaGuardia 9AM through 10 p.m.
(no shuttle at 9 p.m.)

From Washington to N.Y. - 8. a.m. to 7 p.m.

Meet with Carl Hollman, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Sunday, June 25, 1967

Monday, June 26, 1967

Meet with representatives of SNCC and MARC (Lincoln may not be able to attend)

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Tuesday, June 27, 1967

9:30 a.m. Chairmaine

Wednesday, June 28, 1967

8:00 p.m. Depart aboard TWA Flight #153 from Kennedy Airport for Convention. You will be met at the airport.

To ~ 7/00

Floyd B. McKissick

I T INN E R A R Y

Tuesday, July 11, 1967

5:45 p.m. Depart Kennedy Airport aboard Eastern Airlines Flight #658

6:37 p.m. Arrive Providence, Rhode Island

You will be met, probably by Robert Spencer, from the University of Rhode Island.

8:00 p.m. Lecture at University of Rhode Island (Black Power and the Black Revolution)

After speech, you will be met by representatives of Providence CORE (Herb Bickford - Chairman) and driven to Providence. They are handling accomodations.

Wednesday, July 12, 1967

9:00 a.m. Press Conference at the hotel.

10:00 a.m. Closed conference with the editors of the Providence Journal-Bulletin.

12 noon Meet with participants in Upward Bound Program at R.I.U. (Black High School students preparing for college)

3:30 p.m. Coffee hour

6:00 p.m. Cocktail party

7:00 p.m. Fund raising dinner at Church of the Mediator, Providence

Thursday, July 13, 1967

7:10 a.m. Depart Providence aboard Eastern Airlines Flight #153

7:48 a.m. Arrive Kennedy Airport

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Monday, July 24, 1967

1:00 p.m.	Appt. with Betty Miller (National office)
1:30 p.m.	Tape session with Art Rust (National office)
3:00 p.m.	Meet with Bill Josephson and Bob Preskell at Strasser, Speigelberg, Fried & Frank, 120 Broadway
9:30 p.m.	Channel 13 - "Newsfront" (Jimmy Booker) 345 East 46th Street (755 0842)

Tuesday, July 25, 1967

11:00 a.m.	Stephen Truitt (Tri-Talent Productions) re Benefit for CORE.
1:00 p.m.	Meet withDDoc Barbar (National office)

Wilfred T. Ussery

I T I N E R A R Y

Saturday, July 29, 1967

12:30 a.m. Depart San Francisco aboard TWA Flight #138

6:10 a.m. Arrive Chicago

7:00 a.m. Depart Chicago aboard United Airlines Flight #346

9:01 a.m. Arrive Cleveland

Sunday, July 30, 1967

7:05 a.m. Depart Cleveland aboard United Airlines Flight #326

8:22 a.m. Arrive Kennedy Airport

Fare: $27.25 full fare
20.45 student
47.70
2.38 tax
$50.08

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Monday, July 31, 1967

10:00 a.m. Depart Kennedy Airport aboard Pan American Airlines Flight #118

10:00 p.m. Arrive Paris

Tuesday, August 1, 1967

11:10 a.m. Depart Paris aboard Olympic Airways Flight #410

7:35 p.m. Arrive Cairo

Wednesday, August 2, 1967

11:00 p.m. Depart Nairobi aboard East African Airways Flight #720

12:01 a.m. Arrive Entebee

Thursday, August 3, 1967

5:20 a.m. Depart Entebee aboard British United Airways Flight #211

6:25 a.m. Arrive Ndola

Friday, August 4, 1967

11:10 a.m. Depart Ndola aboard Air Rhodesia Flight #727

12 noon Arrive Lusaka, Zambia

Lawton - Johnson Travel Agency, Inc.
2286 - 7TH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10030

ITINERARY

Date	Place	Activity			
MON JULY 31st	New York PARIS	PAA 118	10AM	10 PM	
TUE AUG 1st	PARIS CAIRO	OLYMPIC AIRWAYS	410	11:0 AM	7:35 PM
WED AUG 2nd	CAIRO NAIROBI	UNITED ARAB AIRLINES	813	3:00 AM	9:05 AM
WED AUG 2nd	NAIROBI ENTEBEE	EAST AFRICAN AIRWAYS	720	11PM	12:01 AM
THU AUG 3rd	ENTEBEE NDOLA	BritishUnited	211	5:20 AM	6:25 AM
FRI AUG 4th	NDOLA LUSAKA	AIR RHODESIA	727	11:10 AM	12 NOON

SCHEDULES IN THIS ITINERARY ARE CORRECT AT THE TIME OF WRITING. THEY ARE SUBJECT TO CHANGE.

Lawton - Johnson Travel Agency, Inc.

2286 - 7TH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10030

McKissick & Ussery

ITINERARY

Date	Place	Activity
Aug 3rd. THU	J.F. Kennedy	Pan Am flight 114 Departs 8:30 PM
Aug 4th FRI	ROME	ARRIVES 12:10 PM
Aug 4th FRI	ROME NAIROBI	Departs 9:45 PM BOAC #161 ARRIVES 9:35 AM. Aug 5th
Aug 5th SAT	NAIROBI LUSAKA	DEPARTS 10:30 AM East African Airways ARRIVE 12 NOON #755
	LUSAKA NAIROBI LAGOS ACCRA ABDIJAN MONROVIA CORAKAY DAKAR	ITINERARY flight
	J.F. Kennedy	AUG 16th Pan Am 157Y Departs 7:00 PM ARRIVE 11 PM

SCHEDULES IN THIS ITINERARY ARE CORRECT AT THE TIME OF WRITING. THEY ARE SUBJECT TO CHANGE.

Art Evans

I T I N E R A R Y

Thursday, August 17, 1967

2:45 p.m. Depart LaGuardia Airport aboard American Airlines Flight #385

4:00 p.m. Arrive Cleveland, Ohio

Wilfred T. Ussery

I T I N E R A R Y

Friday, August 18, 1967

7:25 p.m.	Depart Kennedy Airport aboard American Airlines Flight #369
9:03 p.m.	Arrive Cleveland

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Saturday, September 9, 1967

4:00 p.m. Lynn

4:30 p.m. To be picked up at home by James Hooper, Chairman of Newark CORE (201-923-2227)

Speech at Harbor High School, 8th Street, Plainfield, N.J.

(Prefer speech addressed to unity among Black People and the formation of a CORE chapter in Plainfield.)

You will be driven home by car.

McKissick's Flight Schedule to Salem & Eugene Oregon:

October 3, 1967

Departing Kennedy Airport at 11:55 P.M. aboard United Airlines (Flight #859) - arriving in Portland, Oregon at 5:25 A.M. (two stops are made during flight, one to Chicago and, perhaps, Denver) Board United Air Lines Plane (Flight # 807) at 7:30 A.M. to Salem - arriving in Salem at 7:58 A.M. - October 4th. Mr. Pat Moore

October 4, 1967

Departing Salem Airport aboard United Airlines Flight #731 at 2:39 P.M. - arriving in Eugene, Oregon at 3:06 P.M.
Clyde DeBeaty Tony Garzilan)

October 5, 1967

Departing Eugene Airport aboard West Coast Airlines at 6:25 A.M. Flight #722 - arriving in Portland, Oregon at 7:03 A.M. to change plans to United Airlines Flight #40 - departing Portland, Oregon at 7:50 A.M. (one stop) arriving at Kennedy Airport at 4:45 P.M. Oct. 5th.

McKissick's Flight Schedule to Salem & Eugene Oregon

October 3, 1967

Departing Kennedy Airport at 11:55 P.M. aboard United Airlines (Flight #159 - arriving in Portland, Oregon at 5:25 A.M. (two stops are made during flight, one to Chicago and, perhaps, Denver)& Board United Air Lines plane (Flight #807) at 7:30 A.M. to Salem - arriving in Salem at 7:58 A.M. - October 4th. To be met by Mr. Patrick Moore or Dr. Jerry Whipple - 581-1641, ext. 340.

October 4, 1967

Luncheon at Willamette University - from about 12:30 to 2:00 P.M. Reservations booked on United Airlines - Flight #731 at 2:39 P.M. - arriving in Eugene, Oregon at 3:06 P.M. Although Clyde deBerry or Tony Varzihani plan to meet you at Willamette Univ. and drive you to Eugene, Oregon, have left reservations for same in the event they don't.

October 5, 1967

Departing Eugene Airport aboard West Coast Airlines at 6:25 A.M. Flight #722 - arriving in Portland, Oregon at 7:03 A.M. to change planes to United Airlines Flight #40 - departing Portland, Oregon at 7:50 A.M. (one stop) arriving at Kennedy Airport at 4:45 P.M. Oct. 5th.

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Saturday, October 7, 1967

2:15 p.m. Depart Kennedy Airport aboard American Airlines Flight #215

3:50 p.m. Arrive Detroit

5:05 p.m. Depart Detroit aboard North Central Airlines Flight #973

5:36 p.m. Arrive Lansing, Michigan

You will be met at the airport, probably by The Rev. Cornelius Berry, Chaplain of Alma,College, Alma, Michigan (463 2141 or 463 2684)

Saturday evening - Meet with faculty and speak at Sun Chapel
(Topic of speech: "Civil Rights Movement Today")

Accomodations - Motel (arranged by Berry) near campus

Sunday, October 8, 1967

Luncheon and speak with students

3:06 p.m. Depart Lansing, Michigan aboard North Central Airlines Flight #912

3:33 p.m. Arrive Detroit

5:00 p.m. Depart Detroit aboard American Airlines Flight #392 (dinner flight)

6:22 p.m. Arrive LaGuardia Airport

Monday, October 9, 1967

MARC

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Tuesday, October 17, 1967

4:15 p.m. Depart Kennedy airport aboard North East Flight #270

5:09 p.m. Arrive Worchester, Massachusetts

You will be met at the airport by Pat Clancy

Dinner at Holy Cross

8:00 p.m. Speak at Holy Cross College

Wednesday, October 18, 1967

7:45 a.m. Depart Worchester aboard North East Flight #215

8:36 a.m. Arrive LaGuardia

6:20 p.m. Telephone interview - WBZ Radio Boston
(arranged through Bill Worthy) re Esquire magazine article

Richard Rodgers - 254 5670
Mr. Koenigsberg - PL 9 3232

Thursday, October 19, 1967

1:00 p.m. Dutchess Community College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y. (Fulton)

8:00 p.m. Temple Sinai, Roslyn, Long Island (Fulton)

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Thursday, October 19, 1967

Penn Station

Trains leave ~~Grand Central~~ (Pennsylvania RR) at:

6:30 a.m.	Arrives Philadelphia	8:10 a.m.
8:00 a.m.	" "	8:39 a.m.
8:00 a.m.	" "	9:35 a.m.

You will be met at the train station by Jim Williams (NAC) or Father Gracie, Episcopal Diocese.

9:30 a.m.	Speak at Cathedral (reps of clergy and laity) as much time as you need
	Followed by question period
11:30 a.m.	Informal luncheon and discussion with Bishop Dewitt

Trains leave Philadelphia for ~~Grand~~ Penn Station at:

1:00 p.m.	Arrives New York	2:43 p.m.
2:00 p.m.	" "	3:35 p.m.
3:00 p.m.	Arrives New York	4:37 p.m.

Arrangements will be made to transport you by ~~car~~ to Roslyn, L.I. (Temple Sinai) speaking engagement (R. Fulton)

Friday - FREE

6:45- Radio Interview
Radio Station
WPOP - Hartford
Taped at Student
Union -
Chuck Krauss.

Joan Emery
Progm
Adv -
Student Union
203-429-3311
x792.

WPOP

Richard Fulton INC.
200 W. 57th St. • New York 10019
JUdson 2-4099

NEWS

OCT 24 1967

October 23, 1967

Miss Irma Hellinger
CORE
200 West 135th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Miss Hellinger:

November 1st, University of Connecticut (Storrs, Conn.) is O.K. for 8:00 P.M.

Am awaiting return of contract which is a detailed process with them.

O.K. to make travel arrangements for that date,tho!!

Sincerely,

Richard Fulton

RF/fi

FLOYD B. McKISSICK

I T I N E R A R Y

Friday, October 27, 1967

10:30 A.M. TWA Flight #115 departing from LaGuardia Airport

11:40 A.M. Arrive Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

You will be met by Winston Sims or Leonard Faulk.

1:00 P.M. Press conference - on campus (½ hour)

2000 P.M. Speech at University of Pittsburgh - Regional Conference of Social Work Students (1 hour) Approx. (Honorarium - $400 negotiable)

5:45 P.M. TWA Flight #94 departing from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

6:52 P.M. Arrive Newark Airport, Newark, New Jersey.

Round Trip Fare ($49.04) coach

Mr. Winston Sims
354 South Graham St.
Pittsbufgh, Pennsylvania
(412) 362-4589

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Monday, October 30, 1967

8:00 a.m. Depart LaGuardia Airport aboard American Airlines Flight #141

9:31 a.m. Arrive Detroit, Michigan

10:30 a.m. Depart Detroit aboard United Airlines Flight #709

11:07 a.m. Arrive Lansing, Michigan

You will be met at the airport by Professor Robert Green (home phone: 351 9003)

Intervening time will be spent with Professor Green (he promises restful time)

Other flight connections were not possible.

8:00 p.m. Speech at Auditorium (honorarium - $750) - about 45 minutes

Student Government plans a dinner for you.

After dinner, meet with about 200 Black Students and respond to questions (honorarium - $250)

You will be driven to Detroit to catch 10:20 plane

10:20 p.m. Depart Detroit aboard American Airlines Flight #336

11:35 p.m. Arrive LaGuardia

Tuesday, October 31, 1967

Seminar - MARC

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Wed., Nov. 1

5:10 p.m. Depart LaGuardia Airport aboard Alleghany Flight #846

5:43 p.m. Arrive Hartford-Bradley Airport

You will be met at the airport by a representative of the University at Storrs, Connecticut

8:00 p.m. Speak at Storrs, Connecticut

10:45 p.m. Depart Hartford-Bradley Airport aboard United Flight #492

11:23 p.m. Arrive Newark, New Jersey Airport

Floyd B. McKissick

Donald Innis
716-245-5138

I T I N E R A R Y

Monday, November 6, 1967

5:10 p.m. Depart LaGuardia Airport aboard American Flight #453

6:13 p.m. Arrive, Rochester, New York

You will be met at the airport by a representative of Geneseo State College

8:00 p.m. Speech - University College, Geneseo, N.Y.

Tuesday, November 7, 1967

7:00 a.m. Depart Rochester aboard American Flight #456

7:55 a.m. Arrive LaGuardia

12:00 noon Depart Kennedy Airport aboard American Flight #3

2:43 p.m. Arrive Los Angeles

3:20 p.m. Depart Los Angeles aboard Western Airlines #216

3:52 p.m. Arrive San Diego - You will be met at airport

7:30 p.m. Speech - California Western University

Wednesday, November 8, 1967

8:30 a.m. Depart San Diego aboard American Flight #114

9:03 p.m. Arrive Kennedy Airport

12:05 United #320 from San Diego
~~7:45~~ Los Angeles
1:42 #262 American
12:07 pm Kennedy — Wed — Nov 8.
✓ reservation

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Friday, November 10, 1967

8:15 a.m.	Depart LaGuardia Airport aboard flight #553 (TWA)
9:00 a.m.	Arrive Harrisburg
	You will be met at the airport by Victor Myers or Rev.Vandorsndall.
	The press conference will be held before the speech.
11:00 a.m.	Speak at Gettysburg College
3:24 p.m.	Depart Alleghany Airport aboard flight #360
4:14 p.m.	Arrive New York City (LaGuardia Airport)

*****

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Wednesday, November 15, 1967

3:30 p.m. Depart Kennedy Airport Aboard American Airlines Flight #748

4:12 p.m. Arrive Hartford, Conn.

You will be met at the airport by a representative of the University of Hartford

8:00 p.m. Speech - University of Hartford

10:45 p.m. Depart Hartford aboard United Airlines Flight #492

11:23 p.m. Arrive Newark, N. J.

Thursday, November 16, 1967

8:00 a.m. Breakfast with Tom Johnson at Home

10:00 a.m. Meeting with Jessie Walker of Amsterdam News here at office

5:00 p.m. Depart Pennsylvania Railroad Station

6:38 p.m. Arrive 30th Street Station in Philadelphia

8:00 p.m. Speech - University of Pennsylvania

You will be met by a representative of the University of Pennsylvania

Last train out of Philadelphia for New York City is 11:00 p.m.

Trains leave Philadelphia Friday, November 17 at 8:00 a.m., 8:05 a.m. and 9:15 a.m.

Richard Fulton INC.
200 W. 57th St. • New York 10019
JUdson 2-4099

NEWS

NOV 16 1967

November 15, 1967

Miss Joyce Boyd
CORE
200 West 135th St.
New York, N.Y. 10030

Dear Miss Boyd:

Kindly send a list of the dates referred to in your letter of November 19th and amounts due for each.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Richard Fulton

RF/fi

I T I N E R A R Y

Monday, November 20, 1967

10:00 a.m. Sharonbe McElhannon

3:00 p.m. D.S.W. Inc., N.Y.U. (Mr. Sillcott)

4:00 p.m. Ben Wright - Clairol - 1290 6th Avenue, New York City

6:00 p.m. Black Artist Conference - Lafton Mitchell at Frank's

Tuesday, November 21, 1967

Staff Meeting

8:00 a.m. to 12:00 a.m. Staff Meeting

2:00 p.m. John Young - Boston CORE

6:00 p.m. United Black Anti-Poverty Front
Dan Dewes, 853 Broadway at 14th Street, New York City

Wednesday, November 22, 1967

10:30 a.m. Charlotte Morris - WNEW-TV -

12:00 a.m. Mr. Lewis - Frank's

1:00 p.m. Sgt. Betz - First Comm. Off.

3:30 p.m. St. Clair Bource - WBAI - TV

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Monday, December 4, 1967

12:05 p.m. Depart Kennedy Airport aboard flight #732 (American Airlines)

12:53 p.m. Arrive Providence

You will be met at the airport by Bill Poole.

Intervening time will be spent with a workshop for a small group of Black students (members of the Afro-American Society).

6:00 p.m. Dinner at Sharpe Refectory

8:15 p.m. Speech (Question and Answer Period Will Follow) Brown University

Tuesday, December 5, 1967

~~7~~:10 a.m. Depart Providence aboard flight #781 (American Airlines)

7:57 a.m. Arrive Kennedy Airport

1:00 p.m. Meeting with Deputy Mayor Sweet at Frank's

3:05 p.m. Depart LaGuardia Airport aboard flight #403 (American Airlines)

4:12 p.m. Arrive Buffalo

You will be met at the airport by Peter Buckley for drive to Niagara Falls.

6:00 p.m. Dinner

8:00 p.m. Speak at Niagara University

Wednesday, December 6, 1967

8:55 a.m. Leave Buffalo aboard flight #330 (American Airlines)

9:55 a.m. Arrive LaGuardia Airport aboard flight #

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Monday, December 11, 1967

4:35 p.m.	Depart LaGuardia Airport Aboard Flight #427 (American Airlines)
5:29 p.m.	Arrive Syracuse
	You will be met by Edward Brown, Students Afro-American Society, Syracuse University
8:00 p.m.	Speech - Syracuse University
10:15 p.m.	Depart Syracuse Aboard Flight #744 (American Airlines)
11:08 p.m.	Arrive LaGuardia Airport

Tueday, December 12, 1967

[redacted].

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Thursday, December 14, 1967

1:30 p.m. Meeting with Dr. Martin Luther King (Americana Hotel)
Lincoln Lynch, Roy Innis, Ken Simmons to accompany
Subject: U.S. Olympics

7:30 p.m. Depart LaGuardia Airport Aboard American Airlines Flight #397

8:29 p.m. Arrive Washington, D.C.

Friday, December 15, 1967

10:00 a.m. Speech - Howard University

1:30 p.m. Depart Washington, D.C. Aboard American Airlines Flight #458

2:29 p.m. Arrive LaGuardia Airport

Saturday, December 16, 1967

4:00 p.m. Mr. Montiero (Here at the office)

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Monday, December 18, 1967

10:00 a.m. Bob Nelson, student from Adelphi University, will meet you here at the office for drive to Adelphi University.

11:15 a.m. Press Conference arranged for you by members of the Adelphi University, Public Relations Department.

12:00 p.m. Luncheon arranged by students.

12:30 p.m. Speech - Adelphi University

6:00 p.m. Mr. J. Levy, from Radio News International will meet you at Frank's.

Tuesday, December 19, 1967

3:30 p.m. Depart LaGuardia Airport aboard flight #558 (American Airlines)

4:19 p.m. Arrive Boston

You will be met at the airport by a Lawrence B. Joseph or Walter S. Mossberg, members of the Social and Political Action Committee, Brandeis University Student Council.

6:00 p.m. Dinner arranged by students.
8:00 p.m. Speech - Brandeis University
11:00 p.m. Depart Boston aboard flight #535 (American Airlines)

11:48 p.m. Arrive LaGuardia

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Wednesday, January 3, 1968

8:00 a.m.	Walden School
10:30 a.m.	Jesse Gray
1:30 p.m.	Mrs. Harris - Book on Black Power - Frank's
2:00 p.m.	Staff Meeting

Thursday, January 4, 1968

9:30 a.m.	Ben Wright at Office
3:30 p.m.	Depart Kennedy Airport via American Airlines Flight #748
4:12 p.m.	Arrive Hartford

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Thursday, January 4, 1968

9:30 a.m.	Ben Wright at Office
3:30 p.m.	Depart Kennedy Airport via American Airlines Flight #748
4:12 p.m.	Arrive Hartford
	You will be met by Andrew Cohen, Chairman of the Students Events Committee - Wesleyan University
5:30 p.m.	You will be honored by a cocktail party - Gamma Phi Chapter of Delta Kappa Epsilson Fraternity
6:30 p.m.	Dinner - compliments of fraternity members
8:30 p.m.	Speech - Wesleyan University
11:50 p.m.	Depart Hartford via Eastern Airlines Flight #527
12:31 p.m.	Arrive Kennedy Airport

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Thursday, January 11, 1968

1:45 p.m.	Depart Kennedy Airport Aboard Flight #968 (Northeast Airlines)
3:44 p.m.	Arrive Lebanon, N.H.
	You will be met by Woody Lee, President of the Afro-American Society of Darthmouth College
6:00 p.m.	Dinner with Afro-American Society Students
8:00 p.m.	Speech - Darthmouth College
	You will be spending the night at Hanover Inn, Hanover, N.H. Tel: #603-643-4300

Friday, January 12, 1968

9:25 a.m.	Depart Lebanon Aboard Flight #955 (Northeast Airlines)
11:23 a.m.	Arrive LaGuardia Airport
2250 p.m.	Depart LaGuardia Airport Aboard Flight #385 (American Airlines)
4:11 p.m.	Arrive Cleveland (Constitutional Convention - Jan. 12-14)
	Reservations made at the Holiday Inn Hotel, 16501 Brookpark,Rd, Brookpark, Ohio. Holiday Inn is five (5) miles from Cleveland Hopkins Airport.
8:00 p.m.	NAC Members will convene in a Conference room at Holiday Inn.

Sunday, January 14, 1968

4:00 p.m.	Depart Cleveland Aboard Flight #370 (American Airlines)
5:12 p.m.	Arrive LaGuardia Airport
	(Contact # in Cleveland is Arthur Evans, First Vice Chairman, 1166 E. 105th St., Cleveland, Ohio, Phone: 216-791-2111 (Office) 216-541-8122 (Home)

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Wednesday, January 31, 1968

9:30 a.m. Depart Pennsylvania Railroad Station

10:56 a.m. Arrive North Philadelphia Station

You will be met by Brother Daniel Burke, Director of General Lecture Series
LaSalle University (215-848-8300) Ext. 205

11:30 a.m. Press Conference - News Services Department - LaSalle University

12:30 p.m. Speech - LaSalle University

Introduction to speech given by Mr. John McNelis, Director of Urban Studies Center

1:00 p.m. Luncheon

3:09 p.m. Depart North Philadelphia Station

4:37 p.m. Arrive New York

(William Mathis, Chairman of Philadelphia CORE informed of your arrival in Philadelphia - (215-PO5-2229)

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Thursday, February 1, 1968

5:00 p.m. Depart LaGuardia Airport American Airlines Flight #309

6:32 p.m. Arrive Detroit

You will be met at the airport by Lonnie Peek, Chairman of the Association of Black Students - Wayne State University. (313) 833-1400 - Ext. 7258

7:30 p.m. Speech - Association of Black Students - Wayne State University

Draft of Program entitled MAKING THE URBAN UNIVERSITY RELEVANT TO THE BLACK COMMUNITY is attached.

10:20 p.m. Depart Detroit aboard United Airlines Flight #86

11:28 p.m. Arrive Philadelphia

12:15 a.m. Depart Philadelphia aboard Eastern Airlines Flight #126

12:45 a.m. Arrive Kennedy Airport

(You will be meeting with members of Detroit CORE.)

Friday, February 2, 1968

10:00 a.m. Merle McCurdy - President's Commission on Civil Disorders
U.S. Court House, Foley Square, Room 3001

5:00 p.m. Mayor Lindsay -

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Wednesday, February 7, 1968

2:00 p.m. Press Conference - 117th Street and Lenox Avenue - West Side
At the Corner

6:00 p.m. Taping - "Crime In The Streets"
WNEW, 205 East 67th Street, Studio 5
New York, N. Y. 10021
Tel: 212-535-1000

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Friday, February 9, 1968

6:16 p.m. Depart LaGuardia Airport Aboard United Airlines Flight #633

8:05 p.m. Arrive Kansas City - RAC meeting - Kansas City CORE Chapter

You will be met at the airport by Alvin L. Brooks, Chairman Kansas City Chapter of CORE, 1505 E. 12th Street, Kansas City, Mo. (BA1-8212)

10:00 p.m. Speech - Rally will be held at the Gregg Community Center, 1600 E. 17th Terrace, Kansas City, Mo.
Specific reference should be made to Voger Registration, Open Occupancy and Negro History Week (Feb. 11-17) in your presentation.

Reception will follow rally.

Press conference to be held some time between Friday evening and Saturday morning.

RAC delegates will be housed at Carver Hotel, 2606 Troost Avenue, (HA1-8748)

Saturday, February 10, 1968

9:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon Workshop - Kansas City CORE Chapter

1:35 p.m. Depart Kansas City Aboard United Airlines Flight #350

4:50 p.m. Arrive LaGuardia Airport

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Monday, February 12, 1968

1:00 p.m. Marie Shaw, McGraw Hill - Frank's

3:00 p.m. Attorney William Chance, 408 W. 145 St., New York, N. Y. 281-2000

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Thursday, February 15, 1968

Inquire at American Airlines Ticket Counter for prepaid ticket #081561423 issued by Travel Headquaters Travel Agency - Mrs. Freeman - TN7-4074

3:00 p.m. Depart Kennedy Airport Aboard American Airlines Flight #31

4:37 p.m. Arrive Columbus, Ohio

You will be met by James Steele, Chairman of Negro History Week for brief flight to Athens, Ohio.

6:00 p.m. Dinner

8:00 p.m. Speech - Ohio University
Person-in-Charge: Mr. Harry Royal - 614-594-5327

Student reception will follow speech.

You will be remaining overnight at the Ohio University Inn.

Friday, February 16, 1968

11:44 a.m. Depart Columbus Aboard Delta Airlines Flight #432

12:45 p.m. Arrive Detroit

1:25 p.m. Depart Detroit Aboard North Central Airlines Flight #345

2:49 p.m. Arrive Greenbay

You will be met by Mr. Robert Conway, Faculty Member for trip to West de Pere.

3:30 p.m. WBAY-TV (CBS) - Interview

4:00 p.m. Informal coffee hour with students of St. Norbert College.

5:30 p.m. Dinner

7:30 p.m. Meet with local newspaperman on campus

8:15 p.m. Speech - St. Norbert College
Person-in-Charge: Miss Peggy Moran - 414-336-3888

You will be remaining overnight at the Holiday Inn.

Saturday, February 17, 1968

8:50 a.m. Depart Greenbay Aboard North Central Airlines Flight #450.

9:34 a.m. Arrive Chicago

10:34 a.m. Depart Chicago Aboard TWA Flight #422

1:11 p.m. Arrive LaGuardia

Saturday, February 17, 1968

8:00 p.m. Special Events Committee Party - Your home

Sunday, February 18, 1968

9:30 a.m. Richard Fulton will pick you up at your home.

10:00 a.m. New York Federation of Reform Synagogues
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. - 249-0100
& 65th Street
Seminar Title - "Black Power and Jewish Response"

12:15 p.m. Luncheon

Irving Faim will be present at this seminar.

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Monday, February 19, 1968

10:30 a.m. Mr. Schoener - Metropolitan Museum
Subject: Harlem on My Mind

2:00 p.m. Look Magazine
Subject: Urban Problem Solution

Tuesday, February 20, 1968

4:45 p.m. Depart Kennedy Airport Aboard Northwest Airlines Flight #221

6:31 p.m. Arrive Minneapolis

You will be met at the airport by Mr. Jon Wendt.

8:00 p.m. Speech - Macalester College
Subject: "The Negro Vote and the Two-Party System"

Wednesday, February 21, 1968

7:00 a.m. Depart Minneapolis Aboard Northwest Airlines Flight #200

10:17 a.m. Arrive Kennedy

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Wednesday, February 21, 1968

11:00 a.m. **Mrs. B. Edwards, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Ferguson**
IS 201

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Thursday, February 22, 1968

12:00 p.m. Depart LaGuardia Airport Aboard United Airlines Flight #321

4:23 p.m. Arrive Denver

You will be met by Mr. William Laws. (303-351-2677)

6:00 p.m. Dinner

8:00 p.m. Speech - Colorado State College

Friday, February 23, 1968

1:10 a.m. Depart Denver Aboard United Airlines Flight #178

6:25 a.m. Arrive Kennedy Airport

7:10 a.m. Depart Kennedy Aboard United Airlines Flight #48

8:00 a.m. Arrive Boston

8:40 a.m. Depart Boston Aboard Northeast Airlines Flight #902

9:18 a.m. Arrive Portland

You will be met by Virgil H. Logan, Chairman Bowdoin Undergraduate Civil Rights Organization

4:00 p.m. Speech - Bowdoin College

6:45 p.m. Depart Portland Aboard Northeast Flight #921

7:23 p.m. Arrive Boston

8:00 p.m. Depart Boston Aboard Northeast Flight #529

8:48 p.m. Arrive LaGuardia

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Saturday, February 24, 1968

9:00 a.m.	Depart LaGuardia Airport Aboard American Airlines Flight #321
10:10 a.m.	Arrive Chicago You will be met at O'Hare Airport by Jim Carter of the Black Caucus Unitarian Church.
12:30 p.m.	Speech - National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc. Place: Loyola University (Downtown Building) Marquette Center Building - Georgetown Room 2nd floor 820 North Rush Street, Chicago, Ill. Person-in-Charge: Mrs. Sherry B. Goodman, Assoc. Program Director (312-CE6-9272) Topic: "Conflict '68 - Black/White: Is Community Possible?"
2:15 p.m.	"Kup's Show" - WBKB-TV Channel 7 (ABC-Network) 190 North State Street, Chicago, Ill. Person-in-Charge: Mr. Paul Frumkin - AN3-0800
3:30 p.m.	Speech - Black Caucus Unitarian Church Hotel Windamere, 110 Arlington St., Chicago, Ill. Person-in-Charge: Mr. Jim Carter
9:00 p.m.	Depart Chicago Aboard American Airlines Flight #152
11:43 p.m.	Arrive LaGuardia Airport

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Tuesday, February 27, 1968

11:00 a.m. Mr. Vandervat, London Times
Interview: Civil Rights, Militancy, Prospects for Summer 68

2:00 p.m. Ed Cumberbatch, Newsweek Magazine
Interview: Report of President's Commission on Civil Disorders

4:30 p.m. Israel Yost will meet you at the office for trip to Upsala College, East Orange, N. J.

6:00 p.m. Dinner - Student Council - Upsala College

8:00 p.m. Speech - Upsala College - Broadcast of speech by college. Tape of speech to follow.

9:00 p.m. Student question and answer period.

Wednesday, February 28, 1968

11:00 a.m. John Wale, U.P.I. British Television
Interview: Report of President's Commission on Civil Disorders

2:00 p.m. Richard Townley - WNEW-TV
Filmed Interview: Report of President's Commission on Civil Disorders

6:00 p.m. Mr. Ira Fish from Englewood Jewish Community Center will meet you at the office for trip to Englewood, N. J.

6:30 p.m. Dinner

8:30 p.m. Speech - Englewood Jewish Community Center.

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Thursday, February 29, 1968

10:00 a.m. — Jackson Lombe - Job Prospect

12:00 p.m. — Bill Booth - Frank's

Friday, March 1, 1968

9:00 a.m. — Irene Herman
Ralph Davis

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Monday, March 18, 1968

3:30 p.m. Depart LaGuardia Airport Aboard Trans World Airlines Flight #435

4:38 p.m. Arrive O'Hare Airport (Chicago)

You will be met by Mr. Ernest Berndt for trip to Valparaiso, Ind.

6:00 p.m. Dinner

8:30 p.m. Speech - Valparaiso University
Topic: "The Black Student Movement"

Arrangements have been made at the Holiday Inn.

Tuesday, March 19, 1968

8:00 a.m. Depart Midway Airport Aboard United Airlines Flight #570

10:35 a.m. Arrive LaGuardia Airport

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Saturday, March 23, 1968

1:20 p.m. Depart Kennedy Airport Aboard Delta Airlines Flight #827

3:34 p.m. Arrive Atlanta

You will be met at the airport by Antonio L. Thomas, Chapter Chairman of Law Student's Civil Rights Research Council Conference.

Tel: (404) 377-8354

6:00 p.m. Speech - Emory University
Law Students Civil Rights Research Council Conference
Topic: "Civil Rights, Politics, and Poverty in Urban Areas -- The Law Students' Role"

11:45 p.m. Depart Atlanta Aboard Delta Airlines Flight #918

1145 p.m. Arrive Kennedy Airport

Note: Prepaid ticket is at the Delta Airlines Ticket Counter at Kennedy.

Lloyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Tuesday, March 26, 1968

4:00 p.m. Depart Kennedy Airport Aboard Mohawk Airlines Flight #217

5:21 p.m. Arrive Ithaca

You will be met by Professor John Ryan of the Political Science Department.

6:00 p.m. Dinner

8:00 p.m. Speech - Ithaca College

Wednesday, March 27, 1968

9:00 a.m. Depart Ithaca Aboard Mohawk Airlines Flight #204

10:44 a.m. Arrive Kennedy Airport

Floyd B. McKissick

ITINERARY

Wednesday, April 17, 1968

9:15 a.m. — Depart JFK Airport Aboard Northwest Airlines Flight #7

12:04 p.m. — Arrive Seattle
You will be met by Eric Johnson, President of Political Union

12:30 p.m. — Speech - University of Washington (Seattle) $750
206-543-2100

7:00 p.m. — Speech - Seattle CORE
206-543-8731
Person-in-Charge: Mrs. Frances White
Tel: 206-EA3-1255

Thursday, April 18, 1968

12:30 p.m. — Speech - Seattle Community College $500

~~4:00 p.m. — Speech - Western Washington State College~~
~~Bellingham, Wash.~~
~~Transportation arrangements between Seattle and Bellingham have been made by car.~~
Hotel arrangement have been made by Univ. of Wash.
~~Hotel arrangements have been made by University of Washington~~

Friday, April 19, 1968

9:00 a.m. — Depart Seattle Aboard Braniff Airlines Flight #181

2:15 p.m. — Arrive Dallas

4:35 p.m. — Depart Dallas Aboard Trans Texas Airlines Flight #906

6:48 p.m. — Arrive Baton Rouge, La.

8:00 p.m. — Speech - Southern University Law School ✓ - $750
Person-in-Charge: Robert Ames
Tel: 504-775-6300 Ext. 212
504-343-7161

Hotel arrangements have been made by Southern University Law School.

Saturday, April 20, 1968

11:53 a.m. — Depart Baton Rouge Aboard Trans Texas Airlines Flight #914

12:43 p.m. — Arrive Houston

2:55 p.m. — Depart Houston Aboard Trans Texas Airlines Flight #411

3:52 p.m. — Arrive Austin

You will be met by Shirley Bird Perry - 512-GR1-3616
512-GR2-3625

4:00 p.m. Speech - University of Texas ✓ - #750

11:15 p.m. Depart Austin Aboard Braniff Airlines Flight #294

11:56 p.m. Arrive Dallas

Hotel arrangements have been made by the University of Texas at Dallas Airport.

Sunday, April 21, 1968

~~10:45~~ 10:15 a.m. Depart Dallas Aboard American Airlines Flight ~~#102 *~~ 94 ~~(See Below)~~

12:39 p.m. Arrive ~~Chicago~~ St. Louis
You will be met by Homer G. Randolph, Chairman, East St. Louis CORE

3:00 p.m. Speech - East St. Louis CORE

7:05 p.m. Depart Chicago Aboard TWA Flight #460

9:50 p.m. Arrive LaGuardia

~~*You are wait listed on the American Airlines Flight #102 from Dallas to Chicago. You are also wait listed on Braniff Airlines Flight #126. Please have confirmation of either of these flights upon your arrival in Dallas and have your ticket re-endorsed.~~

Floyd B. McKissick

I T I N E R A R Y

Friday, April 19, 1968

2:15 p.m. Depart Newark Airport Aboard Delta Flight #929

4:08 p.m. Arrive New Orleans

6:35 p.m. Leave New Orleans Delta Flight #415 (Stand By)

7:06 p.m. Arrive Baton Rouge

7:30 p.m. Leave New Orleans Southern Airlines Flight #396 (Confirmed)

7:59 p.m. Arrive Baton Rouge

8:00 p.m. Speech - Southern University Law School
Person-in-Charge: Robert Ames
Tel: 504-775-6300 Ext. 212
504-343-7161

Hotel arrangements have been made by Southern University Law School

Saturday, April 20, 1968

11:53 p.m. Depart Baton Rouge Aboard Trans Texas Airlines Flight #914 (Canceled)

12:43 p.m. Arrive Houston

2:55 p.m. Depart Houston Aboard Trans Texas Airlines Flight #411

3:52 p.m. Arrive Austin

You will be met by Shirley Bird Perry - 512-GR1-3616
512-GR2-3625

4:00 p.m. Speech - University of Texas

11:15 p.m. Depart Austin Aboard Braniff Airlines Flight #294

11:56 p.m. Arrive Dallas

Hotel arrangements have been made by the University of Texas at Dallas Airport.

Sunday, April 21, 1968

10:15 a.m. Depart Dallas Aboard American Airlines Flight #94

12:39 p.m. Arrive St. Louis

You will be met by Homer G. Randolph, Chairman, East St. Louis CORE

3:00 p.m. Speech - East St. Louis CORE

6:30 p.m. Depart St. Louis Aboard Eastern Flight #88

9:50 p.m. Arrive LaGuardia

November 20, 1967

Irvin Booker, Esq.
790 Broad Street
Newark, N. J.

Dear Mr. Booker:

This letter is to confirm the arrangements and agreements made with you Friday in regard to the above-named case.

1. You, as chief counsel will direct the strategy and conduct of the above case and you would be the sole counsel representing Mr. Jones.

2. That I will assist you when requested to do so.

3. That it was your preference not to be associated with other attorneys at this time who would actively participate in the case.

4. It is your request that other attorneys representing organizations file amicus curiae briefs and that copies of such briefs be presented to you prior to filing of same.

5. That CORE and other organizations could best serve by functioning in fund-raising capacities to help defray the expense of Mr. Jones' defense.

The above-five points would appear to cover our conversation. Such directions by you as chief counsel place limitations on our responsibility and certainly increase your responsibility. My thinking on the matter was that CORE, having access to some of the finest constitutional law minds in the country could gather these lawyers around you for the purpose of aiding you in planning strategy, writing briefs and appearing with you in arguments on the appellate level. Since you seem to be

Irving Booker, Esq.

undesirous of attaining such aid, I felt it incumbent to apprise you and Messrs. Jones of the limitations that are being placed upon providing Leroi with the best legal assistance.

You will note, therefore, that I am sending a copy of our agreements to Mr. LeRoi Jones, Jr., and Mr. LeRoi Jones, Sr., in order that they might be advised that we have met and to inform them of the contents of our conversation and the conclusions reached so that they might know the limitations placed upon our participation by you.

Yours truly,

George M. Alexis
Staff Counsel

GMA:pr

cc - LeRoi Jones, Jr., LeRoi Jones, Sr.

IRVIN B. BOOKER
COUNSELLOR AT LAW
790 BROAD STREET
NEWARK, NEW JERSEY 07102

TELEPHONE: 622-5877

Leroi Jones

NOV 27 1967

November 22, 1967

Core
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030

Attention: Mr. George M. Alexis
Staff Counsel

Dear Mr. Alexis:

I received your letter today dated November 20, 1967 regarding our conference on Friday, November 17, 1967. The content of said letter indicates that we do not have a clear understanding as to what role Core shall maintain in its effort to assist with the Jones' matter.

In view of the foregoing, Leroi Jones and myself look forward to your planned appearance in my office on Friday, November 24, 1967 so that we may have a fuller discussion with regard to assistance to be rendered by Core.

If you find that you are unable to appear on Friday as has occurred on several occasions in the past, please notify me at your earliest convenience.

Very truly yours,

Irvin B. Booker

IBB/ms

DEC 8 1967

Tel. 865-3300

HARYOU-ACT, Inc. 2092 SEVENTH AVENUE / NEW YORK, N. Y. 10027

December 7, 1967

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
National Director,
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Here is the list of Black writers that might be willing to associate themselves with the LeRoi Jones Defense Rally.

Sincerely,

Wendell Jeanpierre

WJ:tm
Enc.

Wendell Jeanpierre
Publicity Department
Neighborhood Boards

BLACK WRITERS:

1. KEITH E. BAIRD
345 Clinton Avenue
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11238

2. MARY K. DELANY
70 LaSalle
New York, N.Y. 10027

3. MILDRED YOUNG
40-15 10th Street
Long Island City, N.Y. 11101

4. LOU WHEATON
612 West 143rd Street
New York 31, New York

5. MILDRED T. JORDAN
405 Edgecombe Ave. (5C)
N.Y. N.Y. 10032

6. WILL & MARY ALEXANDER
1470 Amsterdam Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10027 (926-0284)

7. JOHN H. CLARKE
233 West 137th Street
N.Y. 30, N.Y. (862-8187)

8. LENNOX RAPHAEL
225 East 7th St. (Apt. 4)
New York, New York

9. FREDERICK D. RICHARDSON
870 Nostrand Avenue
Brooklyn, New York 11225

10. WILTON GEORGE
3784 Tenth Avenue (Apt. 1-H)
New York, N.Y. 10034

NEWS RELEASE

Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030
(212) 281-9650

Callis N. Brown
Director of Community
and Intergroup Relations

Le Roy Jones

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

January 5, 1968

CORE DEPLORES JAILING OF BLACK MILITANT POET-PLAYWRIGHT LE ROI JONES

New York - Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality, today blasted the jailing of Black militant poet-playwright, LeRoi Jones, Barry Wynn, Black militant actor, and Charles McCray, Black militant accountant, terming the action "a miscarriage of truth" and a "political lynching."

Jones was sentenced on January 4th, to two and a half to three years in the New Jersey State Penitentiary and fined $1,000 for illegal possession of weapons during the Newark rebellions last summer.

The sentence, being virtually the maximum, carries no probation, and was handed down by Essex County Judge Leon W. Kapp.

Barry Wynn, received a nine month county jail sentence, nine months probation and a $250 fine.

Charles McCray, was sentenced to twelve months in the Essex County jail, six months probation and fined $500.

Jones, Wynn, and McCray were arrested last July 14th, at 2:30 A.M. while passing through a Newark ghetto area, in a vehicle owned by Jones. Police claim that they found two loaded revolvers and a box

of ammunition upon searching the vehicle.

All three were found guilty on November 6th, after trial before Judge Kapp in the Morris County Courthouse in Morristown. The trial was held outside Newark after a motion for change of venue requested by Jones' attorney, which was granted.

McKissick, who pledged the support of CORE to Jones and his co-defendants, upon their request and the request of their families and their counsel, has again maintained a previous position to the effedt that their imprisonment stemmed not from acts committed that are universally held to be outside the pattern of accepted human behavior, but rather that their acts were deemed criminal in the context of the political experience of the day.

McKissick has also charged that the Black man has been a political prisoner in America since the moment of birth.

By virtue of his birth the Black man has committed a criminal act in the light of current political expediency. White American hass attempted, for many years, to castigate and eliminate the Black man from American society, in any manner possible.

McKissick further stated that the jailing of Jones and others clearly does not represent the epitome of equal justice under America's system of legal jurisprudence. Questions raised prior to sentencing were serious and germaine to the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States, the Fourth Amendment, and the Due Process, Equal Protection, and Privileges and Immunities Clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

CONGRESS OF
CORE
RACIAL EQUALITY

working to create a society in which all men are equal

200 WEST 135th STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10030
281-9650

Floyd B. McKissick
national director
Lincoln O. Lynch
associate director

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chairman
Arthur Evans, Jr.
first vice-chairman
Solomon Herbert
second vice-chairman
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Goodwin Watson
Joseph Willen
Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman

January 23, 1968

M E M O R A N D U M

RE: State vs. LeRoi Jones, et al

TO: Mr. LeRoi Jones — 33 Sterling St., Newark, N.J.
Mr. LeRoi Jones, Sr. — 381 Broad St., Newark, N.J.
Mr. Barry Wynn — 56 W. 117th St., N.Y., N.Y.
Mr. Charles McCray — 33 Sterling St., Newark, N.J.
Irvin Booker, Esq. — 790 Broad St., Newark, N.J.
George Alexis, Esq. — 200 W. 135th St., N.Y., N.Y.
William Kuntsler, Esq. — 511 Fifth Ave., N.Y., N.Y.
William Chance, Esq. — 408 W. 145th St., N.Y., N.Y.
George Logan, Esq. — Court Lawyers Council —
Market St., N.J.

FROM: Floyd B. McKissick, Esq., National Director, CORE, Inc.

We were successful in getting the defendants out on Bond. We must now proceed with the appeal. What we must do in the days ahead is of extreme importance and how we must do it is of equal importance. In order that efforts be joint and coordinated, I am suggesting a meeting of all parties and their attorneys on the 27th day of January, 1968 at 1:00 p.m., at my office. Kindly advise if this date and time are agreeable by returning the enclosed envelope.

Leroy Jones

RETAINER AGREEMENT

The undersigned does hereby retain the services of Irvin B. Booker, Esq and Calvin J. Hurd Esq. to represent Everett Leroi JOnes, Charles McCray and Barry Wynn jointly as co-Counsel for the aforementioned co-Defendants and to act as their attorneys, to initiate and pursue all lawful measures and proceedings in their behalf in an appeal from a Judgment of Conviction entered on Indictment No. 2220-66 November 6, 1967, and from sentence imposed in connection with said conviction on January 4, 1968.

In consideration for the services to be rendered by Mr. Booker and Mr. Hurd, I and we hereby promise and agree to pay to them the sum of Eight thousand dollars ($8,000.00) as legal fees, exclusive of all costs, expenses, and disbursements expended in behalf of said Appeal.

It is clearly understood and hereby acknowledged that because of the circumstances of the charges (NJSA 2A: 151-41) and the conviction and sentence in this case, results on outcome of Appeal cannot be predicted nor guaranteed by Mr. Booker or Mr. Hurd and such result or outcome is not a condition of this Retainer Agreement.

I do hereby make, constitute, and appoint the said Irvin B. Booker and Calvin J. Hurd, my true and lawful attorneys, granting unto tehm the full power and authority to do and perform all and every cact whatsoever requisite and necessary to be done as fully and to all intents and purposes as the Defendants', Jones, McCray and Wynn might and could do if personally present, with full power af substitution and revocation, hereby confirming and satisfying all of which my said attorneys' or their substitutes shall lawfully do or cause to be done by them thereto.

_____

Dated:

B.
IRVIN BOOKER
790 Broad St
Newark NJ - 201-622-5877
RM 606

Dear Brother

During the rebellion in Newark, N.J., the police brutally beat and arrested Charles McCray, Barry Wynn, and poet-playwright, LeRoi Jones. They were then charged with possession of weapons.

With no evidence whatsoever, LeRoi Jones and his two companions have been tried and convicted. I repeat, there was no evidence that these men had ever so much as seen these weapons before. The newscasters and papers have never told that part of the story; that they were convicted on the basis of attitudes and opinions rather than facts.

The policemen who claim to have found weapons in Mr. Jones' car are the same ones who administered the brutal beatings without cause, and are the same policemen who testified against the defendants (each with a different story). The court chose to believe these policemen who said they never touched the men, despite many eye-witnesses who testified on behalf of the defendants.

How can this kind of thing happen; How can we allow it to continue?

It is imperative that this case be appealed to a higher court. There must be some kind of justice in this country. In order to make this appeal we must raise $20,000 in the next few weeks, as these three men are to be sentenced on November 28th.

If you're not the one for "marching" or "sitting-in", wont you please help in another way? Please send whatever you can, every dollar will help. "The pen is mightier than the sword..."

May we thank you in advance for your consideration.

Respectfully,

Sandra Lee

Forward Funds To:
LeRoi Jones-Defense Fund
% CORE Nat. Ofc. [redacted]
200 W. 135th St.
NYC NY

Chapter VI

American Liberalism and Black Power

by

Arnold S. Kaufman
Department of Philosophy
University of Michigan

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NOT FOR PUBLICATION IN ANY FORM WITHOUT PERMISSION OF THE AUTHOR

Chapter 6.

American Liberalism and Black Power

For ~~approximately the first~~ about a decade American liberals and the more militant proponents of civil rights have enjoyed a kind of honeymoon. But ~~the advent~~ emergence of the Black Power Movement has ~~brought to the surface~~ surfaced disagreements long latent within liberal groups—a fact not unfamiliar to black civil rights leaders.

~~At times, liberal politics~~ Some liberal critics of Black Power seem to ~~deplore~~ lament little more than the slogan itself. More thoughtful commentators ~~belabor~~ censure Black Power advocates for ~~supposedly abandoning~~ alleged abandonment of coalition politics. Still others view Black Power leaders as racist demagogues who ~~seek, above all else,~~ mainly aim to foment violence and disorder. And underlying ~~a good deal of the~~ much of the hostility currently ~~extant~~ expressed by white liberals is a sense of virtue unrewarded—the feeling that they have given their all for civil rights only to be thrown ~~on~~ upon a scrap heap of histrionics.

~~Nevertheless~~ Yet, when ~~the~~ central tendencies of the Black Power Movement are viewed from the liberal perspective defined in what has gone before, it ~~is possible to show~~ can be shown, not ~~only~~ just that those tendencies ~~express~~ convey liberal themes, but that their ~~emergence marks~~ appearance is a triumph, ~~rather than~~ not a failure, ~~of~~ for American liberalism. For the advocates of Black Power have taken the rhetoric of liberalism more seriously than many liberals intended ~~that they should~~ evidently it to be taken.

~~The best way to show this thesis is~~ This can best be demonstrated by explaining the essential theoretical and strategic conceptions that underlie the Black Power Movement—not through interpretations provided by uncomprehending white newspapermen ~~who are uncomprehending~~—but by ~~paying attention~~ attending to what principal defenders of Black Power ~~have said and done~~ say and do when they ~~have been~~ thinking and acting most reflectively.

~~Of fundamental importance as background is an assessment of~~ We must first assess what the more conventional civil rights movement has achieved to date. Floyd McKissick,

national director of CORE (the Congress of Racial Equality), has put matters in the following way:

> The Civil Rights Movement...was concerned with the ten percent of the black people in this country and the Black Revolution (by which McKissick means the Black Power Movement) will be concerned with the ninety per cent who are not able to leave ghettoes for integrated neighborhoods because they are not mobile, for many reasons. They are trapped by society and downed (sic) for being trapped.[1]

~~It doesn't matter~~ ~~Whether~~ McKissick is right in claiming that the civil rights movement was only concerned to aid a minority of Negroes, ~~it is undoubtedly true~~ For it is certain that only a minority actually received significant aid during the last decade of effort. Even Bayard Rustin, one of the ablest critics of the Black Power Movement, ~~critics~~, admits as much and more. He recently wrote:

> It may in the light of the many juridical and legislative victories which have been achieved in the past few years, seem strange that despair should be so widespread among Negroes today. But anyone to whom it seems strange should reflect on the fact that despite these victories Negroes today are in worse economic shape, live in worse slums, and attend more highly segregated schools than in 1954.[2]

In other words, despite the Civil Rights Movement's many successes, considered in relation to the prodigious disabilities of most ~~of~~ American Negroes, the surface has hardly been scratched. ~~Moreover,~~ By and large it is those who live in the most segregated Negro communities whose lives have been touched least by the progress that has been made. ~~They are~~ These multitudes pressed together as they are, ~~and therefore can~~ do little but huddle together in ~~the~~ their ghettoes—the worst slums ~~that exist~~ in affluent America. ~~It does not really matter~~ Whether they constitute ninety, eighty, or seventy percent of all American Negroes ~~does not~~ is unimportant. ~~What is important is that they do~~ The paramount fact is that this ghetto host does comprise an overwhelming majority. From their perspective the choice between more of the same and Black Power

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[1] "The Civil Rights Movement is Dead—Long Live the Black Revolution," an unpublished manuscript--to be published in Ramparts Magazine, p. 13.

[2] "'Black Power' and Coalition Politics," in Commentary Magazine, September, 1966, p. 37 (emphasis is Rustin's).

poses momentous issues about which men of equally good will may reasonably differ—or so I will argue.

To understand fully the political implications of the fact that so many have achieved the appearance, but not the reality of meaningful human gains, consider the following question. What have four centuries of slavery, then serfdom, then existence in segregated communities dominated by White Power done to the typical ghetto-dweller? Before everything else it has ~~produced~~ caused what Stokeley Carmichael ~~has described~~ describes as "psychological inequality." That is to say, too many of America's black citizens have been made [redacted] to be inferior in wealth, status, and power, and hence ~~in the past have been made also~~ to feel inferior to their white masters. They have, accordingly, been made to feel dependent, to lack appropriate self-esteem and confidence in their ability to shape their lives according to their own deliberative choices. (Here I distinguish between pride—which such people have amply—and that adequate evaluation of one's self which is appropriate self-esteem.) In brief, though freed from slavery, they have not often enough been freed from slavishness.

The consequences of these conditions of the spirit are momentous. Feeling inferior, many have vented their inevitable rage on members of their own communities—the very people to whom they should be turning for consolation and for aid in their struggle. Jealousy and envy engulf some to such an extent that, rather than helping fellow black men to secure important public offices, they [redacted] actually prefer continued domination by their white tormentors. ~~In fact,~~ They often deplore [redacted] enhancement of status, power, or income that falls to a fellow black man. Conversely, those who do rise ~~within the white or black community~~ often guard what their gains ~~have gained~~ ruthlessly. ~~They may~~ Some even assume the white man's social role, and manipulatively help to ~~maintain the system of contradictions~~ sustain an oppressive system by ~~manipulatively~~ encouraging envy and jealousy. For

this ~~they are rewarded by~~ reward them dominant whites with effusive praise and modest emoluments. ~~Certainly legitimate~~ Understandable fear also shapes such preferences. ~~Here~~ ~~over~~ But it is ~~always~~ difficult ~~and sometimes impossible~~ to distinguish such fear from envy, jealousy, ~~and status lust~~ or lust for high status. ~~But~~ And, in any event, the pleasures of ~~enhanced status~~ vain eminence require misery, and misery ~~likes~~ loves company—something that is true of all men, not just white men.[1] And there is this general truth to reckon with.

And so life for most American Negroes moves in a circle that is literally vicious—~~unequal deprivation in their~~ odious conditions of existence producing psychological inequality that ~~in turn functions to contribute to~~ intern strengthens ~~these~~ the very forces that oppress ~~them~~ in the first place. The only way to make ~~such a~~ the flight from manliness even minimally tolerable is to practice deception—deception of the white man, but, above all, self-deception.

~~This is~~ So it is always ~~the way~~ with human beings subject to ~~explosive~~ tyrannical force they can do little about.—~~W. E. B. Dubois perceived the condition keenly when,~~ (as W. E. B. Dubois perceived) ~~more than~~ more than sixty years ago, ~~he wrote the following in his classic, Souls of Black Folk.~~ recently ~~put it this way in the following~~ in this amazingly prophetic passage:

> Deception is the natural defence of the weak against the strong, and the South used it for many years against its conquerors; to-day it must be prepared to see its black proletariat turn that same two-edged weapon against itself. And how natural this is! ...Political defence is becoming less and less available, and economic defence is still only partially effective. But there is a patent defence at hand—the defence of deception and flattery, of cajoling and lying. It is the same defence which peasants of the Middle Ages used and which left its stamp on their character for centuries. To-day the young Negro of the South who would succeed cannot be frank and outspoken, honest and self-assertive, but rather he is daily tempted to be silent and wary, politic and sly; he must flatter and be pleasant, endure petty insults with a smile, shut his eyes to wrong; in too many cases he sees positive personal advantage in deception and lying. His real thoughts, his real aspirations, must be guarded in whispers;

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[1] This situation occurs fairly commonly in the Blackbelt of the South. Thus, recently, a well qualified black candidate for sheriff in an Alabama county in which Negroes enjoyed an overwhelming majority, was actually opposed in a primary by many leaders of the black community, though his loss would have meant continuation in office of a segregationist appointed by Governor George Wallace.

> he must not criticise, he must not complain. Patience, humility, and adroitness must, in these growing black youth, replace impulse, manliness, and courage. With this sacrifice there is an economic opening, and perhaps peace and some prosperity. Without this there is riot, migration, or crime. Nor is this situation peculiar to the Southern United States, is it not rather the only method by which undeveloped races have gained the right to share modern culture? The price of culture is a Lie.[1]

~~What adjective is that one granular power. Dr Bond~~ ~~There are power and prophecy in this passage.~~ What power and prophecy in this passage! But something has changed. Millions of American Negroes are no longer willing to tolerate a life of deception and self-deception; of submission to White Power. In understanding how this change has come about we also begin to understand, not only the principal triumph of the Civil Rights Movement and of that part of American liberalism that supported its achievements, but also the limitations on what ~~the older forms of~~ conventional civil rights activity can ~~achieve~~, in the future, achieve.

For American Negroes are beginning to break ~~from~~ out of the circle of viciousness. Suddenly many, not ~~only~~ just the fortunate few, are ~~beginning~~ prepared to undergo that psychological transformation without which ~~they can not achieve~~ is unattainable. equal citizenship in freedom. And many ~~of those~~ who were among the first to enjoy the taste of freedom will not rest until all American Negroes are ~~similarly~~ liberated. The rhetoric if not the reality of civil rights progress ~~has permeated~~ permeates the ghettoes of America. And, as always when there is a growing gap between expectation and the actual conditions of one's life, the dialectic of disorder ~~has begun~~ begins to operate with relentless pressure to unsettle the lives of everyone; masters, slaves, and "innocent" bystanders alike. The result is a new leadership, prepared to exploit new possibilities. As Floyd McKissick has put it:

> The process of freedom, itself, is a process of taking possession. It is also a process of learning. It is a process of growth, and the Civil Rights movement gave birth to the leadership which is now able to take part in the black revolution.[2]

Souls of Black Folk [1] From "3 Negro Classics," Avon Library Edition, pp. 347-8.

[2] Op. Cit., p. 5.

Nor are these developments occurring only in Black Power organizations. Within groups like the NAACP and the Southern Leadership Council, the same pressures are being exerted from below; a new leadership is also emerging. All men active in the Civil Rights Movement have begun to reexamine traditional assumptions concerning the desirability of racial integration and of the politics of coalition.

Racial integration has been defended by the following arguments, among others. First, separation makes for inequality; the 'separate but equal' doctrine is a fraud. As Negroes are injured by segregation, they would surely be helped by integration. But second, segregation perpetuates racial prejudice among whites. Whites can not become decent citizens until and unless they are forced to encounter their black countrymen in every sphere of social life. Both arguments are defective.

While integration may be a necessary condition of making better citizens of white men, it is far from a sufficient or even a particularly beneficial condition in many social circumstances. A wag once said that the surest way to destroy the stability of the international system would be by making sure that everyone really did understand one another. Similarly, in the short run, the forced integration of people whose general opportunities and prerogatives are very unequal is likely to confirm whites in their prejudice towards Negroes. It is improbable that whites, already predisposed to judge Negroes on the basis of criteria made for angels rather than men, are going to be particularly impressed by those who have suffered the consequences of four centuries of slavery and serfdom. For one thing, brutal oppression is not likely to develop charm, talent, or benevolence

towards whites. For another, whites are not likely to appreciate the courage, sacrifice, and sustained effort required of Negroes who are willing to break the color barrier.

More important is the problem Stokeley Carmichael articulated when he recently said, ~~that~~ "In the past, white allies have furthered white supremacy without the whites involved realizing it—or wanting it."[1] As another SNCC leader, Charlie Cobb, once put it:

> The one thing SNCC is fighting is white supremacy. We're fighting the paralysis that it has caused among blacks. We've got to get blacks to unlearn that.[2]

The Black Power leaders are chary of the subtle use made, even of programs like the War on Poverty, to perpetuate this psychological bondage. Their fear is legitimate; for whites, even the best intentioned of them, carry in their bones the cultural ~~deposit~~ residue of four centuries of iniquitous exploitation of blacks. In many subtle ways whites express attitudes of superiority that are partly due to the fruits of greater opportunity, partly to the simple fact that social conditions have infected them with habits of command vis-a-vis Negroes. The morally regenerative impact of participation in the civil rights struggle ~~has~~ can only ~~begins~~ begin to undermine such attitudes. If this is true even of those who harbor no ill will, what must be the case for those who do?

Couple these facts with others, already mentioned, about the feelings of inferiority, lack both of self-esteem and of confidence in one's human powers, and we have the recipe for perpetual psychological bondage.

Think then what it means, for example, for a Negro youngster to be thrust forcibly into an integrated school environment. Floyd McKissick has

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[1] "What We Want," in The New York Review of Books, September 22, 1966, p. 6.

[2] From Andrew Kopkind's "The Future of 'Black Power'," in The New Republic, January 7, 1967.

put the point sharply. It is, he observes, a well established fact that self-confidence rooted in control over one's destiny correlates very highly with educational achievement. Suppose now ~~the~~ a Negro youngster suddenly finds himself in an educational community that does not want him to come, and is hostile to him when he arrives. What will happen to that child's "achievement motive?" It would not be surprising to discover, before very long, that he had become either a "dropout" or, because of "disciplinary" problems, a "pushout." "In fact," as McKissick points out, "total reliance

on integration—which amounts to reliance on acceptance by the white man—is at direct odds with that sense of 'control over one's destiny' that ... correlates so directly with achievement."[1]

This is not to argue that integration is never ~~and under any circumstances~~ desirable. Quite the reverse—the virtues of integration have been amply described by those who believe in its power to transform men and institutions. What I have tried to do is detail one clear implication of the fact of psychological inequality on which the Black Power Movement bases so much of its analysis. That is, where such inequality exists, there ~~must~~ is ~~be~~ a presumption against ~~the meaningfulness or the utility of integration~~ integration's being meaningful or useful. The engrained superiority-feelings of whites encounter the equally engrained inferiority-feelings of Negroes. The result, additional despoilment of human spirit. So, for the short run at least, integration is an underexamined, overrated goal of civil rights activity. Separatism may be a defensible tactic for the mass of American Negroes who will it so. At least, this is not a view that ~~can~~ should be unthinkingly rejected by liberals—however committed they may be to integration as a long-term goal.

What of the long run? Here many proponents of Black Power part ways. For there are many who suffer a kind of inverted racism; who are as unrelentingly antagonistic to the thought of integration with white men as many white men are to the thought of integration with black men. Yet in this, as in so much else in social affairs, human intentions are not ultimately the controlling factor in what actually comes about. For once the basic conditions of psychological inequality are removed, once the great mass of Negroes take charge of their own destinies, no doctrine of separatism will prevent the destruction of those institutional barriers that

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[1] From a letter to the editor, The New Republic, December 3, 1966, p. 35.

today separate American citizens. We have seen this happen on a limited scale. It must come one day for the entire nation. When we do eventually overcome, it will be in part because some have built integration's spiritual basis by mobilizing the ghettoes—~~whatever~~ even if their intention in so doing ~~may~~ was ~~have been~~ racist.

And this leads directly to my second point—about the politics of coalition. The leaders of the Black Power Movement ~~hold~~ argue that any political ~~strategies~~ ~~that yields sacrifices~~ too much if it sacrifices the prospect of dealing effectively with conditions ~~that exist~~ in the ghettoes ~~and the blackbelt sacrifices too much~~ and rural blackbelt. In particular, unless the will to make ghetto communities self-determining is strengthened, ~~encouraged,~~ there cannot be general passage from slavishness to self-esteem and confidence in one's own powers. For communal democracy, ~~of communal participation~~ direct participation by ~~black people and~~ for black people, ~~is~~ provides the institutional key ~~that will~~ necessary to unlock ~~unlock the~~ energies essential to ~~the growth of black power—i.e. the power of people to shape their own~~ further progress by the American black ~~citizens~~ if America is to make further progress. Civil rights progress.

"The need for psychological equality," writes Stokeley Carmichael, "is the reason why SNCC today believes that blacks must organize in the black community. Only black people can convey the revolutionary idea that black people are able to do things themselves."[1] And Floyd McKissick is even more explicit about the profoundly democratic significance of the notion that has given the new movement its name:

> When we say 'Black Power', we mean that black people must decide for themselves what they want and must plan and organize themselves to secure the necessary power to change their lives.[2]

But the redemptive work of democratic processes, an idea so central to the Rousseauian and Jeffersonian tradition described in the last chapter,

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[1] Op. Cit., p. 6.

[2] Op. Cit., p. 10.

is not the only important consequence of communal self-determination. Theorists of the Black Power Movement see it also as the indispensable condition enabling America's black citizens to build their factional power so that it can be deployed more effectively than before within the Madisonian system of countervailing powers. In other words, it is necessary, or so it is argued, to forego some short-term benefits of coalition politics in order to build more firmly the base of power without which significant gains can not be made in the long run. And in so saying, the Black Power Movement's leadership is simply emulating what other ethnic groups have said and done--Irish, Italians, Jews, Poles, and indeed white Anglo-Saxons of the South. That is, the Movement draws a political implication from the facts of Negro powerlessness that Bayard Rustin [illegible] described. Groups that lack power--political, social, economic, and so on--are ultimately dependent on the power of others; hence dependent on the politically problematic good will of others. We are seeing what happens to that good will when a society must choose between a war of pride and the well-being of its most deprived citizens. It chooses guns, slashes welfare, uses disproportionately large numbers of its poor to fight the war, and finds it politically inconvenient to do much to change this grossly inequitable distribution of the war's burdens. Thus, though the Black Power Movement inveighs against the rhetoric of coalition politics, the aim of participating more effectively within existing coalitions forms an important part of the rationale for Black Power.

Self-esteem, confidence in one's own powers, democratic control of collective destinies--these are, [illegible] ideas ~~not alien~~ basic to the liberal tradition. But, argues one sensitive and sympathetic commentator, Black Power marks a radical departure from the liberal tradition. For the older

Civil Rights Movement pursued human values; the Black Power Movement pursues narrow group interests.[1] The point is misleading in two respects. The more conventional leadership tends to employ ~~the~~ a rhetoric of universal values to pursue more effectively the narrower interests of Negroes as a group. The insurgent Black Power leadership tends to use the rhetoric of separatism on behalf of universal values. The underlying disagreement between the two is tactical and strategic, not primarily moral. Both contain admixtures of the universal and the prudential. The more conventional leaders believe that their public pronouncements must be addressed primarily to potential white allies. The militants of CORE and SNCC believe that they must speak to the ghetto dwellers. I will return to this strategic conflict. At this point I want to drive home the claim that the Black Power Movement is partly, but importantly, motivated by a profoundly liberal and humane conception.

It is, after all, the Black Power Movement that has taken the most explicit and liberal stand on the Vietnam War—an issue that the more conventional leadership, with the important exceptions of men such as Martin Luther King and Bayard Rustin, shy from. The failure of other leaders to speak their mind is due primarily to their belief that public opposition to the war would adversely affect the interest of America's black men and women. Perhaps they are right; but it is the Black Power Movement's leadership that has been most vocal in condemning the war on grounds that it is immoral. That many white liberals seem to think that the older groups have a monopoly on morality, the newer ones being dominated by wicked self-interest, is primarily a reflection of their own class interests. In this, as in so much else, their political judgment is shaped by internal prejudices

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[1] David Danzig, "In Defense of 'Black Power'," Commentary, September, 1966, pp. 44-5.

into whose hands their regard for higher values unwittingly plays.

In brief, underlying much that is said and done by members of the Black Power Movement is a passionate commitment to human rights; a fierce claim to be treated with respect; a desire to attain, in John Stuart Mill's words, "the dignity of thinking beings." These commitments are sometimes explicitly expressed by the Black Power Movement's leaders.

Malcolm X is one of the heroes of the movement. In his powerful autobiography, he describes his steady development from slavishness, to mimicry of white culture, to the strident racism of the Muslims, then, slowly and tortuously, to a standpoint most eloquently expressed in the following passage:

> Human rights! Respect as human beings! That's what America's black masses want. That's the true problem. The black masses want not to be shrunk from as though they were plague-ridden. They want not to be walled up in slums, in the ghettoes, like animals. They want to live in an open, free society where they can walk with their heads up, like men, and women![1]

And Stokeley Carmichael tells white men what the Black Power Movement intends to work for:

> We are just going to work, in the way we see fit, and on goals we define, not for civil rights but for all our human rights.[2]

The human impulse of these pronouncements was ^once agonizingly expressed ^to me by a Negro student up from the deep South. "Why," he asked, "are so many up here so phony? Why don't people let me be myself? And why don't they ignore my dialect and listen to me?" Why indeed!

These then are the culminating statements made by "sectarians" of the Black Power Movement.

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[1] The Autobiography of Malcolm X, p. 272 (Grove Press- paperback).

[2] Op. cit., p. 8.

Yet it would be misleading to claim that the theorists of the Black Power Movement are simply good old American liberals. They are not. Nor should they be. For they are radicals. Their commitment to fundamental human rights is not satisfied by a parcel of laws guaranteeing the form, but not the substance of those rights. Rather they ~~regard these rights as is fringed by~~ think their rights are lost if anyone who fails to do what he ought to ~~make a reality possession~~ implement ~~conduct anyone's~~ violates them. of rights ~~by everyone entitled to them.~~ That is, from their point of view, the chief sins of American liberals lie not in what they ~~have done,~~ do, but in what they have omitted. It lies in the liberal's all too willing acquiescence in the institutional indifference that is the ultimate disorder in our blandly moral society. A revised structure of law and administrative procedure does little to create those human abilities, that will to do the moral thing, that fundamental reconstruction of our institutional order, without which the commitment to human rights is formal and self-deluding--a way of salving without saving one's immortal soul. In other words, ~~the central criticism~~ the Black Power Movement's central criticism of American liberals is precisely the one being pressed in this book--that there is an enormous gap between the rhetoric and practice of most American liberals. And that gap is part of the trap, often unwittingly set, in which the typical ghetto-dweller finds himself.

Liberal critics of the Black Power Movement deplore two of its supposed consequences. They claim, first, that the movement needlessly exacerbates the feelings of potential white allies; and second, that it irresponsibly promotes violence and disorder. The two complaints are not unrelated. For nothing so disquiets "potential allies" whose lives are relatively comfortable and secure than threatened social disruption. Are these criticisms of the Black Power Movement justified?

As ~~far as~~ for unjustifiable alienation of potential white allies, ~~is~~

[redacted] the issue turns in part on how much benefit flows from surfacing the enormous hostility and anger ghetto Negroes feel towards the white man. ~~such~~ Malcolm X's life provides an example of how the human spirit can work its way through such feelings if only given the opportunity. Recently Martin Luther King Jr. defended demonstrations in parts of Chicago where bigotry is most intense on the grounds that, in balance, it is a good thing to expose the hatred many whites feel for Negroes. What is true for these white men is true for black men. Those of America's black citizens who feel hatred for all white men will ~~and should~~ vent their feelings. [redacted] That they do is not all bad. Until they do, meaningful racial reconciliation, meaningful integration of the races, can not be achieved. The mere manifestation of fury is not itself to be condemned. Whites who ~~unwisely~~ permit ~~their~~ understandable indignation at ~~such~~ the black man's expressions of anger to cloud their political judgment are not, in any event, reliable allies in the struggle for civil rights. The real issue is how that fury is expressed. And this brings us to the problem of violence. For underlying most adverse white reaction to Black Power is the fear that its strident rhetoric, its impassioned advocacy of militant action, will release forces of disorder and destruction that every sensible person now knows lurks beneath surface "deference," "shiftlessness," and "laziness." (One does not know whether to laugh, cry, or explode in rage when one hears remarks like that of the genteel Southern white who recently wondered "why the Nigras aren't singing any more.")

Moreover, it is ~~this~~ the issue of the functions of violence that lies at the heart of the present division within the Civil Rights Movement. On the face of it, the ~~issue~~ question posed is whether it is permissible to carry weapons designed for self-defense in organized civil rights demonstrations. For no civil rights group denies the general right to self-defense, and no civil rights

group advocates violence. But it is simply absurd to suppose that this is the issue that so strongly agitates activists within the Civil Rights Movement. Underlying ~~the~~ this apparent conflict ~~was~~ are deeper questions about the nature and functions of violence. And these more basic ~~issues~~ problems are so complex that reasonable men may disagree.

People deeply committed to the civil rights cause lead an active fantasy life. They dream of violence--even the most moderate and responsible of them. A couple of years back, shortly after the Selma demonstrations, I had a conversation with a Negro teacher who lives in one of Alabama's blackbelt communities. He allowed that ~~were~~ he believed it would be desirable for someone to assassinate a number of the more famous white bigots of the South. ~~this would have a tonic effect~~ A SNCC worker who was ~~also~~ present countered with the comment that vengeful acts would only invite retaliation against Negroes least able to defend themselves! A year later, when disorder came to his town, the teacher was among the most vigorous critics of those members of SNCC who, as he viewed it, were inciting to riot. Yet riot is a lesser offense, both morally and legally, than murder and less likely to invite retaliation.

Not only that, but this same man energetically used the facts of disorder and threatened violence to help force concessions from a reluctant city council. The point is this. ~~These~~ "Moderate" civil rights leaders who deplore violence understand well the political uses to which disorder, real or threatened, can be put. They know well that violence and disorder are bred by conditions of servitude. They implicitly acknowledge what their fantasy life suggests; that violence and disorder may, in some circumstances of American domestic politics, be a lesser evil.

They also sense the relevance of what Franz Fanon had to say about the problems faced by natives caught in an entrenched colonial system:

> At the level of individuals, violence is a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores self-respect.[1]

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[1] The Wretched of the Earth, Evergreen Press, 1966, p. 73.

The basic disagreement between moderates and Black Power advocates ~~dis~~ lies not primarily ~~in their views~~ about the functions of violence and disorder, nor ~~in their motives~~ about the uses that ought to be made of social ~~disturbance~~ turbulence when it occurs. Rather they disagree primarily about ~~what~~ the official ~~rhetoric~~ posture the Civil Rights Movement ought to adopt towards ~~should be concerning~~ violence and disorder. And they also disagree about the working relationship that ought to exist between those ~~who~~ likely to engage in ~~disorder that is likely to lead to violence~~ violent outbursts, and ~~the~~ organized segments of the Civil Rights Movement. In this it is not at all clear that the men of "moderation" act responsibly. For by dissociating themselves from the ghetto-forces that primarily threaten ~~violence and disorder~~ social convulsion they may do more to promote ~~both~~ it than those who relate ~~themselves in a positive way~~ to those forces in a positive way.

The point is that much violence and disorder is implicit in many demands for "moderation and responsibility." For, in many circumstances, and with the best will in the world, men who plead for moderation and responsibility become the mouthpieces of social forces that desire stability and order above all else - and ~~the latter~~ who are even willing to pay a small price to secure social peace if ~~they can thereby avoid having to respond to~~ doing so averts ~~the~~ having to rely on the organized ~~state~~ violence of the state. ~~One difficulty is that such pleas~~ With ~~is that when~~ ~~right is~~ often ~~become~~ heed restraining those who threaten disorder ~~becoming convinced that they~~ plead and gain nothing for their compliance, they feel ~~have been~~ betrayed. It does not really matter whether they are ~~right~~ betrayed. It is simply a fact that ~~those~~ the people for whom men of moderation and responsibility become mouthpieces seldom have ~~little~~ any intention of conceding ~~anything~~ more than ~~some~~ marginal reforms - a fire hydrant or two, ~~in Chicago~~ a playground, a modest Headstart program, ~~in Mississippi~~. Hence, the ~~once~~ ~~quieted~~ angry ones, now ~~fearing~~ feeling not only aggrieved but ~~betrayed~~ double-crossed, are that much riper for violence. Not ~~only that~~ is this all, but the reality of marginal success actually whets ~~the~~ one's appetite for ~~violence~~ cataclysmic action, ~~and disorder~~. What is achieved is not enough to reduce significantly the

level of frustration and anger; yet it is enough to encourage the conviction that only through such tactics can substantial concessions be won.

From the point of view of those who are determined to protect [redacted] unequal prerogatives and privileges, the alternative to minor concessions is repression. But given the circumstances that presently exist [redacted] in the United States, this offers no alternative at all. For once the power of the rhetoric of aspiration [redacted] has been released, and barring totally unrestrained use of repressive power, the day of judgment can only be postponed. That postponement will just increase the cost to everyone of settlement when the day of attonement finally comes. Better then to be responsible even if this requires that one no longer seem responsible to those who are invincibly "moderate."

White, "moderate" Americans must be made to understand that the degree of self restraint they demand of black, oppressed Americans is superhuman. That the latter sometimes fail to be superhuman is not surprising. Those who now claim that the movement goes too fast—is too energetic, too militant—were only yesterday complaining that Negroes are shiftless and lazy. When Stephen Fetchet suddenly begins to speak and act with violent energy in defense of his rights, white moderates begin to long for the days when Fetchet shuffled about, slowly doing the bidding of his white masters, drawling "I's 'a comin'."

Who then is more responsible; those who try to relate to the real forces of the ghetto, wholly to provide moral alternatives to violence and disorder, or those who stand aloof, using the fact of social instability to advance their political aims? Consider Stokeley Carmichael who, in a speech he delivered in Detroit, said, "If you think I'm bad, you should hear the sixteen year olds in Chicago. The other day one called me a 'Tom'." Is Carmichael more or less responsible than the moderate newspaper publisher

who called him a "mad dog"[1] for trying to ~~relate himself to the~~ channel ghetto-fury ~~that exists in the ghetto in~~ in ways that hold ~~a way that has~~ some promise of averting the worst kinds of ~~disorders?~~ turbulence? To ~~him~~ another SNCC leader who told me he wanted to spend his "time and energy in Negro communities building power, motion, and self-identity" more or less responsible?

And who is more responsible; those who ignite the tinder box that has been made of the ghettoes; or those who, through endless acts of neglect have made those ghettoes the tinder boxes they have become? Negligence is, after all, something for which men can be held responsible. For moral responsibility is primarily a function of whether you know what you are doing, and whether you have the power to bring decent conditions about—notions that lie at the very heart of liberal respect for the conditions of a deliberatively shaped life.

And who is more constructive; the young SNCC workers who try, in very earthy and meaningful ways, to educate the rural Negroes of Lowndes County, Alabama to the possibilities for taking charge of their own collective destinies; or those moderates who do nothing but stand to the side, and condemn those who dare to use the black panther as their emblem? The SNCC leader who invented the black panther emblem once told me that he was tired of wasting his energy in hate. He went on, "I want to spend my time and energy in Negro communities building power, motion, and self-identity." ~~Those in the Black~~ SNCC leader said to me Power Movement are by no means the only ones who carry on constructive grass roots activities. But they are among those who do; and it is, for them, a principal activity.

And ~~w~~here is one to draw the line between nicely prudence ~~that is compatible with manliness~~ and ~~slavish~~ groveling deference to White Power? Only a morally arrogant ~~man on both sides of these issues~~ can presume to have an easy and conclusive answer to ~~these questions~~ this ultimate and agonizing question.

For a genuine liberal, what is at issue in ~~all this~~ the controversy about

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[1] John Knight, the Detroit Free Press, editorial on September 11, 1966. Knight claimed that the information that justified his judgment was transmitted to him by Ralph McGill, publisher of the Atlanta Constitution. McGill, in turn, referred to the Atlanta disorders that occurred in October 1966. But for a different view, see Paul Good's "A Tale of Two Cities," The Nation, November 21, 1966.

Black Power, is a momentous strategic option, ~~one about which equally responsible men can reasonably disagree.~~ On the one hand, the Black Power Movement claims that the indispensable condition of eventually achieving the legitimate goals of the Civil Rights Movement is mobilization of the ghettoes. This is necessary first, because it accomplishes a redemptive work required to remedy the terrible impact on the human spirit of four centuries of bondage; and second, to organize the base of power without which America's black citizens can not function as effectively as possible within ~~the~~ conventional democratic structures. ~~To this~~ the advocates of coalition politics, ~~may legitimately~~ on the other hand, reply that alignment with potential white allies is required now. For it is now possible to work effectively toward many, albeit limited, policy goals—better housing, more employment, improved educational opportunities, better poverty programs, and so on. They add ~~that to this argument~~ the argument that militant ~~passion~~ rhetoric and action which needlessly generates white hostility, ~~there is diminishes~~ diminishes black power to achieve desirable short range goals—and ~~the~~ Negro poor, like other ~~human~~ people, do after all live in the present.

Confronted by this strategic option, what is the Civil Rights Movement to do? The obvious answer is, "Both!" Let there be a division of labor. Let some work to organize the ghettoes—with the sympathy and support of those who do not choose to do so. Let others work to exploit the presently feeble instruments of coalition politics. And let white liberals fit into this complex strategy in ways that promote maximum benefit, minimum harm. Just what ~~this means~~ concrete implications follow for the ~~concrete~~ development of a politics of radical liberal pressure will be ~~subsequently~~ discussed below. Here it is enough to emphasize that it is simply fantastic to suppose that, given the enormous disabilities of American Negroes, there is not enough for everyone to do. And it is equally obvious that not anyone is well qualified to do everything.

While this may mean that some of what Peter is doing will be undercut by Paul's activities, what Peter or Paul can do alone can not equal what they can do together--separately perhaps.

Does this mean that liberals are never to criticize what is said and done in the name of Black Power? Not at all. But that criticism ought not to be based on self-serving, or wishful myth. Nor ought it to be based on failure to think clearly, and with absolute candor about such matters as the functions of violence and the actual conditions of the ghettoes. White liberals must remember that they are normally insulated from the kind of direct awareness of those conditions that might quicken their moral imaginations, force them to probe more deeply the layers of defensive distortion that convert the intolerable suffering of others into tolerable "social problems." Viewed from this perspective, certain liberal criticisms may legitimately be made of the Black Power Movement.

It is the demagoguery frequently practiced by some of the Black Power Movement's leaders that is most subject to censure. For example, it is hard to see what legitimate purposes are served by accusing city officials of having plotted the murder of a young civil rights worker, as was done by an important leader of SNCC during a protest demonstration in Tuskegee, Alabama in January, 1966.[1] It may, no doubt, be argued that the lie served a higher, metaphysical function. But this metaphysical subtlety was lost on the many rural Negroes who were there, for they were given no reason to suppose that the accusation was not meant in its literal sense.

Demagoguery of this sort does two damaging things. It demonstrates precisely the same lack of respect for the Negro listeners that characterizes

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[1] See my article, "Murder in Tuskegee: Day of Wrath in the Model Town," The Nation, January 31, 1966, p. 124.

Does it follow that liberals are never entitled to criticize what is said and done in the name of Black Power? Of course not. It is not legitimate criticism that is at issue, but the barbs aimed from behind walls, thick and high, that shield institute critics from full awareness of intolerable realities; that enable them to transmute concrete human indignity and human suffering into a "social problem" that requires a bit of "social action." The important thing is not to stir guilt, but to sharpen one's intellectual grasp of the immensely powerful institutional conditions that reinforce prejudide by promoting indifference. It is one thing to read a vague description of ritual emasculation of an Australian Aborigine; it is quite another thing to see the knife fall, the blood flow, and to feel what one would feel if he were present.

Young civil rights militants have a justifiable repugnance of moral rhetoric that has the effect of enwrapping Negroes more completely than before. They even have an expression for the phenomena; they call it "the trick bag". I hope that the following criticisms will help to avoid manufacturing yet another trick bag.

For certain criticisms of the Black Power movement are justified. And whether or not, sound or not, they deserve to be answered with argument, not invective.

The claim that the Movement's leaders are often demagogic is one such. I once heard a leader of SNCC tell some poor ignorant rural Negroes that the murder of a young SNCC worker had been plotted by their city councilmen. He may have been speaking metaphysically. But the subtlety was lost on people who had been given no reason to believe that he meant what he said in anything but its literal sense. (1)

This sort of demagoguery does two terrible things. It exhibits precisely the same lack of respect for Negroes made vulnerable by tyranny that typifies their treatment by whites who never hesitate to use the "big lie" to maintain oppression.

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(1) (footnote pg. 20)

~~their treatment by whites who use the "big lie" to oppress them.~~ And ~~such tactics~~ it needlessly antagonize allies, potential and actual, (black and white) who respect the truth and think that it is part of their business as civil rights' militants to serve it. While there is no reason to suppose that black leaders will be more immune from the temptation to practice demagoguery than white adversaries like Wallace of Alabama or Perez of Louisiana, nor is there any justification for exempting black leaders when they succumb to the temptations. ~~leadership from reasonable criticism.~~ But underlying demagoguery is often ~~Underlying black tactics, it must be acknowledged, has a basis~~ reverse racism. That it flows from weakness and legitimate indignation is not to excuse it. In this connection, what needs to be stressed is a point that Stokeley Carmichael has repeatedly made—the difference between condemning institutions and condemning men. This distinction is not, however, always so nicely maintained during the hurly-burly of civil rights activity. That ~~almost every~~ all American whitesman ~~is actually benefitted by, and is~~ are implicated in institutional practices that maintain racial oppression is a fact. But it is an institutional fact that may legitimately be cried from the housetops without impugning the personal motives of any particular white man, many of whom do have good will ~~even if their~~ however difficult it may be for them to translate good intentions ~~seldom have~~ into politically meaningful consequences. ~~Many Black demonstrations not~~ Black racism does decrease the liklihood that white men ~~help to convert the good intentions of such white men into meaningful~~ will express their moral concern as political support. ~~Though this~~ This argument may seem to conflict with what I said previously ~~said~~ about the importance of venting feeling and mobilizing the ghetto. But leadership does have special responsibilities, and it is important at least to try to strike the balance between the need to cry out against tormentors and the need to build strength that ~~most~~ effectively ~~respects and~~ serves the legitimate interests of those who mainly suffer the consequences of oppression. The point is, the Black Power Movement's ~~The point is relevant to~~ leaders ~~of~~ display more self-indulgence than ~~Proponents of~~ tactical shrewdness in their expressions of racial hostility. ~~argued that integration is a much overrated strategic~~

The question of the white man's motives is relevant to the problem of integration. I defended the validity of the Black Power Movement's claim that integration has been a much overrated strategic aim of civil rights activity. Yet many people, white and black, have a deep and healthy commitment to integration as a personal matter. And not just for the social goood it may do. The idea that human relationships should ultimately be controlled by a biological accident as trivial as skin pigmentation strikes them as insanely inhuman.

The idea that any black who favors integration does so out of the base desire to curry favor with "superior" whites; that any white who does so expiates guilt; these are stereotypical beliefs that have as much and as little truth in them as the idea that all Negroes love rhythm, that all Jews love money, that all Irish love political power, and that all French love love.

Further, the view that

~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~, for example, integrated education must harm the Negro child if the teacher is white; that it does not matter how incompetent ~~xxx~~ and paternalistic the Negro teacher is, nor how competent and sensitive the white teacher is; ~~x~~ that nothing matters but color and the "identity problem"; this is ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ simply ~~a piece of~~ self-defeating nonsense. The institutional ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ point ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ about the harmful effects of much integration must be made~~xxxxxx.xx~~ . It is well made by theorists of the Black Power Movement. But to suppose that the general thesis holds for every particular set of circumstances is to permit intelligence to be engulfed by racial feeling. And ~~what is~~ adverse ~~consequences~~ when error is made? who suffers ~~the consequences~~? the youngster who is made a pawn in the outside struggle for civil rights ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

aim of ~~the Civil Rights Movement.~~ civil rights activity Yet it is self-defeating and wrong to criticize those who want to press for meaningful integration as a personal matter. It is shallow regard for human dignity that fails to acknowledge the decent impulses that motivates those who seek to build a solid foundation of mutual respect and trust, without regard to color, in their individual lives. And it is no less a violation of the liberal principle of voluntarism when one tries to discourage efforts to achieve integration by means of the informal sanctions of vituperation and slander. My own view is that civil rights organizations may also legitimately pursue a policy of racial integration as long as members do not exaggerate what they are likely to accomplish thereby. But whatever may be the appropriate policy and institutional strategies in these matters there is certainly room here for different individual perspectives. From this point of view it makes no sense to claim that whites who seek to serve in various ways do harm by pursuing the goal of integration when there is no present alternative to what they can do. All other things being equal, at the present time, it is better for a Negro child to have a competent Negro teacher. But the leaders of the Black Power Movement know very well that all things are not always equal. They know very well that circumstances exist in which a white man, sensitive to the problems described in what has gone before, may be more effective than available alternatives. And this is so precisely because the history of racial oppression has left the Negro community depleted in those technical and spiritual respects so essential to the growth of human powers.

I have also, on occasion, encountered a tendency for leaders of the Black Power Movement to convert valid psychological insights into absurdly rigid metaphysical opinions. For example, one SNCC leader once seriously argued that difference between the Black Mind and the White Mind is so

fixed and unalterable that there is a Black Logic and a White Logic. Such a claim is painfully reminiscent of the nonsense Frederick Engels and other Marxists spouted about dialectical logic. Well, the computer industries of Russia are based on the principles of good, old Aristotelian logic. And the resources of the Negro community will, in the end, be most effectively developed on the basis of the same principles of human reason. To suppose otherwise is to throw baby out with bathwater; to repudiate the hard won achievements of human intelligence in a fit of self-indulgent pique. Whatever advantage for the ego of the group may flow from such metaphysical excess is more than counterbalanced by the extent to which it impedes the very effort to acquire the intellectual instruments that make the group progress ~~of groups~~ possible.

Finally, ~~while it is, at the very least misleading to portray the Black Power Movement as inflexibly hostile to the conventional politics of coalition~~ as I argued, it does little good and much harm to exaggerate the differences between the Black Power Movement and those who defend the more conventional politics of coalition. To portray men like Bayard Rustin, A. Philip Randolph, and Martin Luther King Jr. as sell-outs is to betray an arrogance of powerlessness. Not only does it defeat the very aims the Black Power Movement purports to serve by supposing that there is only one true way; but it is intellectually incoherent as well. For in one sentence coalition politics is attacked, in the next Black Power is justified on the grounds that it helps build the power of Negroes to function effectively in American politics. If coalitions are eventually necessary to secure all the rights to which America's black men are entitled, why not a little freedom now?

The inconsistency is made plain by the fact that every major leader of the Black Power Movement endorsed the Freedom Budget.[1] This makes it clear enough that they endorse

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[1] A 'Freedom Budget' for All Americans, A. Philip Randolph Institute, October 1966.

in practice what they deny in rhetoric—that coalition politics is one instrument of civil rights activity right now. Nor should they deplore the modest success Martin Luther King's organization has had in devising new instruments for mobilizing the ghetto of Chicago—for example, the tenants' unions that promise some help for ~~amelioration of the conditions of the~~ Negro slums.

Having made these criticisms, it is necessary to repeat a point implicit in what has gone before. The sins of the Black Power Movement are mere peccadillos compared to the sins of omission of many "moderate" and "responsible" liberals—who think that because they do not deliberately corrupt they do not abet corruption. The difference between private virtue that is corrupt and corruption that knows itself is self-deception.

Given the analysis developed in ~~what has gone before~~ to this point, what liberal theory of ~~the~~ correct Civil Rights ~~Movement emerges~~? strategy emerges?

It is important to focus firmly on the two main aims of any liberal policy—~~the development of the conditions of self-governing men and communities where~~ self-government ~~is~~ consistent with protection of ~~everyone's~~ basic rights.

The strategic points to be stressed are these.

(i) ~~Given~~ Driven situations in which Negroes ~~must~~ are forced to choose between disorder and passive acceptance of their condition, disorder may be justified.

(ii) But the aim should be to broaden the options—to provide alternatives and more constructive channels for destructive energies. This the Black Power Movement as well as other civil rights organizations are trying to do. The Freedom Budget, a 180 billion dollar program for eliminating poverty, is ~~only~~ the latest step in ~~the~~ an historic effort to ~~get this nation to face~~ Get America to meet its obligations to cope with the conditions that breed violence

without resorting to repression. But besides programs ~~of community action,~~ that ~~cost money~~ are expensive -- employment, recreation, ~~and~~ education, and the like -- that ~~cost money,~~ there are ~~three~~ less costly institutional changes designed to develop the priceless virtues of a self-governing ~~citizenry~~ people. And it is these tho Black Power Movement is primarily concerned to develop. All these programs, including those advocated by Black Power organizations, deserve the active support of liberals. Instead indignant white liberals have tended to withdraw support - financial, political, and moral - in ~~what is largely~~ a ~~pretended~~ seemingly high-minded, ~~emotionally realistic~~, but self-serving attempt to counter legitimately rebellious tendencies actually by doing the niggardly thing.

(iii) ~~The civil rights area in which white~~ liberals ~~have~~ the greatest opportunity for creative action, ~~is the provision of compensatory programs~~ in education, employment, housing, and so on. But ~~here~~ they are often immobilized by ~~a misplaced~~ moral uneasiness that ~~causes them~~ ambiguous feelings about the Black Power Movement. On the ~~one~~ other hand, ~~they have been~~ misled by the formalism, "Treat everyone equally, and without regard to race." On the ~~other~~ one hand liberals ~~feel the special urgency of repairing~~ historic wrongs by ~~providing compensation to black citizens severely damaged by their condi-~~ victims of ~~tions of life~~ conditions which have materially benefitted most ~~of which affect all~~ American white men, ~~have materially benefitted them~~ are often ~~unwittingly~~ happens, ~~in situations seen as morally ambiguous,~~ moral ambiguity ~~has exhibited effects,~~ ~~liberal efforts have been stunted, accomplishments marginal.~~ But ~~from the perspec-~~ ~~tive of radical liberals~~ the case for generously reparative programs in every area of America's institutional life is overwhelming. ~~Let us state~~

~~this case.~~

Millions of America's black citizens are ~~technically~~ underprivileged. ~~That is, as a result of early~~ Early conditions of life ~~they~~ have ~~been~~ deprived them of ~~technical~~ skills without which ~~it is impossible to live~~ a good life in this

(xii)

Compensatory programs -- especially in education , housing, and employment -- provide white liberals with their greatest opportunities for creative civil rights action. But good intentions are too often paralyzed by a moral uneasiness about reparations ; an uneasiness that has the same roots as much ambivalence about Black Power. On the one hand, liberals feel the urgency of compensating black American victims of a system that has materially benefitted most American white men. On the other, they feel the force of the formalism, "Treat everyone equally, and without regard to race." And , as so often happens, their moral ambiguity results in stunted effort, the achievement of tokens. But the liberal case for generous reparation for Negroes is overwhelming.

Million s of America's black citizens are technically underprivileged. Early conditions of development have deprived them of skills without which a good life in this

is impossible. It is not just that these skills are
society. This is not only because such conditions provide a key to material
success; but also because they also open the door to developing human
powers without which life shrivels. Money is time and energy for love, thought, art, and play.
The theory of And in this society, except for those who carrying inherited gold, access to wealth is primarily a function of the abilities required for success in competition. There is some truth in the theory.
I n the United States, therefore, the ideal of equal opportunity
requires, the right freely
to compete for available resources. And this right of free competition can be
skill to do, but also by available denied not only by obstacles that prevent us from doing what we are able to do, but also by lack of those conditions that prevent us from acquiring necessary talents.
Hence, these deprived of competetive freedom because they have been denied
opportunity to develop abilities entitled to compensatory action.

may justify land redistribution, special employment programs, reverse discrimination in employment, housing grants, and so on.
income maintenance programs, Above all,
society has an absolute obligation to make sure that the disabilities of the fathers are not transmitted to the sons. Thus,
special educational programs designed both to remedy already done,
and to prevent further damage should be provided. This may require
reconstruction of even our most prestigious educational institutions.[1] A nation as affluent as the United States can afford the cost.
programs intended to protect Negroes from the centuries-old institutions of racism
police review boards, welfare ombudsmen, and so on, may be justified.
files police review boards,
Even those who grant the general case for compensatory programs often
object that, there is no reason for giving Negroes special consideration.
in designing them.

[1] More will be said about this in the next chapter.

This right of restitution may justify land redistribution, income maintenance programs, reverse discrimination in employment, housing quotas , and so on. Above all, society has an absolute obligation to insure that a father's disabilities are not transmitted to his son. Toward this end nothing is more important than educational programs designed to remedy the harm already done; and, when impossible, to bar compounding the damage. Top to bottom reconstruction of even our most prestigeous educational institutions may be required.* To deal adequately with the educational problems of the technically underprivileged would be very expensive. But a nation that has commodities coming out of its ears can afford whatever is necessary to build peoples' minds and spirits. Beyond educational reform, agencies like police review boards, created to protect Negroes from whites whose very habits of thought and feeling have unwittingly been shaped by the centuries-old institutions of racism, may be justified.

Even those who grant the general case for compensatory programs often object that, in designing them, there is no reason why Negroes should receive special consideration.

* The problems of higher education for the technically underprivileged will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.

They properly insist that many others have been similarly maltreated, ~~correctly insist that many others have been treated in exploitative ways.~~ And It is true that ~~ought~~ ~~liberals should reply that~~, all otherthings being equal, ~~The liberal reply is, of course, that singling~~ Negroes ~~are~~ ought not to be ~~work to the disadvantage of others who have equal claim to compensation.~~ compensated in ways that disadvantage others who have legitimate claims; that whenever possible, programs ought to serve ~~all who have claims against society.~~ all the technically underprivileged, regardless of race. Nevertheless, ~~there are special considerations that do justify~~ in the case of American Negroes all other things are ~~usually not equal.~~ rarely equal. ~~singling black men out for special consideration.~~

First, if Negroes, socially the lowest stratum in this society, ~~are compensated,~~ receive reparation, the pressure to complete the process will be well nigh irresistible. ~~This will help~~ All the disadvantaged will eventually be helped.

Second, though Negroes constitute only about ~~10~~ ten percent of the total population, they comprise approximately half the poor of this society.

Third, Negroes are the most glaring and easily identifiable victims of the processes that make for technical underprivilege. ~~Not only is the~~ Not only has ~~extent of~~ their victimization been proportionately greater ~~by far than that of~~ in proportion to any other segments of the population, (with the ~~possible~~ exception of American Indians) but ~~their problems are special because~~ have made their afflictions special. ~~of~~ three centuries of American slavery. To postpone compensation designed to ~~improve their lives~~ eliminate the black man's technical underprivilege until ~~the~~ complicated administrative and political problems involved in making such programs ~~generally~~ available can be ~~worked~~ solution is reached for the to all who deserve them, ~~compounds the injury that has been done~~ present injustice ~~already~~ in two ways. Rights already ~~violated~~ infringed are violated again ~~because the rights of others have also been infringed.~~ in order because others also have claims. Where is the justice in that? Also, as the operative cause of racial injustice is racial prejudice, almost all whites have actually benefitted from oppression of Negroes. And this is true even of those who have been themselves ~~unjustly~~ badly treated. Thus, for example, ~~the~~ poor Southern whites ~~of the South~~ who have been victims of economic injustice have nevertheless ~~been able to use~~ used their ~~political advantages vis-a-vis black men~~ power over Negroes to mitigate their ~~condition.~~ misery in various ways -- not the least being ~~the pleasures of black mastery~~ Therefore, the case that can be made for compensating pursuit of the pleasures of daily mastery.

For all these reasons given I conclude that the case for reparations (a program of restitution for America's black citizens) is stronger and more compelling than it is for any other group. Nor should whites expect gratitude for their pains. As Franz Fanon put it when writing about similar claims made by colonials against their former masters:

> ...when we hear the head of a European state declare with his hand on his heart that he must come to the help of the poor under-developed peoples, we do not tremble with gratitude. We say to ourselves: 'It's a just reparation which will be paid to us.'[1]

The justice of reparation for America's indigenous colonials is even more compelling, though less dramatic, than the justification, almost universally acknowledged, for the obligation to Germans, as a people, to compensate Jews after the last World War. The difference between a genocidal Final Solution that primarily affected a couple of generations, and a brutal slave system that affected ten to twenty generations is not morally significant. Both are morally heinous.

To sum up: The central tendencies of the Black Power Movement are liberal in spirit. The history of racial oppression in this country has had an impact on whites and blacks alike that justifies the demand for communal self-determination. The denial of rights is vast, and justifies liberal support, in both senses of the term "liberal," for what the movement is trying to accomplish. At the same time, the politics of radical pressure is best served by recognizing that the strategic option posed by the challenge of Black Power is not a matter of "either...or." The support that is justified should not preclude energetic pursuit of more conventional civil rights activities. Both deserve active support. But just as there is no justification for reinforcing those who practice the politics of pseudo-realism in these matters, there is no reason to coddle leaders who act self-indulgently. For the ones who suffer both forms of defective politics are those who have been oppressed for four long centuries; and continue to be oppressed.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 81.

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Few deny the German nation's strong obligation to compensate xxx Jews who had somehow escaped xxx Nazi genocide. Though the American nation's obligation to compensate American Negroes may seem less dramatic to many, it is every bit as compelling. For the difference between a German xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

I have argued that the central tendencies of the Black Power Movement are liberal, and that the movement deserves liberal support. At the same time, the politicax of radical pressure is best satisfied by recognizing the momentous strategic options facing the civil rights movement, and by avoiding "either- or's". Conventional civil rights activity has accomplished much; and has much yet to accomplish. There is plenty of room for people who, by temperment or aptitude, can do their best work in the new or the old. The important thing is that, in the midst of controversy, we not forget that those who suffer needless intemecine conflict are those who have taken the brunt of four oppressive centuries, and who continue to be oppressed.

RESOLUTION PRESENTED TO
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON
CIVIL RIGHTS WED JAN 11TH 1967

That this Leadership Conference on Civil Rights goes on record as being totally opposed to United States involvement in Vietnam and in particularly to the disproportionate use of Black American youths to fight a racist war alledgedly for democracy abroad while there is an absence of that democracy here at home. That this Conference calls on the President and government to exact immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and that the human and material resources so saved be used to finance the freedom budget and fight for democracy here in the United States.

November 8, 1966

Mr. Richard Fulton
Richard Fulton Inc.
200 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Fulton:

Thank you for your letter of October 19th and for your subsequent phone calls.

Please forgive the delay in forwarding these enclosed photos and bios of Mr. McKissick to your office. Unforseen problems arose in getting these pictures from the photographer. I will forward more pictures as soon as possible, as well as biographical sketches.

Mr. McKissick would be pleased to work with you in the future and will make himself available for speaking engagements whenever possible. We are looking forward to a long and mutually rewarding relationship.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
Enc. (4) two glossy pix - F. B. McKissick
two biographical sketches - F. B. McKissick

Richard Fulton INC.
200 W. 57th St. • New York 10019
JUdson 2-4099

NEWS

October 19, 1966

Miss Hellinger
CORE
200 West 135th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Miss Hellinger:

Enclosed please find our current brochure as per Mr. McKissicks request.

Also, kindly send a number of glossy photos and bios for the Union College engagement.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Richard Fulton

RF/fl

xxxxx 200 W. 135 St.

December 20, 1966

Mr. Richard Fulton
Richard Fulton Inc.
200 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Fulton:

At CORE's last Board of Directors meeting, held December 16 - 18, a decision was made not to enter into any form of contract regarding my appearances. The organization wants to be free to establish priorities because of emergencies which sometimes arise.

An alternate suggestion was made that your services be engaged to arrange tours during specific periods of time. For example, during the Month of May, and that any contract would only apply for a thirty day period. This decision was logical, as many unexpected events occur which must take precedence over committed engagements.

It has also been suggested that tours of two weeks or less could be arranged through your office.

Under the circumstances, I am unable to sign the enclosed contract. Please let me know at your earliest convenience if the alternate suggestions are satisfactory.

Very truly yours,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

FBMcK:ilh

Richard Fulton INC.
200 W. 57th St. • New York 10019
JUdson 2-4099

NEWS

December 28, 1966

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
National Director
CORE
200 West 135th Street
New York, N.Y.

DEC 29 1966

Dear Mr. McKissick:

In reply to your letter of December 20th:

I appreciate the contents of your letter and the inherent purpose contained therein.

Certainly, you should (and I would want you to) give preference to emergencies should they arise.

The thirty day period commonly referred to as a 'thirty day escape clause' is certainly acceptable.

In view of my efforts, in seeking out engagements on your behalf I will ask that you treat our relationship as an 'exclusive' arrangement. I have already encountered one situation (University of Michigan) where I was somewhat embarrassed by quoting the fee and would seek to avert a repetition of same. Therefore, I would ask you to refer all college, fraternal, charitable, etc. invitations to my office for servicing. This should not include those from any group that you deem important to accept on whatever basis you choose. In other word I would care to service all dates of a commercial nature as opposed to those from ex. Negro organizations, academic invitations, governmental functions, etc.

Also, since I cover every possible organization by inundation mailing I shall expect the above- if it is acceptable to you- to prevail as regards invitations from any other lecture bureaus.

I most certainly will attempt to arrange tours if they evolve- since they very often make feasible dates that sometimes are lost as a result of the high travel costs for one engagement.

I look forward to your reply and trust that it will be in the affirmative.

With best wishes for a New Year of good health, peace, and power for all.

Sincerely,

Richard Fulton

RF/fl

Richard Fulton INC.
200 W. 57th St. • New York 10019
JUdson 2-4099

NEWS

file

MAR 3 1967

March 2, 1967

Mr. Floyd McKissick
CORE
200 West 135th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Floyd:

Enclosed please find a contract as per our discussion this morning.

Kindly insert the reference to dates that shall not be included in the exclusive arrangement.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Richard Fulton

RF/fi

Richard Fulton INC.

200 W. 57th St. • New York 10019

LECTURER'S MANAGEMENT CONTRACT

THIS CONTRACT is between RICHARD FULTON INC., 200 West 57th Street, New York, N. Y. (hereinafter called "FULTON") and FLOYD McKISSICK - CORE - 200 West 135th St. - New York City
(name and address)
(hereinafter called "LECTURER").

1. LECTURER hereby appoints FULTON as his sole and exclusive manager and personal representative in all branches of the Lecture-Personal Appearance-Spoken Word Industry in the United States and Canada. This shall include appearances in the aforementioned capacity for radio, TV and recordings.

2. The term of this agreement shall commence the 2nd day of March 1967, and end the 1st day of March, 1970.

3. FULTON is hereby appointed as the attorney-in-fact for LECTURER to execute in LECTURER'S behalf contracts for the personal services of LECTURER as enumerated above and covered by this agreement.

4. (a) In consideration for rendering services deemed necessary by FULTON in seeking to obtain engagements, LECTURER agrees to pay to FULTON 33 1/3% percent (%) of the gross fee from each individual engagement.

(b) FULTON will use its best efforts in furthering the career of LECTURER and, incidentally, in assisting LECTURER in procuring employment and that it will, at the request of LECTURER, counsel and advise LECTURER in matters which concern LECTURER'S interests in the fields covered by this contract.

(c) FULTON shall use its best efforts to collect for LECTURER and in LECTURER'S behalf all monies which may become due to LECTURER for engagements performed by LECTURER from which FULTON shall be entitled to monies as enumerated above. FULTON shall pay to LECTURER net balances due to LECTURER from all funds received in LECTURER's behalf, upon receipt of same from sponsor, accompanied by a written statement showing how such net balances were arrived at.

5. (a) LECTURER agrees that (s)he will conscientiously fulfill all engagements contracted for by FULTON in behalf of LECTURER, pursuant to this agreement.

(b) LECTURER will promptly turn over to FULTON all inquiries with reference to his services in all branches of the Spoken Word Industry covered by the terms of this contract.

(c) LECTURER will be compensated for traveling, hotel and all other non-booking expenses by the sponsoring organization.

(d) LECTURER shall pay for all of his normal promotional expenses incurred by himself or FULTON and the sum of $ XXX (XXXX) to cover cost of printing-postage of FULTON brochure in which LECTURER is to be included.

6. (a) LECTURER warrants that (s)he has no outstanding agreements, commitments, or contract for management and personal representation which is inconsistent with the terms of this contract and that so long as this contract shall continue LECTURER shall enter into no agreements with others that shall conflict with the terms and conditions of this agreement.

(b) In the event that LECTURER shall, for any reason whatsoever, breach any term set forth in this agreement subsequent to the execution thereof, FULTON shall have the right to continue to represent LECTURER and to receive commissions with respect to such engagements as were secured by FULTON.

(c) LECTURER grants to FULTON the right to use and to license others to use the name, photograph, likeness and biography of LECTURER for informative purposes and to publicize and advertise LECTURER and LECTURER's engagements. Such use may be in combination with advertising of products or services of any employer of LECTURER, but shall not amount to an endorsement thereof by LECTURER.

(d) This contract cannot be changed orally, and shall be construed, governed and interpreted pursuant to the laws of the State of New York.

(e) A waiver by either FULTON or LECTURER of a breach of provision herein shall not be deemed a waiver of any subsequent breach, nor a permanent modification of such provision.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have executed this contract in triplicate as of the 2nd day of March 1967.

ACCEPTED and APPROVED:

LECTURER

RICHARD FULTON INC.

Richard Fulton INC.
200 W. 57th St. • New York 10019
JUdson 2-4099

NEWS

MAR 8 1967

file - lecture tours

March 7, 1967

Miss Hellinger
CORE
200 West 135th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Miss Hellinger:

Kindly send list of invites and correspondants so that I may attempt to arrange a Southern tour for Mr. McKissick for April.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Richard Fulton

RF/fi

November 19, 1967

Richard Fulton
200 West 57 Street
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Fulton:

Please check your books in regard to transporation for the last five engagements. We would appreciate your sending the transporation checks separately designated for each engagement, as these expenses charges are charged to my personal credit card.
I would appreciate your checking your records in this regard and letting us hear from you on this matter, as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Joyce Boyd
Secretary

Fulton

November 28, 1967

Richard Fulton Inc.
200 W. 57th Street
New York, N. Y. 10019

Dear Mr. Fulton:

Enclosed you will find copy of a letter received here at this office from Benjamin L. Gorman, Assistant Professor, Boston University, requesting Mr. McKissick to speak there.

We have informed them this date that you are his agent with respect to inquiries on all speaking engagements.

Yours truly,

Priscilla Rigby, Secretary tp
National Director

PR
enc.

Fulton

File

November 30, 1967

Richard Fulton Inc.
200 W. 57th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Fulton,

Here are the three items which you requested. After you have photographed same, please return.

Yours truly,

Priscilla Rigby, Secretary to
National Director

PR
Enc:

December 6, 1967

Robert Fulton, Inc.
200 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Fulton:

Enclosed herewith, please find check #2545, in the amount of $833.55 from Niagara University, Student Council, which I picked up on December 5, at the time of my speaking engagement there.

Enclosed also, is a bill giving the traveling expenses for prior engagements.

Prompt remittance would be sincerely appreciatedd

Yours truly,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

FBMcK:pr
Enc: (2)

TO

Robert Fulton, Inc.
200 West 57th Street
New York, N. Y. 10019

FROM

CORE, INC.
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030

Priscilla Rigby

SUBJECT Travel Expenses - Floyd B. McKissick

DATE 12 / 6 / 67

MESSAGE

Niagara University — Niagara Falls, N. Y. — 12/5/67

Air Travel Round Trip to Buffalo, N.Y.

American Airlines	$45.15
Cab Fare	6.00
Total	$51.15

Paid 12/8/67

SIGNED Priscilla Rigby

REPLY

above amts pd.
12/8/67

SIGNED

DATE / /

Rediform® 4S 471

SEND PARTS 1 AND 3 WITH CARBON INTACT – PART 3 WILL BE RETURNED WITH REPLY.

DETACH AND FILE FOR FOLLOW-UP

TO

Robert Fulton, Inc.
200 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

FROM

CORE, INC.
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030

Priscilla Rigby

SUBJECT Travel Expenses - Floyd B. McKissick

DATE 12 / 8 / 67

MESSAGE

Please remit round-trip air fares for the following:

Willamet University, Salem, Oreg. -	10/4/67	$326.08
Holy Cross, Worcester, Mass.	10/17/67	35.07
Genesco State College, Rochester	11/6/67	24.94
California Western University	11/7/67	327.50
University of Hartford	11/15/67	22.16
~~Alma College~~	~~10/7/67~~	~~83.10~~
Total		$818.85

163.04 pd. 12/11/67
to be pd. Cleve. Office.
pd.
pd.
pd.
not Fulton

SIGNED

REPLY

above amts. pd.
12/13/67

SIGNED

DATE / / .

Rediform® 4S 471

SEND PARTS 1 AND 3 WITH CARBON INTACT – PART 3 WILL BE RETURNED WITH REPLY.

DETACH AND FILE FOR FOLLOW-UP

TO

Richard Fulton, Inc.
200 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

FROM

CORE, INC.
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030

SUBJECT Travel Expenses - Floyd B. McKissick

DATE 12 / 12 / 67

MESSAGE

Please remit round-trip air fares for the following:

Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. - 12/10/67	$74.11
Syracuse Univ., Syracuse, N.Y. - 12/11/67	38.59
Total	$111.70

SIGNED

REPLY

above amts
rec'd & paid
12/18/67

SIGNED

DATE / /

Rediform® 4S 471

SEND PARTS 1 AND 3 WITH CARBON INTACT – PART 3 WILL BE RETURNED WITH REPLY.

DETACH AND FILE FOR FOLLOW-UP

TO

Richard Fulton, Inc.
200 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

DEC 18 1967

FROM

CORE, INC.
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030

SUBJECT Travel Expenses - Floyd B. McKissick

DATE 12 / 12 / 67

MESSAGE

Please remit round-trip air fares for the following:

Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt. - 12/10/67	$74.11
Syracuse Univ., Syracuse, N.Y. - 12/11/67	38.59
Total	$111.70

SIGNED Priscilla Bigby

REPLY

Enclosed please find check covering above.

Richard Fulton

SIGNED

DATE / /

SEND PARTS 1 AND 3 WITH CARBON INTACT - PART 3 WILL BE RETURNED WITH REPLY.

Rediform® 4S 471

TO

Richard Fulton, Inc.
200 West 57th Street
New York, N. Y. 10019

FROM

CORE, INC.
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030

Priscilla Rigby

SUBJECT Travel Expenses - Floyd B. McKissick

DATE 12 / 22 / 67

MESSAGE

Brandeis University	Waltham, Mass.	12/19/67
Air Travel Round Trip Boston to N.Y.		
American Airlines	$34.65	
Cab Fare	6.00	
Total	$40.65	

SIGNED Priscilla Rigby

REPLY

above amts
rec'd + paid
12/28/67

SIGNED

DATE / /

Rediform® 45 471

SEND PARTS 1 AND 3 WITH CARBON INTACT – PART 3 WILL BE RETURNED WITH REPLY.

DETACH AND FILE FOR FOLLOW-UP

TO

.ichard Fulton, Inc.
200 West 57th Street
New York, N. Y. 10019

FROM

CORE, INC.
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030

Priscilla Rigby

SUBJECT Travel Expenses - Floyd B. McKissick

DATE 12 / 22 / 67

MESSAGE

Enc. 540 68

Brandeis University	Waltham, Mass.	12/19/67
Air Travel Round Trip Boston to N.Y.		
American Airlines	$34.65	
Cab Fare	6.00	
Total	$40.65	

SIGNED Priscilla Rigby

REPLY

Fee + Trans
Pd Dec 26 # 1059

SIGNED

DATE / /

SEND PARTS 1 AND 3 WITH CARBON INTACT – PART 3 WILL BE RETURNED WITH REPLY.

Rediform® 4S 471

TO

Richard Fulton, Inc.
200 West 57th Street
New York, N. Y. 10019

FROM

CORE, INC.
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030
Priscilla Rigby

SUBJECT Travel Expenses - Floyd B. McKissick

DATE 1 / 5 / 68

MESSAGE

Wesleyan University	Middletown, Conn.	1/4/68
Air Travel Round Trip to Hartford to	N.Y.	
American Airlines	$22.16	
Cab Fare	10.00	
Total	$32.16	

SIGNED Priscilla Rigby

REPLY

above ante
recd + paid
1/16/68

SIGNED

DATE / /

Rediform® 4S 471

SEND PARTS 1 AND 3 WITH CARBON INTACT – PART 3 WILL BE RETURNED WITH REPLY.

DETACH AND FILE FOR FOLLOW-UP

January 9, 1968

Richard Fulton
Richard Fulton, Inc.
200 W. 57th Street
New York, N. Y. 10019

Re: Speaking Engagement - Floyd B. McKissick

Dear Mr. Fulton:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation of Tuesday, January 9, enclosed is the letter from the Associate Program Director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc.

I have since spoken with Mrs. Goodman and have told her that her letter was referred to you.. She was informed that she could expecttto hear from you within a few days.

Also enclosed, is a letter inviting Mr. McKissick to speak to a group of high school students called "Perspectives." This letter is self-explanatory and you can reply with the necessary information.

Yours truly,

Priscilla Rigby (Miss)
Secretary to National Director

PR
Encs:

January 10, 1968

Richard Fulton
Richard Fulton, Inc.
200 W. 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Fulton:

Please due not schedule me for any speaking engagements during the month of March. It is during this time that I am going to do some writing.

I will accept the engagement at Valparaiso scheduled for the 18th and for Ithaca College scheduled for March 26 only.

Yours truly,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

FBMcK:pr

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Richard Fulton

FROM: Priscilla Rigby, CORE, INC., 200 West 135th Street, New York, N. Y. 10030

RE: Travel Expenses - Floyd B. McKissick

DATE: Jan. 12, 1968

Darthmouth College	-	Hanover, N. H.	- Jan. 11, 1968
Air Travel Round Trip to Lebanon, N.H.			$45.16
Cab Fare			10.00
Total			55.16

recd & pd. 1/23/68

TO

Richard Fulton, Inc.
200 West 57th Street
New York, N. Y. 10019

FROM

CORE, INC.
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030

Priscilla Rigby

SUBJECT Travel Expenses - Floyd B. McKissick

DATE 2 / 5 / 68

MESSAGE

LaSalle College	Philadelphia, Pa.	1/31/68
Round Trip Train Fare New York to Philadelphia	$8.60	
Total	$8.60	

SIGNED Priscilla Rigby

REPLY

above and rec'd & paid 2/4/68

SIGNED DATE / /

Rediform® 4S 471 SEND PARTS 1 AND 3 WITH CARBON INTACT – PART 3 WILL BE RETURNED WITH REPLY.

DETACH AND FILE FOR FOLLOW-UP

Richard Fulton INC.
200 W. 57th St. • New York 10019
JUdson 2-4099

4 i 6

February 7, 1968

Mr. Floyd McKissick
CORE
200 West 135th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Floyd:

As per your desire expressed to me (during our trip to Rutgers) to visit the State of Israel, I have arranged for such a trip which will be sponsored by the American Jewish Congress.

I know of your discussion with Rabbi Lelyveld and have put the pieces together in that Ambassador Harman whom I met with on this matter obtained a sponsoring organization- namely the AJC.

I think that I can arrange for Mrs. McKissick to go along with you if this is your wish.

Kindly inform me of the period of your preference for the above.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Richard Fulton

RF/he

RECEIVED
FEB 8 1968
Per

February 28, 1968

Richard Fulton, Inc.
200 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Fulton:

Enclosed herewith you will find a check in the amount of seven hundred and fifty dollars ($750) issued to you by Upsala College.

Please issue a check for the above amount in the name of CORE, Inc.

Yours truly,

Priscilla Rigby
Secretary to National Director

PR
Enc: (1)

TO

Richard Fulton, Inc.
200 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

FROM

CORE, INC.
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030

SUBJECT Travel Expenses - Floyd B. McKissick

DATE 5 / 7 /68

MESSAGE Please remit round-trip cab fares for the following:

University of Washington	4/17/68	$14
Southern University	4/19/68	14
University of Massachusetts	4/25/68	14
Oswego State College	4/29/68	10
Total		$52

SIGNED Priscilla Bigby

REPLY

above amts. rec'd & paid 5-17-68

SIGNED

DATE / /

Rediform® 4S 471

SEND PARTS 1 AND 3 WITH CARBON INTACT – PART 3 WILL BE RETURNED WITH REPLY.

DETACH AND FILE FOR FOLLOW-UP

May 7, 1968

Richard Fulton, Inc.
200 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

Dear Mr. Fulton:

Enclosed you will find our bill for cab expenses to and from airports for the last four engagements for Mr. McKissick.

Also outstanding are the honorariums for the following schools:

1. Black Unitarian Caucas
2. Oswego State College
3. University of Washington
4. Southern University Law School
5. University of Massachusetts
6. New York University

Please have the above-mentioned schools submit tapes of speeches for Mr. McKissick.

Yours truly,

Priscilla Rigby
Secretary to National Director

PR
Enc:

Enc.
#1330.05

RECEIVED
MAY 8 1968

Richard Fulton INC.

200 W. 57th St. • New York 10019
JUdson 2-4099

May 7, 1968

FLOYD McKISSICK ACCOUNTING

February 24th -	Black Caucas Chicago, Ill.	$200.00
April 17th -	University of Washington Seattle, Washington	500.00
Aoril 29th -	Oswego State University Oswego, N.Y.	500.00
April 30th -	New York University New York, N.Y.	500.00
		$1700.00

Transportation utilized by Mr. McKissick
or redeemed in cash. Copies enclosed.

April 5th	$ 69.30
April 6th	76.65
Transportation-Seattle due to cancellation of engagement- to be paid by University of Washington or Seattle CORE	224.00
	$369.95

TOTAL DUE $1330.05

TRAVEL HEADQUARTERS, INC.

ONE HUNDRED EAST FORTY SECOND STREET NEW YORK N.Y. 10017 PHONE 867-4074

ITINERARY FOR: Mr. Floyd B. McKissick

No. 6706

100 EAST 42nd STREET
ROOM 927
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017
TN 7-4074

arch 29, 1968

used

DATE	TIME		CITY	AIRLINE	FLIGHT
4/5	12Noon	A.M. P.M. lv.	La Guardia	UAL	321
	1:23	A.M. P.M. ar.	Cleveland		
4/6	7:30	A.M. P.M. lv.	Cleveland	AA	360
	8:30	A.M. P.M. ar.	La Guardia		
/		A.M. P.M. lv.			
		A.M. P.M. ar.			
/		A.M. P.M. lv.			
		A.M. P.M. ar.			

Passenger: Mr . Floyd B. McKissick
Air transportation New York/Cleveland/New York
Departure 4/5 UA 321

66.00
tax 3.30
69.30

Baldwin Wallace
Berea, Ohio

Cancelled

Baldwin-Wallace
Berea, Ohio
Apr
Cancelled

THANK YOU

283 049 318

PLEASE PAY FROM THIS INVOICE

TRAVEL HEADQUARTERS, INC.

ONE HUNDRED EAST FORTY SECOND STREET NEW YORK N.Y. 10017 PHONE 867-4074

ITINERARY FOR: Mr. Floyd B. McKissick

DATE	TIME		CITY	AIRLINE	FLIGHT
4/6	3:45 XXX P M	lv.	La Guardia	AA	561
	4:37 XXX P M	ar.	Syracuse		
4/7	11:40 XXX A M	lv.	Syracuse	NO	185
	12:16 XXX P M	ar.	Buffalo		
/	12:36 XXX P M	lv.	Buffalo	LC	263
	1:16 XXX P M	ar.	Erie		
/	4:45 XXX A M	lv.	Erie	AL	706
	5:58 XXX A M P M	ar.	La Guardia		

Passenger: Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
Air transportation New York/Syracuse/Erie/New York
Departure 4/6 AA 561

THANK YOU

698 559 391

ef No. 6707

100 EAST 42nd STREET
ROOM 927
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017
IN 7-4074

March 29, 1968

Cashed in

73.00
tax 3.65
76.65

Syracuse
4/6
Cancelled

Richard Fulton INC.
200 W. 57th St. • New York 10019
JUdson 2-4099

NEWS

May 8, 1968

Miss Priscilla Rigby
CORE
200 West 135th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Priscilla:

Our mail has crossed and you have by now a check for:

Black Unitarian Caucus
Oswego State College
University of Washington
New York University

As I informed you in the past the only way to keep our sanity here is to pay you after the monies are received here.

Cab fares referred to in your May 7th memo will be forwarded along with next check.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Richard Fulton

RF/he

RECEIVED
MAY 9 1968
Per aph

File
Fulton

May 20, 1968

Mr. Richard Fulton
200 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

Dear Brother Fulton:

Here is a matter which you can handle.

Sincerely,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

FBMcK:gc
Enclosure

NORTH AMERICAN BAHÁ'Í OFFICE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
Serving the Bahá'í Faith in Alaska, Canada, Hawaiian Islands and the United States
112 LINDEN AVENUE • WILMETTE, ILLINOIS 60091 • (312) 256-4400

May 16, 1968

Director
MRS. JULIETTE B. BUFORD
Executive Secretary
RICHARD D. BETTS

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. McKissick:

We would be honored if you would accept to be a keynote speaker on September 14, 1968 at the National Conference on Human Rights being held in Chicago, September 13, 14 and 15 under the sponsorship of the North American Bahá'í Office for Human Rights. A draft of the Conference agenda and schedule is attached. If possible, we would like you to cover the subject of Equal Justice and Human Rights. National human rights and civil rights organizations are being invited to attend and participate in the Conference.

This Office has been impelled to sponsor this Conference and other conferences throughout the United States by the success, on the one hand, of Bahá'í communities throughout the world in achieving harmony from racial, cultural, ethnic, economic and national diversity, and on the other hand, by the growing separation and misunderstanding among such diverse elements in our country today. The key to Bahá'í success has been their belief in the relevance of Divine purpose to human progress. The legislations on civil rights, as significant as have been their impact, have hardly begun to attack the root cause of the injustices they were meant to erase. For the problems of racial and other forms of discrimination, unequal education, unfair employment, restricted and sub-standard housing, etc., are not simply the consequences of inadequate legislation: they are the symptoms of deep spiritual diseases--hatred, bigotry and prejudice--which require remedial action based on spiritual principles. Bahá'ís believe that the racial prejudice in this country is the most challenging issue confronting our nation and its resolution is paramount if world peace is to be a reality.

The National Conference on Human Rights is one in a series of conferences sponsored by this Office during 1968. During the month of June ten regional conferences will be held throughout the country to discuss and recommend human rights actions in local communities. (A sample program of one of the Regional Conferences is enclosed). Since the central teaching of the Bahá'í Faith is the belief in the oneness of mankind, human rights are the primary concern of all of the some 2000 Bahá'í centers throughout the United States. The Bahá'í Community has been an integrated community since its inception 125 years ago.

The purpose of all of these conferences is to evoke an atmosphere in which attitudes and efforts of men can be motivated to deal with our social problems in view of the understanding that human rights are God-given and thus inevitable if man is to progress.

We feel that your participation can help achieve the goals of the conference. Your knowledge and your leadership in the field of human rights would be an invaluable asset to the Conference. Your travel and other expenses will be handled by this Office.

We look forward to hearing from you at your earliest possible convenience.

Cordially,

Richard D. Betts

Richard D. Betts

RDB:pp

Enclosures

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CHIEF S. O. ADEBO

United Nations Ambassador from Nigeria and Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs. Attained academic distinction at London University where he earned his Bachelor of Arts (English Honours) and Bachelor of Laws (Honours). He is also Barrister-at-law. Speaks on "THE EMERGING AFRICAN NATIONS AND THE POTENTIAL OF THEIR CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS A BETTER WORLD."

BILL ADLER

Prolific author of best seller "The Kennedy Wit" has produced the unprecedented number of 13 books within the past three years. "Dear President Johnson," and "Boys Are Very Funny People" are other recent best sellers. Heard every weekend on NBC Monitor with his popular "Speaking of Kids" and recently appointed by Mayor Wagner to the New York City Youth Board.

WARNER S. BASS

Distinguished Conductor - Composer and Associate with Stokowski of the American Symphony Orchestra. His career runs the gamut from scholarly philologist to Orchestrator for RCA Victor, from guest-conducting the Symphony of the Air and N.Y. Philharmonic to performances of his works by Bruno Walter and Stokowski, from Opera to Broadway Musicals, from Carnegie Hall to Madison Square Garden.

JOYCE BROTHERS

Noted Psychologist of TV and syndicated-column fame is endowed with the oft-wished-for combination of beauty and brains. Offers keen analytical advice in her warm and modest manner. Her insights derive from a vast knowledge acquired at Cornell and Columbia Universities, from her experience as a teacher, and from her personal life as a wife and mother.

CHERYL CRAWFORD

Executive Producer of The Actor's Studio Theatre and its current James Baldwin hit "Blues For Mr. Charlie". A Founder of The Group Theatre and producer of Gershwin's "Porgy and Bess"; Tennessee Williams "Rose Tattoo"; "Brigadoon"; Shakespeare's, "The Tempest"; "Sweet Bird Of Youth"; and the recent, "Brecht On Brecht" starring Lotte Lenya.

AL CAPP

Creator of the ever popular "Li'l Abner" cartoon, has attained international fame. This gentleman, whose handsome features and warm chuckle are to be seen and heard on major TV shows, has exposed a world of phoniness and hokum. His india ink satires continue to be more effective than the tamer efforts of most do-gooders.

HOWARD DaSILVA

The original Jud Fry in "Oklahoma" and more recently the Schoolmaster in the poignant "David and Lisa," which earned him a British Academy Award. Academy Award nomination for roles in "The Lost Weekend" and in "Three Husbands" with Emlyn Williams. Directed "Purlie Victorious," "The Cradle Will Rock."

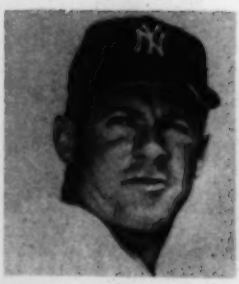
THOMAS J. DODD

United States Senator from Connecticut and member of its Judiciary Committee. Nuremberg Trials: Vice Chairman of Review Board and Chief Trial Counsel in prosecution of Nazi war criminals. Established National Youth Administration program in Connecticut. Assistant Chief of Civil Rights Section of Justice Department. Former FBI agent.

DR. FRANK FIELD

NBC-TV Science Editor, Meteorologist and weather expert is also NBC anchorman with Huntley and Brinkley at the National Meteorological Center during U.S. manned space shots and has been on all space programs. Consulting Meteorologist of the N.N.C. Dept. of Air Pollution Control. Currently appearing as host on NBC-TV science program "Research Project." Speaks on "The Breaking Point of Air Pollution As Regards Our Survival."

WHITEY FORD



One of baseball's all time 'greats' the New York Yankee pitcher is holder of the most World Series records in the history of baseball. He is a winner of both the Babe Ruth and Cy Young Awards. Active in youth work and preventive juvenile delinquency programs he speaks on his experience in baseball and the great athletes whom he has played and competed with. A 'must' for men's groups!

JOE GARAGIOLA

Baseball star turned sportscaster is now a much desired after dinner speaker and eloquent lecturer. He is uniquely qualified to tell you about the "inside" of baseball and all of the situations and characters encountered behind the scenes. Here's the straight dope from the man who never forgets that almost every situation on the diamond has a laugh in it somewhere. Author of "Baseball Is A Funny Game."

DR. MAURICE FRIEDMAN

Author of best selling "The Worlds of Existentialism" and "Martin Buber: The Life of Dialogue" which was described by Reinhold Niebuhr as "an exhaustive and brilliant survey of the whole of Buber's philosophical work." Dr. Friedman's new book "Martin Buber: Encounter on the Narrow Ridge" and his extensive works on Buber bode well to make him the successor of the famed theologian and mystic.

RICHARD GILMAN

Drama Editor and literary critic, Newsweek. Formerly drama critic and literary editor of Commonweal. Contributor to The New Republic, Herald Tribune Bookweek, N.Y. Times Book Review, Horizon, The Saturday Review, Theatre Arts and other magazines. Rockefeller grant in 1962. Guggenheim fellowship in 1964. "The N.Y. Theatre Scene."

VIRGINIA GRAHAM

Charming hostess for the last four years of "Girl Talk"; the nationally syndicated television show. Guest of leading TV shows, this former victim of cancer has brought hope, courage and laughter to her many listeners. Singlehandedly, through telethons and personal appearances she has raised more funds for charity than any other woman in the United States.

ROCKY GRAZIANO

Former World's Middleweight Champion and hero depicted in "Somebody Up There Likes Me", the struggle of a former juvenile delinquent to attain status in the community as a respected citizen. The foremost exponent and living testimonial to what can be done in preventing juvenile delinquency and providing rehabilitation for misguided youngsters.

DICK GREGORY

Night club and television comedian who has touched the raw nerve of the white world with his sharp, rapier-like humor. Mr. Gregory has not only preached, but he has practiced; often making great personal sacrifice, both physical and financial, to toss himself into the maelstrom of the civil rights battle. A leader of great international peace movements and author of the recent best seller "Nigger."

MRS. AVRAHAM HARMAN

Wife of Israel's Ambassador to the United States, a graduate of the London School of Economics and Political Science with a degree in Economics and with honors in International Law and Relations. Has studied and served as a sociologist and is also Chairman of the UNICEF Executive Board; also Vice-President of the International Council of Women. Speaks on "ADVENTURE IN EDUCATION."

L. DUANE HATFIELD

Fund-raising analyst and consultant for the most prominent national, charitable, fraternal and educational institutions. A graduate of Yale University Divinity School, he practiced pastoral counseling for many years. Author of "As The Twig Is Bent" which deals with the direct use of drama as therapy in psychodrama, the theraputic value of worship as creative force in meeting contemporary human needs. Speaks on "Speech Therapy Through Worship."

SYDNEY J. HARRIS

"Strictly Personal" is the internationally syndicated column of Mr. Harris; winner of the "Page One" and the Friends of Literature awards for the 'best column'. Author of: "Strictly Personal," "Majority of One," "Last Things First," and "On the Contrary." Speaks on "GREAT BOOKS," philosophy, and current trends.

SKITCH HENDERSON

Conductor, pianist, composer and raconteur on the "Tonite" show is also Musical Director of NBC. Mr. Henderson's training and personal bent make him equally at home as guest Conductor of the New York Philharmonic or at piano stints in what he affectionately calls "saloons." He has also served as accompanist and conductor for such greats as Judy Garland and Frank Sinatra.

RICHARD HOFSTADTER

Pulitzer Prize winner in History for "The Age Of Reform". Columbia University in Department of History. Formerly Professor of American History and Institutions at Cambridge University, England. Has also written "The American Political Tradition; Great Issues in American History", and "The American Republic".

NAT HENTOFF

Author of the recently published "The New Equality" is a staff writer for The New Yorker and a regular contributor to The Reporter, Commonweal, Harpers, Midstream, The Nation, and The Village Voice. Best known for his books and articles on jazz, he is co-editor of The Jazz Review, jazz columnist for Esquire and a contributing editor to Hi-fi Stereo Review.

HENRY HEWES

Drama critic of the Saturday Review and editor of the annual "Best Plays Of the Year." He contributes regularly to the New York Times drama section, and has been referred to as "the rugged individualist among drama critics"; is considered the dean of magazine critics. His courageous support of "The Threepenny Opera" saved his production despite a majority of unfavorable reviews in the dailies.

FANNIE HURST

Author of such poignant masterpieces as "Back Street" and "Imitation of Life," of whom the New York Times editorial said, "America's cultural history would be different if such persons as Fannie Hurst, Eugene ONeill, and John LaFarge had not lived and worked." This great humanitarian speaks of her wide travels and concern for her fellow man.

LEON H. KEYSERLING

As economic advisor to Presidents of the United States he was the creator of some of the most important legislation of the century. Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors also currently President of the Conference on Economic Progress. Author of the prize winning "The American Economic Goal," he has also written "Taxes and the Public Interest," "Two Top-Priority Programs to Reduce Unemployment," "The Toll of Rising Interest Rates."

KIM HUNTER

Academy Award winner for her role in the screen version of "A Streetcar Named Desire." Also, the Drama Critic's Circle Award for her role in the original Broadway production along with Marlon Brando. Has also starred in Sydney Kingsley's "Darkness At Noon" with Claude Rains, and will appear in starring roles on Hallmark's TV productions this forthcoming season.

LeROI JONES

Poet-playwright of the "Dutchman", sensational award winning play of the 1964 season. The 29 year old author of "The Blues People", the anthology "The Moderns", and his latest, "The Dead Lecturer". Faculty member of The New School and Columbia University, and has distinguished himself by his most sensitive poetry readings—of his own works, and those of his contemporaries.

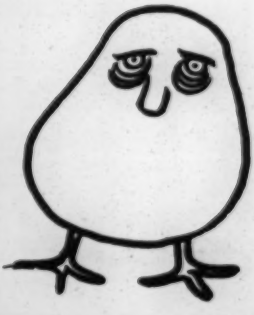
RICHARD JOSEPH

Esquire Magazine and nationally syndicated Travel Editor has visited more than 105 countries throughout the world and all of the 50 States. Numerous foreign decorations for his contribution towards international amity. Author of "Your Trip Abroad," "Richard Joseph's World Wide Travel Guide" and the annually revised "Guide To Europe." See the world through the eyes of this most famous of globetrotters.

MILT KAMEN

TV's delightfully spontaneous and uniquely refreshing comedian started his career as a classical musician. His instrument—the French Horn. Regular guest on the Tonite show, where he offers his personal, inimitable movie reviews, Mr. Kamen has also appeared in dramatic roles and numerous 'panel' programs. Original and inimitable books reviews!

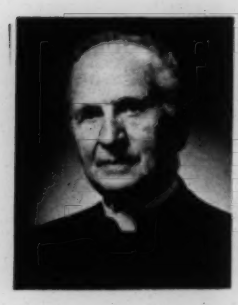
PAUL KRASSNER



Editor of the Realist, bird-like Saint Realist on the right being its familiar symbol. Also a Contributing Editor to Playboy; author of "Impolite Interviews"; editor of the forthcoming book "The Humor of Steve Allen", and one of the scriptwriters for the forthcoming "Pardon Me, Sir, But Is My Eye Hurting Your Elbow?"

DR. REBECCA LISWOOD

A practicing physician specializing in Marriage and Pre-Marital Counselling. Starting her medical career as a pediatrician. Has written, "First Aid For the Happy Marriage," "A Marriage Doctor Speaks Her Mind About Sex," and has contributed the section on Love and Marriage for the Better Living Encyclopedia. Speaks on: "BUILDING A HAPPY MARRIAGE," "SEXUAL HARMONY IN MARRIAGE."



BRETT LANGSTAFF

Author and historian is founder of the Charles Dickens Memorial Library and the famous Children's Library movement. His books have been commended by Allan Nevins and A. L. Rowse. Personal acquaintance of George Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, and John Galsworthy. Speaks on the Dickensian World; the Children's Library project, and the Oxford he knew. Author of "The Enterprising Life of John McVickar" and "Oxford-1914."

ROBERT LAWRENCE

Conductor, musicologist, author, intermission commentator on the Metropolitan Opera broadcasts is heard daily in his own program "Listening To Music" on WQXR. One of the most versatile musical personalities of our time, he has conducted the New York Philharmonic, NBC Symphony, American Opera Society, and the famed Friends of French Opera series at Carnegie Hall.

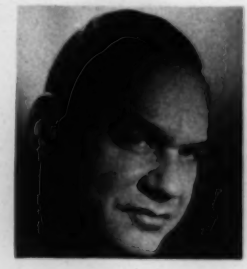
VIVECA LINDFORS

Celebrated International dramatic star of stage, screen, and TV. Remembered for her Tony award winning performance in title role of "Anastasia"; memorable portrayal of Jewish Wife in "Brecht On Brecht", and in Jean Paul Sartre's "No Exit" on film. Electrifying performance of dramatic readings last season in Carnegie Hall.

GEORGE CABOT LODGE

Statesman and educator was named "one of the ten outstanding young men" by the U.S. Government and the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce. Author and contributor to newspapers and magazines, Mr. Lodge is a lecturer and member of the faculty of the Harvard Business School and is a former Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate from the state of Massachusetts.

EDWIN NEWMAN

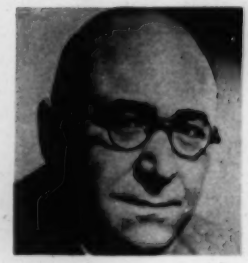


NBC-TV's distinguished commentator and reporter accompanied President John F. Kennedy on his trip to Europe; followed the historic "Orient Express" on its travels there (including Viet Nam). Has also appeared as moderator on the widely acclaimed "The Nation's Future" and will soon be seen and heard on "Open Mind." Spelled Huntley and Brinkley at National conventions. Speaks on: "VIET NAM: LAST CHANCE."

CORBETT MONICA

Comedy star of NBC's Tonite Show and popular 'sidekick' of the Joey Bishop TV show. Has been seen on the Jackie Gleason Show, Ed Sullivan Show and others too numerous to mention. Has also appeared in every leading night club in New York, Chicago, Las Vegas, Miami Beach and Puerto Rico. "A delight to the funny bone and a warm human being" says Ed Sullivan.

MARIO PEI



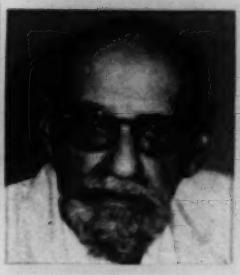
This famous teacher of linguistics and author of numerous articles and books on language whose "The Story of Language" was a Book-of-the-Month selection, was referred to by Bernard Shaw as having a "prodigious memory and knowledge that reminds me of Isaac Newton". Lecturer for The Voice of America and Radio Free Europe. Columbia Univ. Professor of Romance Philology.

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL

New York City Congressman and Chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives. Minister of the Abyssinian Baptist Church he has been a member of the Congress since 1945. The handsome, eloquent, and highly articulate spokesman for Civil Rights is the author of "Is This A White Man's War?" and "Marching Blacks."

WILLIAM PROXMIRE

Senator from Wisconsin became the first Democrat in 25 years to win an election to the United States Senate from that state by running successfully for the seat left vacant by the death of Sen. Joseph McCarthy. Graduate of Yale University who served as a teaching fellow in Political Theory at Harvard. Lectures on: "OUR FOREIGN POLICY" and current national issues.

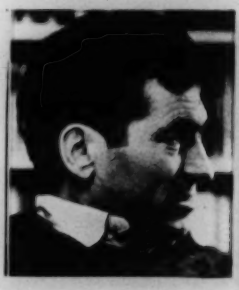


THEODOR REIK

Famed psychiatrist and psychoanalyst studied with Sigmund Freud and received the First International Prize for the best paper on Applied Psychoanalysis from Dr. Freud. Has lectured in Vienna, Berlin, and The Hague. Is President of the National Psychological Association for Psychoanalysis. Has written: "The Search Within," 'Myth and Guilt;" and "Masochism in Modern Man." Speaks on: "MY MEMOIRS OF FREUD."

ELLIOTT ROOSEVELT

Son of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, he has gained eminence in his own right and is at present Mayor of the City of Miami. Author and rancher; he has edited such books as "FDR: His Personal Letters" and written "As He Saw It, 1946." Tells all about the colorful Roosevelt administration, personalities, and situations encountered during his White House years.



NORMAN ROSTEN

Poet, playwright and screen writer, (including "View From the Bridge") has received awards from the Guggenheim Foundation and the American Academy of Arts and Letters. His "intensely personal voice . . . regards the world with irony, anger and tenderness." His works have appeared in the New Yorker, Paris Review, Holiday and many other periodicals.

PETER SCHWAB

Peace Corps returnee from two years in Africa is an eloquent speaker and author of the soon-to-be-released "My Peace Corps Diary" a colorful, romantic, bitter-sweet story of a young, white American volunteer tossed overnight into primitive Africa. While on the Dark Continent he traveled through ten different nations and also taught African History. Speaks on: "MY PEACE CORPS DAYS IN AFRICA."

ISAAC BASHEVIS SINGER

Author of prize-winning "The Magician of Lublin"; other works include "Short Friday," "Gimple the Fool," "The Spinoza of Market Street," "The Slave," which was on the best-seller list, and "The Family Moscat," for which he was awarded an American Academy and National Institute of Arts and Lecturers grant.

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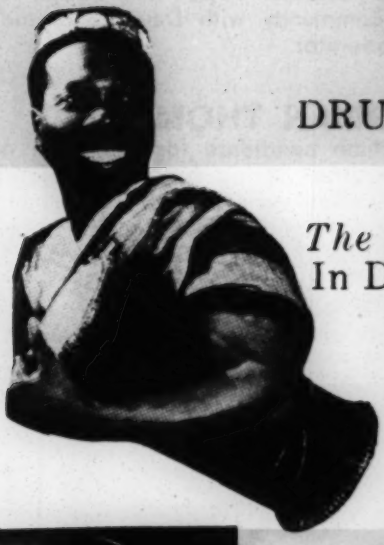

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RISE STEVENS

Beautiful, charming, witty, star of the Met will take time from her Metropolitan Opera National Company General Managerial duties to make a limited number of appearances on the lecture platform. This all time star of TV, opera, concert, movies, and recordings tells of her exciting career in "Subway To The Met" the subject of her lecture appearances this season.

DAVID SUSSKIND

Television Producer and moderator has contributed some of the most distinguished offerings seen on television, the movie screen, and the Broadway stage. "His discussion program, OPEN END, has provided a forum for some of the most stimulating, controversial and informative talk ever seen or heard." Offer an "Open End" forum to your community with David Susskind as moderator.

NORMAN THOMAS

Five time candidate for President of the United States on the Socialist Party ticket, social worker, pastor, and editor. One of the most respected public figures of the century he is a graduate of Union Theological Seminary and Princeton University where he studied under Woodrow Wilson. Author of "What Is Our Destiny?", "Human Exploitation," and "America's Way Out."

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JUNE 5,1967

FLOYD B.MCKISSICK
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
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NEW YORK, NEW YORK

DEAR FLOYD:

PLEASE FIND ENCLOSED, MY UNDATED LETTER OF RESIGNATION. PLEASE FEEL ABSOLUTELY FREE TO USE THIS AT ANY TIME YOU CONSIDER IT NECESSARY AND IN THE BEST INTEREST OF THE ORGANIZATION.

WHILE I DO NOT CONTEND THAT A NATIONAL DIRECTOR SHOULD BE AN OGRE OR AN AUTHORITARIAN FIGURE, I CANNOT SAY THAT I AM IMPRESSED WITH THE "TAIL WAGGING THE DOG" TYPE OF STAFF WHICH WE NOW HAVE. WHEN THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OF AN ORGANIZATION CEASES TO EXERCISE THE AUTHORITY AND POWER COMENSURATE WITH HIS RESPONSIBILITY IN AN ORGANIZATION, IN MY OPINION HE CEASES TO BE EFFECTIVE.

I THEREFORE STRONGLY SUGGEST THAT YOU TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO TIGHTEN THE STAFF SITUATION BEFORE IT GETS OUT OF HAND. I NEED HARDLY ADD THAT DISCRETION HERE IS PARAMOUNT.

SINCERELY YOURS,

LINCOLN O.LYNCH
ASSOCIATE NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
LOL:GW
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FLOYD B.MCKISSICK
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
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NEW YORK, NEW YORK

DEAR FLOYD:

PLEASE ACCEPT WITH SINCEREST REGRETS, MY RESIGNATION AS ASSOCIATE NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF CORE, EFFECTIVE AS OF THE ABOVE DATE.

CORE HAS FOUGHT MANY BATTLES; WON MANY VICTORIES; AND THERE ARE MANY BATTLES TO BE FOUGHT AND MANY VICTORIES TO BE WON. BECAUSE OF MANY PROBLEMS OF A PERSONAL NATURE, I AM COMPELLED TO TERMINATE MY SERVICES WITH THIS ORGANIZATION AT THIS TIME.

I KNOW THAT WITH YOUR DRIVE AND YOUR LEADERSHIP, CORE WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE FOREMOST CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATION IN THIS COUNTRY AND WILL EVEN MORE IN THE FUTURE THAN IT HAS BEEN IN THE PAST, BE THE ONE ORGANIZATION WITH A REAL CLAIM TO BE LEADING BLACK PEOPLE AND OTHER MINORITIES TO A BETTER AND BRIGHTER FUTURE.

SINCERELY YOURS,

Lincoln Lynch

LINCOLN O.LYNCH
ASSOCIATE NATIONAL DIRECTOR
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Algernon D. Black
Jim Brown
James B. Carey
Allan Knight Chalmers
Grenville Clark
John Cogley
Earl B. Dickerson
Irving J. Fain
Eugene E. Frazier
Harold Gibbons
Roland B. Gittelsohn
Sidney Hollander
Charles P. Howard
William R. Hudgins
E. Stanley Jones
Bishop F. D. Jordan
John O. Killens
Martin Luther King
Douglas Levin
David Livingston
David Mc Call
A. J. Muste
Benjamin F. Payton
Sidney Poitier
A. Philip Randolph
Ira deA. Reid
Walter P. Reuther
Hodson R. Reynolds
Jackie Robinson
Arnold M. Rose
Nathan Schwerner
Fred M. Shuttlesworth
C. K. Steele
John S. Stewart
Gardner Taylor
Bishop W. J. Walls
Goodwin Watson
Joseph Willen
Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman

JULY 28, 1967

MR. FLOYD B. MCKISSICK
NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF CORE
200 WEST 135 STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10030

DEAR FLOYD:

WHEN I JOINED CORE'S STAFF IN MARCH OF 1966, IT WAS WITH THE CLEAR KNOWLEDGE AND DECISION THAT GREAT PERSONAL SACRIFICES WOULD BE REQUIRED. I MADE THESE SACRIFICES GLADLY ALONG WITH MANY OTHERS, IN THE HOPE THAT I WOULD BE CONTRIBUTING SIGNIFICANTLY TO REBUILDING THE ORGANIZATI ON WHICH WE ALL LOVE, AND MAKE IT RELEVANT TO THE LIVES OF BLACK PEOPLE HERE IN THE UNITED STATES.

I NOW NO LONGER FEEL THAT I AM MAKING ANY CONTRIBUTION IN THE NATIONAL OFFICE, THAT MY OPINION IS NOT SOUGHT, AND WHEN OFFERED, IS IGNORED. IN SHORT, I HAVE BECOME A LIABILITY TO YOUR ADMINISTRATION. IN FACT, I THINK IT IS SAFE TO SAY THAT THE ONLY AREAS WHERE MY VIEWS HAVE SOME INFLUENCE, HAVE BEEN AT RAC MEETINGS AND CERTAINLY AT THE CONVENTION. I CAN CITE NUMEROUS INSTANCES WHERE I HAVE BEEN KEPT IN COMPLETE IGNORANCE OF DECISIONS AND POSITIONS YOU HAVE TAKEN AND EVEN INSTANCES WHERE I HAVE BEEN PERSONALLY SNUBBED.

FOR MY PART, I HAVE ENDEAVORED TO THE BEST OF MY ABILITY TO KEEP YOU INFORMED OF MY ACTIVITIES AND FOR THAT MATTER, TO TAILOR THESE ACTIVITIES TO BE COMPLEMENTARY TO YOUR OWN. I EVEN GET THE FEELING HERE, THAT THE MEMOS I SEND YOU ARE NOT EVEN READ. CERTAINLY, THEY ARE NOT DISCUSSED AND VERY FEW, IF ANY, DECISIONS ON THEM HAVE EVER BEEN TAKEN.

IN THE CONSULTATIVE FIELD, YOU ARE MUCH MORE AT HOME IN CONSULTATION WITH PEOPLE OUTSIDE THE OFFICE AND EVEN PEOPLE OUTSIDE CORE. THIS IS YOUR RIGHT, BUT SURELY YOU

CONGRESS OF
CORE
RACIAL EQUALITY

working to create a society in which all men are equal

200 WEST 135th STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10030
281-9650

Floyd B. McKissick
national director
Lincoln O. Lynch
associate director

OFFICERS
Wilfred Ussery
chairman
Arthur Evans, Jr.
first vice-chairman
Solomon Herbert
second vice-chairman
Bonnie Barrow
secretary
Cecil Brown, Jr.
treasurer

STAFF
George Schiffer
assistant general counsel
Don Smith
public relations director
Clora Coleman
comptroller

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
James Farmer
chairman
Ralph Abernathy
James Baldwin
Algernon D. Black
Jim Brown
James B. Carey
Allan Knight Chalmers
Grenville Clark
John Cogley
Earl B. Dickerson
Irving J. Fain
Eugene E. Frazier
Harold Gibbons
Roland B. Gittelsohn
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William R. Hudgins
E. Stanley Jones
Bishop F. D. Jordan
John O. Killens
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David Mc Call
A. J. Muste
Benjamin F. Payton
Sidney Poitier
A. Philip Randolph
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Walter P. Reuther
Hodson R. Reynolds
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Nathan Schwerner
Fred M. Shuttlesworth
C. K. Steele
John S. Stewart
Gardner Taylor
Bishop W. J. Walls
Goodwin Watson
Joseph Willen
Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman

MUST AGREE WITH ME THAT ANY CONSENSUS SO ARRIVED AT, SHOULD AT LEAST BE MADE KNOWN TO SOMEONE WHO MASQUERADES AS YOUR NUMBER-TWO-MAN.

IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT I HAVE SPIRITEDLY DEFENDED YOUR POLICIES AGAINST YOUR MANY DETRACTORS, IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT I HELPED VERY SIGNIFICANTLY TO TURN THE TIDE IN LEXINGTON AND EVEN GOT A RECOMMENDATION OF CENSURE FOR MY EFFORTS, IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT I WORKED CEASELESSLY, TIRELESSLY AND SUCCESSFULLY TO EFFECT THE ELECTION OF A SLATE DEDICATED TO THE CONTINUATION OF SUCH POLICIES, I FIND THAT MY OWN PROBITY AND LOYALTY HAVE BEEN CALLED IN QUESTION. OBVIOUSLY, NO ONE CAN LONG OPERATE UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES.

FOR THESE AND OTHER REASONS, I WOULD REQUEST THAT A DATE NOW BE PUT ON THE LETTER OF RESIGNATION I SENT YOU EARLIER. I WOULD SUGGEST AUGUST 31ST, BUT IF AN EARLIER DATE IS MORE AGREEABLE TO YOU, I WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTIONS. I AM SURE NO ONE CAN ACCUSE ME OF DESERTING A SINKING SHIP. CORE HAS TURNED THE CORNER. THE SPECIAL PURPOSE FUND HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED, IS A GOING CONCERN, AND IN TIME, WILL PROVIDE CORE WITH THE BASE FOR RAISING SIGNIFICANT FUNDS AND THUS, ENABLE THE ORGANIZATION TO RID ITSELF OF FINANCIAL WORRIES. THE NEW SLATE OF OFFICERS AND REPRESENTATIVES ELECTED AT THE LAST CONVENTION WILL ENSURE SOME DEGREE OF TRANQUILITY AND CONTINUITY UNTIL THE NEXT CONVENTION. I HAVE SAID PRIVATELY AND PUBLICLY THAT I AM CONVINCED CORE WILL SURVIVE. I WAS NEVER MORE CONFIDENT OF THAT THAN I AM NOW.

IT HAS BEEN POPULAR IN THE PAST FOR STAFF, EVEN SENIOR STAFF, LEAVING THE ORGANIZATION TO HAVE THEIR DAY WITH THE PRESS. IF MY WORD IS OF ANY VALUE, PLEASE REST ASSURED THAT I HAVE NO INTENTION OF SPEAKING TO THE PRESS, NOR FOR THAT MATTER, OF EVEN SPEAKING WITH MEMBERS OF THE NAC. MY PURPOSE IN SUBMITTING MY RESIGNATION IS TO PROTECT MY OWN INTEGRITY AND NOT TO DESTROY OR ATTEMPT TO DESTROY THE ORGANIZATION IN WHICH I AND MANY OTHERS HAVE INVESTED SO MUCH.

MY FILES ARE MOSTLY IN ORDER AND I WILL ATTEMPT TO FINALIZE ALL MATTERS WITH WHICH I AM DEALING BEFORE THE END OF AUGUST.

SINCERELY YOURS,

Lincoln O. Lynch

LINCOLN O. LYNCH
ASSOCIATE NATIONAL DIRECTOR

Draft - Speech

MAGNA CARTA FOR RIGHT OF BLACK PEOPLE

Economic Development of Plan for Harlem

1. Rehabilitation of ghetto & i.e. not total destruction of ghetto

    a. Bringing industry, respect, courts, functions of city, state & county - schools & colleges to ghetto.

    b. Recognition that ghetto living is a psyche, not only a building.

2. Development of cultural Center - Art, Sciences, Discoveries by Negroes - Educational Park.

3. Fund-Raising - must be connecte with office being located in Harlem.

Churches need educational program and CORE people should come from the churches.

Publicity campaign - Negro mailings

    a. Re-doing membership Campaign - Marie Simmons

    b. Pictures - CORE - McKissick

    McKissick moves to Harlem. New address - articles in Times Harpers - Atlantic Monthly.

    c. Call Public Relations Advisory Committee

        1. Design new stationery, functions to be set up.

    d. Reducing of debts

        1. Write all creditors and see if they will agree to reduce debt in half if prompt payment is made.

Proposal & grant from Ford to Development of a Rehabilitation Program:

    1. Study what businesses are not there

(cont.)

Magna Carta for Right of Black People

Economic Development of Plan for Harlem

(1) Rehabilitation of Ghetto + IE riot total destruction of Ghetto -

A. Bridging Industry, respect Courts, Functions of City, State + County - Schools + Colleges to Ghetto

B. Recognition that Ghetto living is a lifestyle not only a building

(2) Development of Cultural Center Art, Sciences, Discoveries by Negroes [Educational Park]

MF

(3) Fund Raising - must be connected with / associated with office being located in Harlem.

WHEN FREEDOM NOW

Church Committee

BRUCE BAINE

Churches need educational Program and CORE people should come out of this church

Negro callings

Publicity Campaign: Envelopes → Marie SIMMONS

Stationery

CORE CAR w/ insignia

A. Reading Membership Campaign ~~Weekly Specials~~ - ~~Daily Specials~~: "NegroES will not support their Civil Rights Organizations!"

Promotion days

Thrift Club

Insurance Club

B. Pictures - CORE - MCKISSICK

MCKISSICK MOVES TO HARLEM

New Address - Articles in TIMES HARPERS - Atlantic Monthly

Records by MCK SPEECHES

Police Brutality

Call CORE.

C. Call R. Rel Advisory Committee

1. Design New Stationery set up functions include Prayer? Functions as discussed.

To sell CORE to Harlem via Jive

Promotion for moving - McKissicks CORES - Big 3 MCK - Usury - Lynch.

P.S. 98 -

Reducing of Debts:
Write all creditors and see if they will agree to reduce debt in half if prompt payment is made.

Proposal & Grant from ford to Development of a Rehibilitation Program:
1. Study what Business are not There
2. " " what are needed
3. " " Institutions are not there
4. " " that are needed
5. " Comparative study of other sections

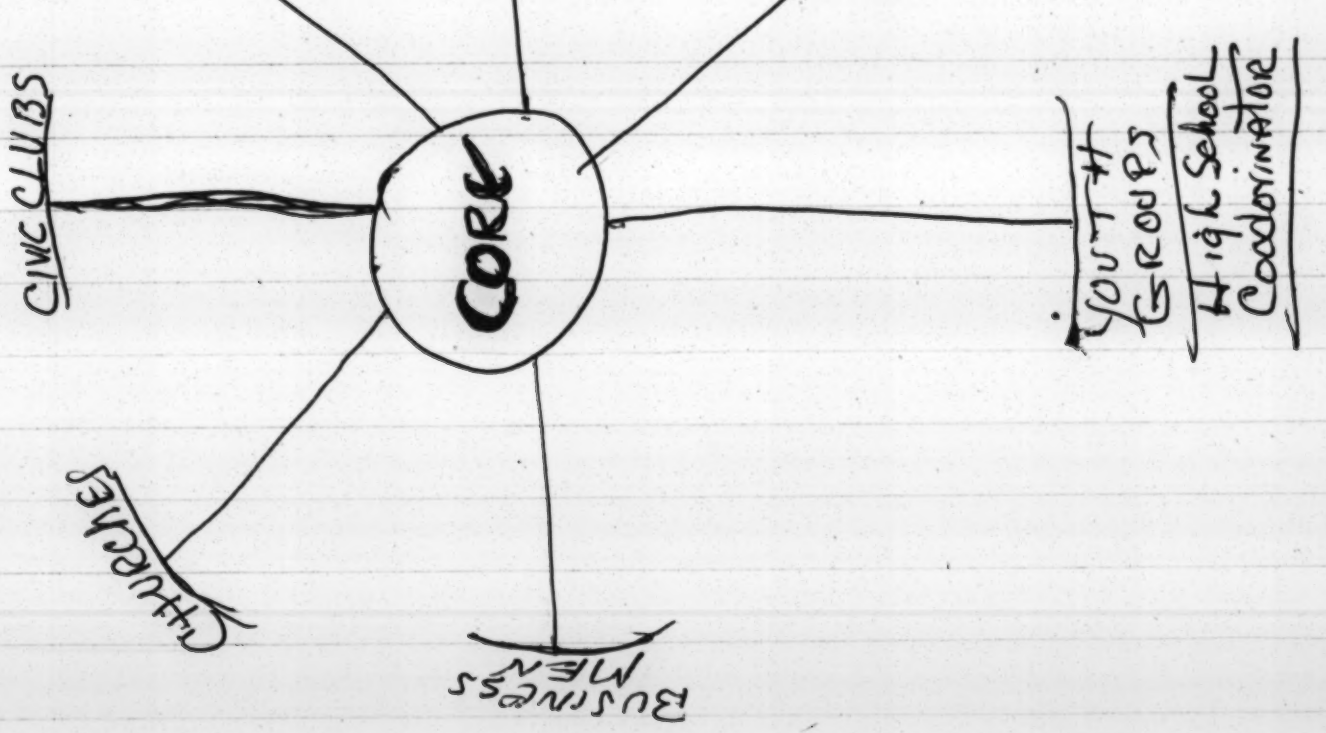
Get Carl Rachlin to Create Trust fund.

Pin point Lease & Rent Agreement for middle of June.

Washington Office - Ruth Turner.

Publicity
CORE 66 - YEAR of Solution SI.

CORE S PROGRAM


CORE
CIVIC CLUBS
CHURCHES
BUSINESS MEN
YOUTH GROUPS
High School Coordinator

Regular weekly meeting
w/Harlem Branch
Cultural Council
+ Tech Adv. Committee

Economic Development

Social Services

Cultural Events

Parks

Get Carnes Savs Loan to Loan employees to Helpus do a Balance sheet.

Bill Russell

* Stars for a Democratic Society (Try Exemption
* Develop Training Program in CR Group
* Benefits — Sports Contest
  1 football game — 1 basket ball Home per year
* Bus Coop — Block Super Stars ∧
  CR — to Buy ▽ heres a Hotel !!
* Advisory Board — CORE Statorney
* Send out our appeal for Funds in his Name.
* Jimmy Brown — Sugar Ray — Bill Russell
  Frank Robinson — Sob Sam Jones

  Add in Ebony by Negro Artist
  Will Negros support their CR Organ

CORE is my favorite charity. It does as much as any organization to build your people — to have self respect — Yet CORE cannot become Tax Exempted because it tries to make our congressmen & senators pass legislature to insure Negro people of the right to work, a higher minimum wage — to work for people to have the right to vote — this is what is called Lobbying — influencing the passage of legislature, which ought to be done — Yet CORE is not Tax exempted — Yet CORE's work is far more in importance than many other things.

To ME there is nothing more important than Teaching Negro Boy & Girls to have Pride Respect, Hope, the Right to accomplish

(quote from Book page 19

RIOTS

THE MECHANISM OF IRRATIONAL CROWD BEHAVIOR

Implications for civil rights and peace organizations.

Many activists in the civil rights organizations believe that the disturbances in Watts and around Watts may result in ~~a~~ the a setback for civil rights and ~~the~~ advancement ~~for~~ the Negro.

The disturbances in and of themselves could possibly advance the Negro cause, but the accompanying more extreme and irrational violence could have the opposite effect.

Even the groups that believe that a violent defense may be necessary at times against an unprovoked violent attack, and believe that at some point in the distant future the people must use force to prevent the armed destruction of democratic institutions on the part of Fascists and reactionarys, condemn the use of individual violence, especially when it is used for personal or irrational reasons or no reasons at all.

It is generally agreed that highly irrational illlegal activity could easily do the liberal cause much harm.

Everyone wants to know the root causes for everything that happened last week, but it is especially important for civil rights organizations and peace organizations to also understand the mechanism of highly irrational and violent and illegal activity.

The disturbances in the negro community of Watts in August 1965, have received expert and excellent analysis on the part of Sociologists and Psychologists as well as community readers, which have quite thoroughly explained the basis causes.

However, the exact mechanism by which the disturbances took the violent and illegal form in which they did, have not been adequately explained.

Gurt Blaine and Gladys Engle Laing in their book on collective dynamics, published by Grosell in 1961, state that many individual diviations from normative patterns do not become collective. But the ones that do are spread because individuals tend to act, think, or feel as they observe others acting, thinking, or feeling. Thus ~~Lest~~ an individual hallucination becomes a rumor, personal cowardice ~~xxxxxx~~ in the face of danger becomes collective demoralization, and private acts of aggression turn into a lynch mob. The epidemic aspects of these breaks in the established pattern are often referred to as social, mental, or behavioral contagion.

They state that contagion has been attributed to a variety of mechanisms: imitation, circular reaction, and suggestability.

Imitation is the tendency to do the same thing that one observes others doing. Circular ~~xxxxxx~~ reaction is a process by which the emotions of others elicit the same emotions in oneself, which in turn intensify the emotions of others.

Suggestability is an abnormal state of hypersensitivity to images , directions, and propositions emanating from others.

Lang and Lang go on to say that in some instances people seem to imitate indiscriminately. Thus, in an illdefined situation, imitation seems to depend on an assessment of status, and models are chosen with little discrimination.

These theories have been applied to a lynch mob. Miller and Dollard think that a common stimulus to which most of the participants would have responded individually as they had been alone is essential.

Individual responses have been intensified by stimuli from other persons in the crowd. The large numbers signal the assurance of anonimity.

This theory is easily expanded to explain collective phenomena . It offers a usefull and consistant explanation, which is, moreover, supported by a wealth of data from learning experiments conducted on animals as well as humans.

Circular Reaction

Lang and Lang cite the situation of circular reaction in a condition of panic and use the following to illustrate this point. For a soldier trying to control his own impulse to run away, the site of his officer running toward the rear signifies the impending withdrawl. Fearing to be alone when the enemy attacks the soldier runs after him. This frantic flight spreads hysteria to other soldiers. When they follow him, his responses conformed; it becomes circular and mushroomed into a full-blown panic route, until ultimately no one will know the initial reason for running.

They cite another example of a circular reaction. An attack on a grain merchant or an owner of a bakery during a bread famine suggests to bystanders that the person responsible for the shortage has been found. His anger thus aroused, the bystander joins the others. Their unanimous action documents the guilt of the victim

In the one way machanism called suggestability, the person influenced empolys the leader as a standard; for example, the hypnotist is constantly defining standards for the behavoir of the subject. This formulation is valuable in understanding group formation.

Being attracted to a leader, a prestige figure, a powerful personality, entails a recognition by members of the group of the standards he sets and a willingness to govern ones conduct by them.

The leader indirectly exerts still another kind of influence. When a group of people accept the same standards or are suceptable to suggestions from the same person, they acquire a common identity. Mutual identification among followers constitutes the second kind of influence that binds a group together.

A group can be defined as a plurality of persons who share an ideal or a standard that each has internalized and who, as a result of this internalization identify with one another. Because the participants in such a group are suggestable to the views of the authority they accept, they tend to see the world in the same way, through the eyes of the group so to say, and thereby validate their individual observations.

Under the influence of transient groups, participants become responsive to new ideals revealed in the actual behavior of the group. The essence of behavioral or emotional contagion appears to lie precisely in the externalization of these ideals. They are externalized by being acted out. Accordingly, contagion occurs only with regard to behavior that the follower already has a tendency to act out. The example of others acting impulsively temporarilly redefines the situation and thus triggers the tendency. Where the inner ballance is labile, relatively minor provacations by others suffice to activate behavior that would otherwise be inhibited.

Shared psychopathology constitutes social contagion in its most literal form. The pathological symptoms of two or more persons often depend on and sustain each other. It has long been recognized that hysteria more than other types of psychopathology, is easily spread by social contagion.

The collective elation people in crowds occasionally experience indicates that in these circumstances, the boundary between what one is, and what one has to live up to, is blurred. The underlying impulses are always in danger of erupting. When they do, the contagion proceeds in direction either not yet crystallised into social structure or even in direct opposition to it. Crystallization into definite forms implies also a more permanent reconstructionering of the ego. Again quoting Lang and Lang, suggestability is greater in very large collectivities because delusions gain in strength as a result of social projection. The participant can see only those with whom he is in contact. If they are like-minded, he will be able to project an image of the larger unity acting under a common impulse.

Mass contagion thus invloves firstly a tendency on the part of followers to accept appeals and action that are at variance with their normal social selves, but are consonant with their inner needs. Mass contagion also involves a diminished willingness to appraise ones own behavior in terms of broader standards. Mass contagion is most likely to occur when the behaviorsk or emotions observed fit in with inner conflicts and thus reduce the capacity for critical self-observation. Lang and Lang summerize their observations in the following way. The concept of imitation helps to explain follow-the-leader behavior, when the proper response is in doubt but the goals of leaders are assumed identical with that of the follower. Circular reaction draws our attention to the dissolution of norms, when collective excitement bulids up a readiness to follow suggestions at variance with normal behavior. To understand the specific direction of new forms of behavior take,

a dynamic approach that takes account of inner conflicts is needed. Through identification, people become suggestable to propositions that appear highly irrational.

possibly

Eventually, investigation will show that some of the more serious types of anti-social behavior was purpertrated by psychopaths and people with criminal tendencies who took advantage of the disturbances to ~~xxxx~~ carry out their psychopathic tendencies or committed crimes for personal reasons entirely.

However, if there is a better understanding of the mechanisms of irrational group behavior, it may be possible for the civil rights ~~xxxx~~ organizations and the Negro organizations such as the churches, etc., ~~in~~ the future to channel much of the irrational activity into constructive efforts that will help the Negro people rather than hinder it's progress.

When the facts all come out, it is likely that they will show that many of the fires were set by pyromaniacs who ordinarily are forced to suppress their anti-social behavior. ~~It~~ is possible that much of the gunfire was purpertrated by other psychopaths who were shooting at an imagined enemy, for some imagined wrong.

such as peaceful demonstrations, sit-ins, picket-lines, and other effective mass-participation measures.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Floyd B. McKissick

FROM: Lincoln Lynch

DATE: October 18, 1966

RE: Refunding of C.D.G.M.

As a result of a telephone from Walter Brooks yesterday, I spoke to C.T. Vivian in Chicago. He requested CORE's endorsement and the personal endorsement of the National Director and myself of an advertisement to appear in the New York Times supporting the refunding of C.D.G.M. Rev. Vivian reports 82 top churchmen, including many Bishops, had met in Chicago and had given top priority to this project. They subsequently visisted with Sargent Shriver in Washington to urge a continuation of C.D.G.M. and were so determined in their actions that they agreed beforehand that if Shriver did not see them, they would picket his office. Rev. Vivian feels that this action from generally conservative churchmen was very significant.

It was reported that they saw Mr. Shriver who placed the blame for termination of funding for C.D.G.M. at the door of Southern politicians. Today the New York Times seems to contradict that position because the Times reports Mr. Shriver as saying that C.D.G.M. was not refunded because of certain internal irregularities.

I advised Rev. Vivian that we would support refunding of C.D.G.M. in every way possible except that we have no money.

I discussed briefly with him the status of CORE's participation in the Urban Training Center Project. He informs me that the investigation is still proceeding on the financing of this project and we will be advised in the near future.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Floyd B. McKissick, National Director

FROM: Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director

RE: Miscellaneous

DATE: September 20, 1967

CC: Department Heads

Tony Perot, Program Director; Cal Brown, Community Relations Director; Ruth Turner, Educational Officer; Jan Jennings, Comptroller

Regarding the Constitutional Convention proposed by the 1967 Convention, I have checked with Roy Innis and, subject to further discussion with the National Chairman and senior staff, a tentative date has been set for Saturday, October 28, 1967. It was Roy's feeling that the meeting should take place after the NAC meeting on the weekend of the 15th, in order to bring the thinking of the members of the NAC clear on the deliberations. He anticipates confering with the National Chairman on Thursday, September 21, and as soon as a firm date has been decided upon, chapters and delegates will be advised.

*****

The North East Regional Action Council meeting is scheduled for the Henry Hudson Hotel, New York City, on the weekend of September 29, 30 and October 1, at which time it is anticipated that there will be an election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention, and of regional representatives.

*****

The North Central Regional Action Council meeting is scheduled to be held in Davenport, Iowa, the weekend of September 29 and 30. Regional Chairman, Taylor Jones, is in the hospital in East Saint Louis as a result of a police beating, but it is anticipated that he will be available by the 29th.

*****

Attached to this memorandum is a copy of a resume of Mrs. Frances Manning, who has been hired by the Columbia School of Social Work, with my agreement, to supervise the six students assigned to CORE, for the coming term. I have interviewed Mrs. Manning. She is Black, somewhat talkative, knows what CORE is all about, but has not had a deep background in the civil rights movement or CORE. She is a mature woman and it is my opinion that she will do an adequate job. It is anticipated that she will be in the office during the week of September 25, for general orientation and discussion of the program, and the assignment of pupils. May I add, she is being paid by Columbia University.

*****

Mr. Joseph Horowitz of BUY Fabrics, Inc. - 241 West 36th Street (565 1992), has contacted this office to develop a business relationship. Mr. Horowitz is an executive of the above mentioned firm, which claims to be the sole importer of Tom Tom Fabrics, as well as other African prints, for distribution,

(cont.)

wholesale, on the American market. I have asked Miss Jan Douglass, of the National Council of Negro Women, to investigate, and she initially reports that the fabrics are of excellent quality and, compared to other reasonably priced fabrics, are very inexpensive. She is conducting further investigations into the background and general stability of the market and will submit a report, written, later. If her findings are favorable, I intend to pursue this matter further, with a view to developing not only a market for fabrics, but also for the garments which may be made from the fabric (dresses, shirts, etc.)

*****

In order to standardize all subsistence pay to staff, traveling on duty for CORE, the following rates are established, subject to the agreement of the National Director, Breakfast - $1.50: Lunch - $2.50: Dinner - $3.50: An added allowance of $1.00 for tipping — Total: $8.50. This subsistence rate would apply to all staff, with the exception of the National Director, is effective immediately, and is not retroactive.

*****

Mrs. Lillie R. Louis of Trenton, New Jersey, 46 Arden Avenue (882-6392), called to advise that she and other former CORE activists, including Lou Smith and Herb Callendar, having lost all appeals up to the Supreme Court, had to pay fines of $100.00, or face a bench warrant for their arrest. The arrests grew out of activities in New Jersey in 1964. Mrs. Louis wanted CORE to pay her fine and those of all other activists. I advised that this could not be done; that she should pay the fine herself and submit receipt to this office and when our financial condition is better, we will repay her. She was quite upset, but finally agreed.

*****

Ed Russell of Seattle CORE reports that the Chairman, John Cornethan has been overwhelmingly voted out. He has been replaced with a four man governing body, with Russell as Chairman. It appears, however, that Cornethan is still issuing statements in the name of CORE and alledgedly speaks for the chapter. This office was requested to send a telegram supporting the ouster and withdrawing regognition from Cornethan. This was done. In a subsequent telephone conversation with the Seattle chapter, it appears that there is strenuous objection to the appearance of the National Director under the auspices of the Negro Voters' League, in Seattle. It is claimed that this is a do-nothing group with no funds of their own and they are only attempting to capitalize on the prestige and the name of the National Director. Further, the local chapter has not been invited to participate in this event except to serve as an "Honor Gaurd" for the National Director. Chapter people express strong feelings against the appearance and further feel, in view of the fact that a previously sponsored CORE appearance in Seattle by the National Director was canceled, that any subsequent appearances should be under the auspices of the local chapter. They have indicated their willingness to work to make this a financial success. I have asked a meeting of their governing body be called for Wednesday, September 20, 1967, with a view to exploring a way out of the impasse. I am to be advised tomorrow morning, Thursday, September 21, 1967.

*****

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Floyd B. McKissick, National Director

FROM: Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director

DATE: September 25, 1967

SUBJECT: Miscellaneous

*****

Mrs. Mildred Hines (AD 4 8241) sought the intervention of this office in an employment dispute between the union Local #153, of the Office and Professional Workers Union and Local #326, for whom she worked at the Health Center on 9th Avenue. As this appears to be a local as opposed to a national matter, Mrs. Hines was referred to Roy Innis, Harlem CORE, and also to the Mayors' Committee on the Exploitation of Workers, 325 Broadway. Mr. Innis spoke to Mrs. Hines, and it is anticipated that his Employment Committee will follow up on this matter.

*****

At the invitation of Waverly Yates, Chairman for Norwalk CORE, 203 Liberty Square, Norwalk, Connecticut, I visited the chapter on Saturday, September 23. The chapter is heavily involved in a primary battle in which the Vice Chairman, Stephen Lee, is a candidate for Norwalk City Council. His opponent is Mr. Otha M. Brown, former NAACP President. Mr. Lee is young, personable, and the chapter is working especially hard to insure his election. They are also heavily involved in the housing question in Norwalk: The Urban Renewal Program is working to the detriment and destruction of the Black Community and the chapter has been engaged in law suits in an effort to prevent this. They appear to be quite confident of winning the primary on Thursday, September 28, and I will investigate the possibility of detaching Danny Gant to them for the last two days.

*****

Mr. Felix Clark, 123 Van Pelt Avenue, Staten Island, New York 10303, has indicated intense interest in reviving the chapter on Staten Island and playing an important role in CORE. I have sent him a letter authorizing him to proceed in conjunction with any of the former Staten Island CORE people who have an interest. You will be kept advised.

*****

It is important that a decision be taken as early as possible, with respect to your appearance in Seattle, October 11. From numerous conversations with the Seattle Chapter people and correspondence passed for your information, they are very much againstthe visit unless under the auspices of CORE. The appearance is that they have taken vigorous steps to rebuild and redirect the chapter and feel a visit by you at this time, bearing in mind the canceled CORE visit, would work to their detriment.

*****

After consultation with Wil Ussery and Roy Innis, it has been decided to hold the first meeting of the constitutional convention in Washington, D.C., on the weekend of November 10. Acklan Lynch has been requested to secure accomodations

and meeting facilities and should be advising us within the next two weeks. It is anticipated that the cost of this meeting will be approximately three thousand dollars ($3,000.00) and will be borne by the Taconic Grant to the CORE SPECIAL PURPOSE FUND.

*****

There was a meeting at the Ford Foundation on Wednesday, November 20, of the Bundy Task Force on Education. Roy Innis, who attended the meeting, reports that the meeting was good, there was strong CORE and CORE oriented participation and the concept of "Harlem Type" school districts for the ghettos was favorably received. There is some indication of interest by the Foundation and Mr. Bundy.

*****

I have been advised by George Schiffer, Mr. Jonathan Pollack, Attorney and Mr. Weigal of Chase Manhattan Bank, that the account with Massachusetts Envelope, has been satisfied in full and both bank accounts have been freed. I have instructed bookkeeping that, pending written notice from the bank, to make the necessary allowance in the amount of four thousand four hundred forty seven dollars ($4,447.00), which it took to settle this account. I point out also that there is an additional bank charge of two hundred eighteen dollars ($218.). In my view, this was an expensive settlement stemming from our failure or inability to honor an agreement to pay two hundred fifty dollars ($250.00) per month on this account.

*****

I am in discussion with Department Heads on getting out as soon as possible, an edition of the CORE-Lator. I feel we should attempt to put out an eight page tabloid type newspaper, with pictures and interesting articles, rather than the mimeographed sheet which we have done previously. I am discussing the cost with several printers and should have some information within a week. I would suggest that you prepare a short article complete with pictures, on your recent trip to Africa, as the highlight of the publication.

*****

On Tuesday, September 19, three Japanese labor people, Ishida, Mr. Kamoshita and Mr. Shiro Suzuki, together with Mr. William McGuire of the U.S. Labor Department and Mr. Ryoichi Kanda, an interpreter, visited the office as part of their tour of the United States. I spoke to them at length on CORE programs, our philosophy and orientation and activities. They were very sympathetic and indicated very keen interest in our international concepts. I think it will be useful for CORE to keep in touch with these Japanese representatives.

*****

CC: Department Heads

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Barbara Killens

FROM: Floyd B. McKissick, National Director

DATE: August 28, 1967

REGARDING: Tardiness

I regret that it is necessary to advise you that unless you can be on time to work, consistently, your services will be terminated.

As I feel that you have the skills necessary and could be a very able secretary, we will not take any immediate action -- but unless your attendance improves immediately, such action will have to be taken.

*****

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Ann Page

FROM: Floyd B. McKissick, National Director

DATE: November 14, 1967

RE: Key Distribution List

Please make out a list indicating which staff members have keys to which doors and return same to me today.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: All National Office Staff

FROM: Floyd B. McKissick, National Director

DATE: November 14, 1967

RE: Office Hours

Please be advised that office hours are from 9:00 a.m. until 5 p.m.. Any staff member or department head who plans to be either late, absent or out of town must report same to Priscilla Rigby before leaving town or before 9:30 on the day of the absence.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Callis Brown, Director of Community Relations

FROM: Floyd B. McKissick, National Director

DATE: November 14, 1967

RE: CORE Car

Please prepare a form which can be mimeographed and used for CORE staff that is using the CORE car. This form must be completed each time any staff member signs in or out for the car. You will be responsible for keeping accurate records regarding this matter.

It will also be your responsibility to present each staff member who is signing out with a memoranddm to the effect that any parking tickets must be paid by the staff member responsible.

&****

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Callis N. Brown, Director of Community Relations

FROM: Floyd B. McKissick, National Director

DATE: November 14, 1967

RE: Reprints - "Speaking Freely:"

Please order five hundred (500) reprints of the transcript of "Speaking Freely" the NBC TV show on which I appeared, Sunday, November 12, with Ed Newman. These reprints can be had gratus.

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mck

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Floyd B. McKissick, National Director: Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director; Heads of Departments

FROM: Antoine Perot Jr., Program Director

RE: CORE Baltimore Target City Project, Inc.

DATE: September 15, 1967

Since the chapter election and the political alignment from same, a marked improvement in the morale, cooperation and performance of the Target City staff and volunteers is very much in evidence. The Target City office was recently painted, and serious efforts are being made to mount programs and clear up the administrative problems left by Walter Brooks.

I think this change is due in part to the leadership of Danny Gant, and the renewed interest shown by the national office. However, there are many problems to be corrected, before the project can acquire a degree of stability. Of primary importance is the Social Security and Employee Tax problem. In addition, there are many past due accounts that must be paid as soon as possible. The state of repair of the building is another. (A partial list of bills is included with this report.)

I have also instructed Danny Gant to provide this office with a complete report of the status of the project and weekly reports as to progress, activities, programs and problems. The first report is due Wednesday, September 20, 1967. Danny is expected to be in New York at that time, along with staff and trainees from the CORE Youth Program.

THE CORE TARGET CITY BOARD, INC.

The board is defunct and incapable of directing anything. It is my opinion that it should be desolved and replaced with a board operating as part of the chapter structure.

In any event, the main purpose for my trip was to get a resolution through the board, consistent with the resolution of the steering committee of the NAC, Aug. 25-27, which states: "That all funds for projects be received, disbursed and under the supervision and control of the CORE SPECIAL PURPOSE FUND." This resolution was acted on, and passed unanimously by the Baltimore Target City Board, Inc.

Copies of the minutes are being sent to this office.

(cont.)

CORE TARGET CITY YOUTH PROGRAM

This program is about to be refunded for a second year by the Department of Labor for approximately $400,000. I have directed Milton Holmes, Project Director, to prepare a full report as to the status of the project, expected date of funding, anticipated plans for future, and other pertinent information usually included in such reports. This report is to be presented to the National Director on Wednesday, September 20. He is expected in this office at 11:30 a.m. This seems to me a good opportunity for the National Director to evaluate Mr. Holmes' ability, commitment and continued status with CORE.

RECOMMENDATION

1. That a special effort be made to straighten out the tax problem as soon as possible. (Lynch to call Atty. Fred Weisgal to handle this.)

NO 2. That Danny Gant be appointed temporary Director, until such time as another Director can be assigned.

OK 3. That an additional $400.00 be made available to pay pressing past due bills.

4. That a weekly evaluation be made of the progress and status of the Baltimore project by the National Director, Associate Director and Program Director.

? OK 5. That immediate steps be taken to desolve the Target City Board, Inc. into the local chapter structure (Lynch, Perot)

6. That the National Director and Associate National Directors spend some time on Wednesday evaluating Mr. Holmes' ability to direct the Youth Program in line with CORE direction and ideology.

OK 7. That the Program Director spend the necessary time in Washington to insure that the funds are channeled to the SPECIAL PURPOSE FUND.

***

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

M E M O R A N D U M

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Floyd B. McKissick, National Director

FROM: Antoine Perot, Program Director

RE: Meeting with Vice President's Task Force, Tuesday, Oct. 24, 1967

DATE: October 30, 1967

Persons in attendance:

CORE - Roy Innis, Ken Simmons, George Alexis, Don Roberts (New Detroit Committee), Charles Tate, (Dayton Alliance of Racial Equality), Victor Solomon

VICE PRESIDENT'S TASK FORCE - Jack Gordon, Special Assistant to Vice President Humphrey, Roger Wilkins, Community Relations Director, Department of Justice, Frank Sinatra (guest of Jay Kennedy), Jay Kennedy, Phil Zeidman, SBA, Bill Welch, Dept. of Labor.

cc: Lincoln Lynch, Roy Innis, Ken Simmons, George Alexis, Victor Solomon, Don Roberts, Charles Tate

The following represents a report of a preliminary exploratory meeting held as the result of initial discussion between Jim Farmer and Jay Kennedy. Roy Innis, who served as team leader and spokesman, explained to those present that Floyd would not be involved in such meetings unless the Vice President or the President were present. Thus, the meeting was exploratory in nature with no commitments of any kind.

What transpired in the other meetings held prior to this one hasn't been ascertained, but it is clear that if they are to continue, a great deal of discussion and analysis should be made. We must determine not only what they want from us but we must also consider how we can involve the people we want for our own purposes.

From the information we were able to get in the meeting, it is clear that they are seeking to solicit our advice and consultation on some of the programs they considered new and innovative (from the government's standpoint); for the most part, the programs were the "same old coin out of the same old con." At any rate, they also seem prepared to make concessions to CORE organizationally and if we accept their help, can provide

(cont.)

CONFIDENTIAL

ADDITI
additional tools in strategic cities we select to generate funds and programs and provide mechanisms for economic development and community contacts.

One of the programs discussed was the preferential rights of industries in high unemployment areas. The regular bidding processes would then be suspended for companies doing business in high unemployment areas. In addition, there was much discussion about programs being developed by SBA. They gave us the red light, in a discussion on the subject, to cut through red tape so people selected by us could receive special consideration.

Our side approached the discussion with reservations and caution, seeking to determine the hidden agenda of the Vice President's team. We asked specifically why, less than two years after the Vice President made an attack on the Black Power movement, he is interested in meeting with Black Power representatives. The response was that the Vice President, at that time was ill advised andnow sees the Black Power movement as a constructive force in the ghettoes throughout the nation.

It was also stated that the President and his Cabinet had been appraised of this meeting and any subsequent meeting taking place among the parties would be known and approved of. It was clear then that the Administration considered the meetings significant and must have a hidden agenda. All technicians attending for the Vice President had important jobs and understood their areas well, so it becomes extremely important for us, before becoming involved in subsequent meetings, to understand exactly what our goals and objectives are.

While there are some tools to be used for the benefit of CORE and the Black Community, there is a considerable amount of danger in our not understanding and analyzing what our goals are. For example, the suggestion of the Vice President's Task Force to set a Steering Committee of Black Militants up (which comes close to our own objective of bringing Black Militants together) if not properly handled, could generate tremendous confusion and questions about our organizational integrity and legitimacy which could lead to the destruction of CORE. At the same time, if our role is to use government to provide additional resources for economic and political development, there is a good possibility that we can get benefits from subsequent meetings.

Recommendations:
(cont.)

TO: Floyd B. McKissick
FROM: Antoine Perot

RE: VP's Task Force
DATE: Oct. 30, 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

1. Before any subsequent meetings occur, I would recommend that several meetings take place involving our team, including the National Director and the Associate National Director, to assess and analyze the objectives of our side, to determine the hidden agenda of the Vice President's Task Force and the implications of our involvement in any further meetings.

2. That there be, among our team, a clear understanding of the ideology and programmatic direction of CORE relative to funded programs, particularly government funded programs.

3. That we enter into no additional meetings or negotiations concerning other meetings until and unless the proper amount of evaluation, discussion and team development occur.

4. That Roy Innis continue to be spokesman for our side at this stage of negotiations and all contacts and discussions with the other side be channeled through him. Any new information should be disseminated to all members of the team.

5. That we schedule an evaluation meeting for Friday, Nov 4 from 4 to 7 p.m., with the results of said meeting to be sent to Roberts and Tate immediately.

*****

August 21, 1967

Mr. John G. Kirk, Editor
Metromedia, Inc.
3 East 54th Street
New York, New York 10022

Re: Magazine Article — Metromedia, Inc.

Dear Mr. Kirk:

Thank you for your letter of August,1, requesting that I write an article for a symposium on the United States, to be published for Metromedia by Harper and Row next year. Please forgive the delay in reply. I have just returned from a trip to Africa and am just now attending to correspondence.

I will be happy to be a contributor to this worthwhile project. The deadline for which we will strive for is September 30, 1967. The article will contain about 2,500 - 3,000 words under the general heading of "Society." The agreed upon honorarium is $300.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

FBMcK;ih

AUG 3 1967

Metromedia, Inc., 3 East 54th Street, New York, New York 10022, 682-9100

August 1, 1967

Mr. Floyd McKissick
National Headquarters
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. McKissick,

I am writing you in the hope that I may be able to interest you in contributing to an editorial project I am supervising on behalf of Metromedia, Inc.

Briefly, the project is a symposium on the United States, to be published for Metromedia by Harper and Row next year. The purpose is to test a set of basic, widely-held (by Americans) assumptions about the United States for both their contemporary viability and theoretical validity. The enclosed materials will, I hope, help to explain all this in more coherent detail.

The specific contribution which I hope that you will consider making is an article of approximately 2,500-3,000 words under the general heading of "Society."

I should hope that you may be willing to choose either an aspect of the subject which particularly interests you, or alternatively, make a more general statement about the subject-area as a whole. In either case, a comparison between beliefs and realities should be the point of departure.

The terms which I am able to offer are essentially magazine terms: $300 in exchange for printed word rights to Metromedia, with consultation on any prospective use beyond the Metromedia-Harper edition of the work. The deadline which I should like to aim for is September 30, 1967.

For your information, other authors who have either agreed to contribute or are considering doing so includ Henry Steele Commager, Jacques Barzun, Senator George T. McGovern, Kenneth Clark, McGeorge Bundy, and about twenty others.

I should be both honored and grateful if you would consent to add your name to the contributors to this project. I believe it stands a good chance of being a worth-while one.

Sincerely,

John G. Kirk
Editor

JGK:ew
Enclosures

AMERICA NOW

America Now (working title) is the first of a planned series of essays on public affairs to be sponsored by Metromedia, Inc. The genesis of this project was a series of special thematic issues planned for Diplomat magazine while that periodical was a Metromedia property. Diplomat's September, 1966 issue, "A National Briefing on China," may be taken as a prototype of what is intended.

Each book in the projected series will be an inquiry into a topic of concern to Americans. Each will be the work of several contributors, carefully planned and integrated as to coverage of the subject, but completely unrestricted as to the point of view and conclusions expressed by each contributor. The object is to produce what Professor McLuhan would probably call a "probe" -- an exercise intended not so much to convince as to stimulate, to generate the maximum number of provocative insights.

America Now exemplifies this approach. Its subject was chosen precisely because it is both familiar and formidable. For most Americans there seems no coherent way of looking at the phenomenon of contemporary America. Everyone is uneasily aware that old certainties have become unhinged and that traditional codes and patterns of behavior are shifting -- but whether for better or worse, none can say. Half-understood and something less than half-evaluated, an apparently random deluge of new facts, events and ideas pour in on us in ever-increasing volume. The first twenty pages of any day's edition of the New York Times represents a bewildering conjuries of diverse information, much of which appears to be important, yet little of which can easily be assigned a firm place within any traditional conception of our society and its role in the world.

Bitter public debates have developed in areas such as foreign policy, welfare and civil rights. That there should be debates on such topics is hardly new, but there seems to be something significantly new about the quality of these debates; an intolerance -- perhaps an impatience with normal democratic processes -- operating against a background of extraordinary confusion as to the pragmatic and the theoretical justifications for action. Indeed, action without reference to elaborated theory seems a modern characteristic (certainly it is one of the most obvious differences between the New Left and old-style Social-Democratic Liberalism). One senses that this may be a case of faute de mieux -- that people would be glad enought to have better conceptual bases for their actions but meanwhile feel that certain actions are immediately imperative.

Characterizations of contemporary America by foreign observers never seem "quite right" to Americans. Perhaps it is in the nature of such generalizations that they can never be "quite right." Perhaps they

cannot any longer even be significantly right. But the effort to find some significantly right generalizations, to establish some sort of acceptable conceptual framework against which the processes of America can be tested for value, is still emminently worthwhile. And probably this is something that only Americans can do.

America Now is an attempt to approach this problem through the medium of working myths. A small set of basic, commonly-held assumptions about America has been selected, and a number of writers have been invited to comment on both the theoretical validity of these assumptions and their relation to present realities. The object has been to generate insights, to find some unexpected correlations and, hopefully, to produce some acceptable (or at least provocative) syntheses.

Taken on a whole, America Now is not intended to be a statement of policy for any individual or group; it is intended to be a rational effort to deal with a problem of concern to everyone.

The Structure of AMERICA NOW

AMERICA NOW will be divided into six sections, each dealing with an aspect of American life -- Government, foreign policy, economy, society, culture and the individual. A seventh section on science and technology may be added.

Each section will be headed by a brief statement of a popularly-held set of assumptions about the subject with which the section deals. These statements should be as basic and general and fair as possible, for they must serve as touchstones for what follows. Even though a reader may not himself subscribe to a given assumption, he must be able to acknowledge that the assumption <u>is</u> widely held. Patently, any suggestions from contributing authors as to how the statements may be improved will be more than welcome to the editors.

Following each statement of assumptions will be a group of essays: at least one long (about 6000 words) essay dealing with the subject as a whole and a number of shorter (about 2500 words) essays dealing with one or more aspects of the subject.

The object of all the essays will be to test the assumptions for their current and theoretical validity ("is this true now? Was it ever true?") Iconoclasm purely for the sake of provocation is plainly not the purpose here. Rather, the intent is to subject some working myths to rational tests in order to discover whether they are still viable and to propose, in so far as is possible, constructive solutions to problems. An underlying purpose -- and possibly one which will not be achieved -- is to find a coherent and reasonable way of approaching the bewildering phenomenon of contemporary America.

Separately enclosed is a draft of stated assumptions and a group of queries appropriate to them. The assumptions are eminently capable of modification and refinement and the queries are far from exhaustive. But they are at least indicative of what is intended.

I American Government

Assumptions

Democracy is the most desirable form of government.

The United States is modern history's most nearly perfect example of democracy.

The bases of American democracy are:

1. A wisely conceived Constitution that makes possible regular and peaceful political change according to the will of the majority, safeguards individual rights and, through a system of checks and balances, prevents undue concentrations of power.

2. A vast popular consensus that supports the basic system; an increasingly enlightened electorate that makes all ultimate decisions.

Queries

Has history shown that, given free choice, people will always choose democracy?

Has history shown that democracy is a necessarily successful form of government? (Latin America, East Europe, etc.)

Is America's political success due mainly to her strict adherence to the democratic form of government?

How well are minority political factions represented in America? How wide are the frontiers of dissent?

How inviolable or equal are our individual rights?

How well does the checks and balances system work in practice? (The National Security Council, The CIA, etc.)

How many "ultimate" political decisions are made by the electorate? (fiscal, military, etc.)

In terms of net gains, is our electorate really increasingly enlightened with respect to problems of government, or has the geometric accumulation of things knowable made government an affair for experts and computers?

II American Foreign Policy

Assumptions

Democracy is the most desirable form of government for any nation capable of maintaining it.

Among the world's existing or aspiring democracies (called, for convenience, "the Free World") there exists a fundamental consensus as to ends and means. Thus relations within the Free World tend to be peaceful and reasonably harmonious.

America has both an interest and an obligation to assist the development of viable democracy within the Free World. Conversely, America has a moral obligation to help defend the Free World from enemy attack, since a threat to any part of the Free World is a threat to all of it -- a threat to liberty itself.

Queries

Do all peoples, in fact, agree about the ultimate desirability of democracy (as we understand the meaning of the word)? How much of a genuine community <u>is</u> the Free World; how much consensus as to ends and means?

Does not America, in fact, have democratic enemies and undemocratic allies?

Is the promotion and protection of democracy abroad really a mainspring of American policy. Was it ever (early 19th century messianism vs. isolationism)? What do we really mean by phrases such as "Freedom, everywhere in the world, is indivisible"....are we talking about ideology or simply about our own security?

When did American policy shift from isolationism to internationalism (1898, 1917,1941, etc.); to what extent is our policy still infused with latent isolationism (e.g. the all-or-nothing attitude taken by some hawks on Vietnam)?

To what extent do we understand our true motives; how far have we confused ideology with pragmatic concerns about our national security? Have we even been consistent in our confusions?

III American Economy

Assumptions

America's economic institutions are compatible with her free political institutions. In practice this means a system of free enterprise, grounded on private ownership of property and subject only to a necessary minimum of governmental regulation.

America's economic success may be taken as proof of the desirability of its economic system.

Queries

1. How much objective meaning do terms like "free enterprise", "private ownership" and "necessary minimum of governmental regulation" have in reality? How does our economy differ fundamentally from socialist economies.

2. What, if anything, does our economic success prove about the inherent excellence of our system?

IV American Society

Assumptions

The social organization of America is compatible with its free political institutions. In practice this means a society in which equality of opportunity is paramount.

The principal social mechanisms to this end are:

1. classlessness
2. a wide spectrum of inviolable and equal individual rights guaranteed to all individuals.
3. minimum welfare guaranteed to all
4. a measure of special assistance to the economically underprivileged.

Queries

How successful has America been in making opportunities equal? Since classlessness alone is plainly an insufficient guarantee of equal opportunity, how far should the government go in eliminating inequalities produced by varying degrees of affluence and education, color, physical location, etc. What should be the theoretical limits to the government's responsibility for providing minimum welfare and special assistance to under-privileged persons, localities and socio-economic sectors? At what point, if any, does the government's responsibility to guarantee equal opportunity conflict with the doctrines of free competition, minimum regulation, and inviolable individual rights? How equal or inviolable <u>are</u> our individual rights?

V American Culture

Assumptions

American culture is the logical product of America's political, social and economic systems. It is thus predominantly popular (i.e. democratic) and pragmatic (i.e.subject to the test of the market place).

Some characteristics of American culture are:

1. American education is comparatively widespread and good, but the general academic level of higher education is inferior to that of Western Europe.

2. The products of American culture are largely subject to the tests of broad popular acceptance and economic viability. Thus the pursuit of non-popular art forms, pure science and the life of the mind are discouraged.

3. Mass communications have served to broaden American culture, but not to elevate it.

4. Creativity in America is vigorous, innovative and individualistic, but it lacks the typical European sophistication and sense of tradition.

Queries

Are any of these (essentially pre-World War II) stereotypical assumptions valid -- are they even very widely held anymore? Have Americans in the past tended to be too apologetic about the relative level (as opposed to breadth) of American education and culture? Are they still? Do they need to be? What can be said about the persistent charge that mass tastes and commercialism inhibit American cultural attainments? Are Americans significantly less aware of or sophisticated about their cultural heritage than Europeans? Is the contemporary emphasis on innovation and unfettered self-expression a logical result of the American creative tradition or a new, international, perhaps generational phenomenon? Is there any valid way of describing contemporary American culture in terms of its peculiar national character, rather than in terms of its general level or distribution?

coming: Part VI "The American Individual"

VI The American Individual

Assumptions

Enhancing the dignity of the individual citizens, developing his capabilities for self-fulfullment, is a prime concern of the American government. This concern derives both from basic religious and ethical beliefs and from a rational assumption that functioning democracy depends on an increasingly informed, satisfied and responsible electorate.

The environments which help to shape the character of the individual -- his home life, education, religious training, occupation, etc. -- are therefore, in varying degrees, also matters of public concern. The object of this concern is to develop typical traits of character -- independence of spirit, respect for the rights of others, cooperativeness, sense of civic responsibility -- and others which will make the individual a better, more constructive citizen. America has been more successful than most countries in developing these socially and politically desirable traits in its citizens.

Queries

For all its concern, how successful has the American government been in promoting the dignity of the individual and developing his capability for self-fulfillment? Certain areas of society (urban slums, depressed rural sections, racial minorities, etc.) represent obvious failures. What, on the other hand, are the clear-cut successes?

Do (or can) public institutions, dealing with masses, meet individual needs? (Public welfare programs, Head Start, The Job Corps, etc, etc).

Does the Government -- or American society in general -- have either the wisdom or the control to create environments that are likely to lead to the formation socially desirable character traits in individuals? Are our

citizens in fact more law-abiding, responsible, hard-working, independent, etc. than in times past? To what extent are presently dominant conformist presures appropriate to our times; i.e. are we really sure we know what the socially most desirable character traits may be in the twenty-first century?

List of Occupations

1. Errand Boy — age 5 — Pd Lee Asheville — 1927
2. Hand Fish & Ice Cream — 8 — " — 1930
3. Bottle Hustler — 9 — " — 1931
4. Grass Cutter, Window Washer — 10 — 1932
5. Salaried House Boy - Edwin — 12 — Edwin Pl 300 Mk — 1933
6. Paper Boy - Water Boy — 16 — " — 6A — Trumpet Player - 1934
7. Bread & Butter Boy — " —
7A - SHOE SHINE Boy — 12
8. Bus Boy — "
9. ~~Farm~~ HELPER — 1939
10. Waiter Ecot Room — "
10A ~~Veterians~~ asst — 1940
11. Bar Tender — 1940 -
11A Post Office — 1939 - 1941 - 1950-51-52
12. Waiter Dining Car
12A Waiter Battery Park
13. Bell Hop — 194
ARMY — Jan 13, 1942 - DEC 13, 1946 - from Atlanta — O. Field artillery ②
Base Ball
14. Headwaiter

— ATLANTA — Dept 1939
Paper Boy — Played Trumpet — TYACK
Bell Hop
Waiter — A.& N. - Henry Hardy -
Bar Tender

— DURHAM — 1949 Left
~~Waiter~~ - Air Port Rest
Barlett Home - Headwaiter
Past office (Seasonal - XMAS)
~~Waiter~~

A PROPOSAL

SUBMITTED TO THE METROPOLITAN APPLIED RESEARCH CENTER

Project to study and determine how racism affects total society and the judicial functions and operatios. This project is intended to: 1. Trace racism from the moment a defendant is arrested, through the judicial process of the very lowest court (but most important court in the lives of most Black People) -- and the most extracting and racist court which is normally, by constitution, not a court of record (police court, recorders' court).

Another purpose is to show how racists control Black People, by cooperation with other racists in this society and by extracting fines , thereby forcing Black People to pay for this same system and -- to show how white people are not arrested as frequentlyand are not treated in the same manner as Black People and to prove that liberty and justice in this land is a racist lie.

Another purpose is to demonstrate the the practice of justice has a high price: Most cannot afford a lawyer for middemeanors which occur, even in the lowest court -- therefore the court that handles these cases is the final court -- for the majority- of Black People in the United States , who are poor and cannot possible go to the next level of justice: Justice improves only by levels and because of powerty, there is no justice for Black Men in this judicial system, in most cases.

No study has ever been done on this point. Analysis has been made of the death penalty and racism, but not on the lower courts -- the court of the last resort for poor Black People.

How this is to be accomplished: This is to be accomplished by development of research team composed of law students from N.C. College, the U. of N.C., and Duke University. I would propose to direct the project. A statistician from one of the Universities (possibly two) would be required to be on the team.

The project would be located in Durham, N.C. (Durham County), an area with which I am familiar, as I practiced law there for 15 years.

The research would follow a patter, beginning 1951 through 1963. One month (consecutive) would be studied from each year and a record made of each person arrested during a one month period for each year. (This is to negate subjectivity)

Would need to consider: 1. Population of town 2. Percentage Black and white 3. Major industries in town ;4. Average income of town 5. Employment ration (Black and white) 6. Racial composition of those administering justice in recorders' court, police department, the sheriff's department and other practices and employees in the judiciary, the jail house (ratio of employees) 7. # of arrests as between Black and white -- the offenses for which people are arrested -- the maximum and minimum penalties which could have been assigned 8. Time served for similar affenses9. Where people were assigned to serve time.

Discrimination inthe jailhouse and the courtroom and the total fines paid by

Black People, as opposed to white people, the total time served in years and the amount of bond required for related offenses and the race of the officer makeing arrest, the income of the arrested person, his age, education, occupation, the cost of attorney's fees for offenses and the number of Black Lawyers in area and number of white lawyers in area.

Research team ==

Statisticiah -- cost compnents (how many employees and how much salary)
The project will require an office staff sheet for data for each person arrested during given month -- sheets to be numbered and outlined .

Need (Paper supplies, stencils, etc.)

In some instances will be able to get samples from newspapers -- where offenses and data is listed and race identified. Photostatic record.

Project would require 6 months. Salaries to be computed on yearly basis.

Director (F. McK) $20,000 per yr.

Field Director - $12,500

Research Staff - about $100 per week

Statisticians -- ($9,000 to 12,000 per yr.)

Office Expenses - typewriters, etc.

Transportation and money for conferences and training of project consultants.

C O N G R E S S of R A C I A L E Q U A L I T Y

200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030
212-281-9650

Director of Public Relations - Don Smith

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE May 3, 1967

Floyd McKissick Commends Muhammad Ali

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality on May 2, 1967, sent the following letter to Muhammad Ali, Heavy-weight Champion of the World:

Dear Muhammad Ali:

The decision you made which compels me to write this letter is a decision of the greatest significance, both for you -- as an individual -- and for this nation.

It could not have been an easy decision for you to sacrifice so much for a principle -- for a belief. It is, however, a decision which I know you were forced to make to maintain your self-respect, to retain your dignity as a Black man.

I am saddened that you were forced to choose between your conscience and an unjust punishment. Your dilemma dramatizes to me, as a Civil Rights leader, that the Civil Rights movement has, in fact, accomplished pathetically little.

According to the First Amendment of the United States Constitution: "Congress is not to make any law establishing a national religion nor is it to restrict the practice of any religion, nor may it interfere with the freedom of speech, or of the press or of the right of the people to assemble for peaceful purposes and to ask the government to settle any complaint or right any wrong."

This is beautiful language. So beautiful, in fact that, at times, Black people have even been deluded into

thinking that it was meant to include them. So beautiful that, at times, Black people even forget that this amendment -- this Bill of Rights -- this Constitution -- was written when our ancestors were still slaves, still the legal chattel of the white plantation owners.

The Constitution is so well-written, so eloquent, that Black people have been led to believe that they too have freedom of religion -- that they too have freedom of speech, freedom of ideas -- that they too would be protected by a document written while their forebearers were still slaves.

My dear friend, I know that you no longer harbor these illusions. I know that your decision was made with full knowledge of its implications. Your courage is all the more admirable.

It is evident that this country is rapidly allowing itself to degenerate into totalitarianism. The vindictive reaction inspired by your decision not to fight in an immoral war is only one indication of this trend. The arbitrary -- and meaningless -- action of the New York State Boxing Commission in withdrawing your title of Heavyweight Champion of the World -- is but a symptom.

It is an indication that the Dred Scott decision -- which established the fact that the Black Man has no rights which the white man need respect -- was never reversed in practice -- and has never been denied in the minds and hearts of the American people.

Other evidence of this trend abounds. The denial of the right of the Black people of the 13th Congressional District in Harlem to elect who they wish to represent them is further evidence -- and Adam Clayton Powell yet another victim.

Julian Bond had to be elected twice and fight his case all the way to the United States Supreme Court before he was allowed the right to represent his people.

James Farmer created a plan which could have contributed greatly to the ending of illiteracy in this country --

but he was denied the funds. For the white man controls the funds -- and the schools -- and the press -- and the churches.

And Central Park, in New York City, is now "off-limits" to those who would peacefully demonstrate their opposition to the involvement of the United States in a cruel, racist war.

As neo-Nazism reactivates in Germany, white America looks silently on -- few voices are raised to evoke the memory of millions of dead Jews -- the victims of totalitarianism.

White Americans have rarely been able to comprehend their role in history. They have rarely been able to acknowledge their responsibility for the plight of the Black man.

The Black man did not spring up on this continent uninvited. He was carried here against his will. And he was made a slave. When slavery was no longer economically wise, he was made a "Negro."

In America, my dear friend, a "Negro" is not to be treated as a man. He is not expected, or allowed, to have the power of independent thought.

When, in spite of white America, the Black man creates something of his own, or finds something of his own -- the white man does all in his power to suppress and destroy.

When Black men have a religion which does not meet with the approval of the white majority, the majority feels threatened. The myths they have built carefully and painstakingly over the years, are jeapordized. Their belief that the Black man is dependent upon their "paternalism" for his very existence is challenged.

He will not walk the road of life with you as a friend or a brother -- but he certainly will not let you do it alone. If you do -- he cannot treat you as a "Negro" any longer -- he cannot treat you as a crutch.

In the past, he has mercilessly quashed the rebellions of his slaves. Today, he attempts to destroy the ideas and ambitions of the descendants of those slaves -- and crush the leaders of the future revolution.

He believes -- he really believes -- that he has been benevolent by "letting" you make money, by "letting" you fight, by "letting" you become the Heavy-weight Champion of the World. For his kindness, he expects you to honor him in word and deed -- he expects you to take up a gun and murder Vietnamese and maybe, even die in defense of his system -- a system in which you are not permitted to fully participate.

In his eyes, you, Muhammad Ali, have committed the worst crime possible. You have not said "Thank You." You have not been grateful, you have not been humble and you have not been controllable.

No -- you have not said "Thank You." But you have said what has needed to be said for a long time.

You have demonstrated that you are a man; that you live by your religion. (So few white men live by theirs.)

You have made the white man openly disregard his own constitution. (He doesn't like to do that openly.)

You have shown your Black brethren your courage and have given them a new faith in their own destinies. You have given Black youngsters an <u>independent</u> Black Hero.

<u>That is the real reason that you are being punished</u>.

You have proven that America cannot always buy "Negroes," that there are still some Black men left.

You have pointed out that the Vietnamese are not the enemies of Black people. They too, are oppressed. The enemy are those white people who would perpetrate this system of racism -- this legacy of fear.

The enemy is the man who fails to recognize Black people (or Afro-Americans, or Negroes -- this is not the time

to debate terminology) as human beings -- human beings with all the human needs, human frailties and human rights.

Black people now know what they should have known all along -- what some of us did know all along -- that the Fourth of July is just another day in the calendar year -- if you're Black. Our own Independence Day has not yet happened.

In conclusion, my dear friend, Muhammad Ali, please accept my full support and remember that you are, indeed, Heavy-weight Champion of the World. It was an honor to receive your thanks and appreciation, which were reported in the press.

This society may try to destroy the concept of Muhammad Ali - Heavy-weight Champion of the World -- but you have defeated all comers: You have won and you will remain the winner. And the world knows it.

There are many cowards -- many who would take the easiest way out. That is why your actions have been even more meaningful and your statements -- the words of a truly brave, truly beautiful man.

Very truly yours,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality

To:

Muhammad Ali
Heavy-weight Champion of the World
~~Houston, Texas~~ c/o R Durham
Muhammad Speaks

The decision ~~you~~ you made which compels me to write this letter is a decision of the greatest significance, both for you -- as an individual -- and for this nation.

It could not have been an easy decision for you to sacrifice so much for a principle -- for a belief. It is, however, a decision which I know you were forced to make to maintain your self-respect, to retain your dignity as a Black man.

I am saddened that you were forced to choose between your conscience and an unjust punishment. Your dilemma dramatizes to me, as a Civil Rights leader, that the Civil Rights movement has, in fact, accomplished pathetically little.

According to the First Amendment of the United States Constitution: "Congress is not tommake any law establishing a national religion nor is it to restrict the practice of any religion, nor may it interfere with the freedom of speech, or of the press or of the right of the people to assemble for peaceful purposes and to ask the government to settle any complaint or right any wrong."

This is beautiful language. So beautiful, in fact that, at times, Black people have even been deluded into thinking that it was meant to include them. So beautiful that , at times, Black people even forget that this amendment -- this Bill of Rights, -- this Constitution -- was written when our ancestors were still slaves, still the legal chattel of the white plantation owners.

The Constitution is so well - written, so eloquent, that Black people have been led to believe that they too have freedom of religion -- that they too have freedom of speech, freedom of ideas -- that they too would be protected by a document written while their forebearers were still slaves.

My dear friend, I know that you no longer harbor these illusions. I know that your decision was made with full knowledge of its implications. Your courage

is all the more admirable.

It is evident that this country is rapidly allowing itself to degenerate into totalitarianism. The vindictive reaction inspired by your decision not to fight in an immoral war is only one indication of this trend. The arbitrary — and meaningless -- action of the New York State Boxing Commission in withdrawing your title of Heavyweight Champion of the World — is but a symptom. It is an indication that the Dred Scott decision — which established the fact that B M has no rights which W M need respect was never reversed in practice — & has merely been denied in the minds & hearts of American people.

Other evidence of this trend abounds. The denial of the right of the Black people of the 18th Congressional District in Harlem to elect who they wish to represent them is further evidence — and Adam Clayton Powell yet another victim. Julian Bond, had to be elected twice and fight his case all the way to the United States Supreme Court before he was allowed the right to represent his people.

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And Central Park, in New York City, is now "off-limits" to those who would peacefully demonstrate their opposition to the involvement of the United States in a cruel, racist war.

As neo-Nazism reactivates in Germany, white America looks silently on -- few voices are raised to evoke the memory of millions of dead Jews -- the victims of totalitarianism.

White Americans have rarely been able to comprehend their role in history. They have rarely been able to acknowledge their responsibility for the plight of the Black man.

The Black man did not spring up on this continent uninvited. He was carried here against his will, and he was made a slave. When slavery was no longer economically wise, he was made a "Negro."

~~All that has followed, has been a result of that.~~

In America, my dear friend, a "Negro" is not treated as a man. He is not ex-

pected, or allowed, to have the power of independent thought.

When, in spite of white America, the Black man creates something of his own, or finds something of his own, — the white man does all in his power to suppress and destroy.

When Black men have a religion which does not meet with the approval of the white majority, the majority feels threatened. The myths they have built carefully and painstakingly over the years, are jeapordized. Their belief that the Black man is dependent upon their "paternalism" for his very existence is challenged // He will not walk the road of life with you as a friend or a brother — but he certainly will not let you do it alone. If you do — he cannot treat you as a "Negro" any longer — he cannot treat you as a crutch.

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The enemy is the man who fails to recognize Black people (or Afro-Americans, or Negroes -- this is not the time to debate terminology.) as human beings -- human beings with all the human needs, human frailties and human rights.

Black people now know what they should have known all along -- what some of us did know all along -- that the 4th of July is just another day in the calendar year; if you're Black. Our own Independence day has not yet happened.

In conclusion, my dear friend, Muhammad Ali, please accept my full support and remember that you are, indeed, Heavy-Weight Champion of the World. It was an honor to receive your thanks and appreciation, which were reported in the press.

The society may try to destroy the concept of Muhammad Ali - Heavyweight Champion of the World but you have defeated all comers. You have won and you will remain the winner. A paper suit cannot make you less a champion.

There are many cowards -- many who would take the easiest way out. That is why your actions have been even more meaningful and your statements, the words of a truly beautiful brave man.

Peace

March 3, 1967

The Honorable Elijah Muhammad
Messenger of Allah
4847 South Woodlawn Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60615

Dear Mr. Muhammad:

It has been a few months since we last met and, during the interim, I was hospitalized with a slipped disc. I do hope your health has been better than mine.

A great deal has happened on the national scene during that short period of time and I am happy that CORE has not sacrificed its principles and we never intend to do so.

My purpose in writing is to request a loan from you in the amount of $35,000.00 at 6% interest to be repaid at $500.00 per month until both principal and interest are paid in full. At this time, $35,000 in our hands will allow CORE to eradicate debts amounting to $75,000.00.

Some of our creditors, because of their cash shortages, are willing to accept less than fifty per cent on the dollar, only at this time. We have until March 15, 1967, to take advantage of the situation.

Do you think that you can make the requested loan? Please let me know, at your very earliest convenience, what you can do. I would be happy to sign a note, or give other security later. I, personally, have real property in North Carolina. If necessary, please call me at home, in the evening (212-281-5686).

The article which appeared in the March 3 issue of Muhammad Speaks, entitled "McKissick Moves for Black Unity, Black Power," is very much appreciated.

We are looking forward to your reply.

Very truly yours,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

FBMcK:ilh

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH

file

Elijah Muhammad

MESSENGER OF ALLAH

4847 SOUTH WOODLAWN AVENUE CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60615

SEP 7 1966

September 2, 1966

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Rowe
New York, New York

Dear Brother:

After thinking over your request, by your first assistant, Mr. Lynch, of a cash loan of $10,000.00 (ten thousand dollars), anything pertaining to a cash loan, we will have to have something of security, like the signing up of your followers, to pay such an amount of money back, that my followers would loan you.

We cannot make such a loan to an organization, without some kind of assurity. Otherwise, your visit here nest Tuesday, would be worthless. So, if you could give me something in the way of security for the return of this money, I would not be ashamed to recommend it to my followers. Thank you.

Yours Sincerely,

Elijah Muhammad

Elijah Muhammad,
Messenger of Allah

EM/vn

April 19, 1966

Mr. Morris Milgram
Planned Communities, Inc.
51 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Mr. Milgram:

Thank you for your note of April 15th, congratulating me and giving me condolences.

I do hope that I can talk to you in the very near future about M-Reit.

Yours very truly,

FBM/ji

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

M-REIT

Mutual
Real Estate
Investment Trust

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
MORRIS B. ABRAM
ANDREW J. BELL, JR.
CHARLES BENTON
JOHN B. COLEMAN
NATHANIEL S. COLLEY
RANDOLPH P. COMPTON
ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE
JOHN S. deBEERS
SIDNEY B. DEXTER
EARL B. DICKERSON
MSGR. JOHN EGAN
M. R. EMRICH
MRS. HENRY EPSTEIN
IRVING JAY FAIN
JAMES FARMER
CONGRESSMAN DONALD M. FRASER
HARVEY FURGATCH
RICHARD GLENN GETTELL
SETH M. GLICKENHAUS
JOHN GLUSTROM
PATRICK E. GORMAN
JACK GREENBERG
ROBERT K. GREENFIELD
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RALPH HELSTEIN
SOPHIA YARNALL JACOBS
BYRON L. JOHNSON
KIVIE KAPLAN
FRANK E. KARELSEN
PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK
CONSTANCE BAKER MOTLEY
ROBERT R. NATHAN
DANIEL M. PATTISON
JOHN de J. PEMBERTON, JR.
JACOB S. POTOFSKY
CHARLES A. ROBINSON
W. BYRON RUMFORD
RICHARD A. RUSSELL
HOWARD J. SAMUELS
LEON SHULL
FORTNEY H. STARK, JR.
JOHN S. STILLMAN
FRANK UNTERMYER
CHARLES F. VATTEROTT, JR.
JOSEPH VIERTEL
WILLIAM L. C. WHEATON
MRS. WALTER WHITE
ROY WILKINS
GAYRAUD S. WILMORE, JR.
WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.

Main Office: 1914 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20009
Please Reply to Supervisory Management Agent: Planned Communities, Inc.
51 East 42nd Street, Suite 211, New York, N.Y. 10017 • MU 7-6550 (212)

APR 18 1966

April 15, 1966

Dear Floyd:

Congratulations on your selection as National Director of CORE.

I hope to chat with you at your convenience about our work.

With best wishes for success, I am

As ever,

Morris Milgram

MM:mh

Floyd B. McKissick
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y. 10038

The following is taken from a letter received by me from Irving Jay Fain dated October 1, 1966. The subject will be discussed at our next Board meeting.

MM

. . . You will recall that I was one of those who first proposed and supported that basic change of program from that of construction to that of acquiring. The logical first step was that of the acquisition of existing, occupied, large apartment houses. When M-REIT was conceived and formed, this program seemed the thing to do. Collateral considerations included the ease of management and the long-range financial projections.

This method of implementation of our program does have drawbacks. From the point of view of accomplishment of our objectives, it suffers from the unavoidable <u>mathematical</u> fact - that there must be a large dollar investment for each non-white family settled. Compounding this felony, is the unavoidable <u>sociological</u> fact that the locations of such large apartment buildings, and the nature of human traffic around and inside them reduced the visibility of these few non-white tenants.

There is another practical problem. The purchase of large, existing, occupied apartment houses puts M-REIT in direct competition with other professional real estate investors, often experienced, sophisticated investors. The inevitable twin results are the investment of considerable time and effort in the searching for and studying of available investment opportunities; also the narrow cash flow resulting from the competition by large, sophisticated investors.

So what? All the above is not new or original or startling. It is known to us all. I have discussed it months ago with you and Bernie and others. But what do we do about it? I have a proposal. In essence, it is to operate in the field of 2 family houses rather than that of large, multi-family complexes. How will this change affect our objective of getting the most out of any

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given amount of capital? By "most" we mean, of course, the greatest number of non-white families with the greatest influence on the integration of new neighborhoods, not the generation of the greatest cash flow.

Assume, merely for convenience, a uniform average cost per apartment, regardless of location or number of units per building - say, $10,000. Assume non-white occupancy of five to fiftenn percent in multi-family. Assume fifty percent in two family. It could easily be one hundred percent in 2-family, but the integration of one white and one non-white within the 2-family is even stronger demonstration of housing integration than is the sandwiching of a two-family with two non-whites between all white neighbors.

Assume the same cash investment percentage of 1/3 cost. By simple mathematics, we achieve non-white occupancy of 50 - 100% 2-family versus 5 - 15% in multi-family -- a range of 3½ to 20 times the number of non-white families with the same total dollar investment and the same investment of our own cash. By the criterion of number of families, therefore, this 2-family method is many times as effective.

Next, let us examine the influence on the neighborhood. This criterion is less simple to demonstrate mathematically. Yet it is simple conceptually. In a multi-family, the tenants come and go little noticed by their neighbors within the apartment building; and, once on the street, are lost in the crowd, unidentified with their living quarters. In 2-family, each non-white family is highly visible to neighbors and passers-by on the block and with one or two Negro families on the block, every family on that block, as well as most in the neighboring blocks, and many others passing by, will be aware that, in fact, a real Negro family is there.

Compare the influence on the neighborhoods. In our current operations, there will be, for example, a single apartment house, consisting of 100

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apartments with 10 Negro families. In the suggested two-family operation, there will be ten Negro families, one in each of ten blocks, or two in each of five blocks, or something in between these two examples, each in a two family house along a street of mostly two family houses. The comparison speaks for itself.

How about the mechanics? Acquisition? It is relatively simple, by comparison, to pick up 2-family houses at current market prices. Availability of vacancies? Since most 2-family houses are owner occupied, the fact of sale postulates a vacancy available at closing or shortly thereafter. Management? The effort and consequent dollar cost per <u>apartment</u> will be greater, for say, fifty two-family houses, than for one apartment building of one hundred families, but the cost and effort per <u>Negro family</u> and per <u>neighborhood</u> will be less.

What could be the forseeable results of two such parellel programs with the same cash capital of $4,500,000?

	<u>Multi-Family</u>	<u>Two-Family</u>
Average Cost per apartment	$ 10,000	$ 10,000
Average Cash per apartment	$ 3,350	3,350
Total Cash	$4,500,000	4,500,000
Total No. Apartments	1,350	1,350
Average Apartments per building	100	2
Average Cost per building	$1,000,000	$ 20,000
Average Cash per building	$ 335,000	$ 6,700
No. Non-white families per building	10	1 - 2
No. of buildings	13	675
No. Non-whites	130	1350 - 675
No. Neighborhoods	13	675

<u>May</u> we operate in this fashion? M-REIT prospectus refers to "income-producing real estate improved with apartment buildings and <u>other</u> residential properties."

Please arrange to have this considered by M-REIT Trustees.

Cordially,

IRVING JAY FAIN

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OCT 7 1966

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October 5, 1966

TO MEMBERS OF THE PC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

There will be a meeting of the Executive Committee of Planned Communities, Inc. on Wednesday, October 12, 1966 at 12:00 p.m. for lunch, Suite 211 51 East 42 St., New York.

It is most important that you attend this first meeting of the Executive Committee and I would appreciate an early response. Enclosed is a reply card and return envelope for your convenience.

Looking forward to seeing you on the 12th, I am

Cordially,

Morris Milgram

MM:mh

Enclosure

cc: Alternates, F. McKissick, A. Norman, D. Scull
L. Lichter
R. Schwarzstein
W. Brill
I. Fain.
B. Learman

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Boston
Sat 1 Oct 66

Dear Morris,

It is a great disappointment to miss the annual meeting of MCD-PC on Tuesday, especially since Mac Sheldon is to receive the Averill Harriman award. Since the beginning of MCD, Mac has been more than board member, executive committee member, lawyer and secretary. He has also been a combination of conscience, gad-fly, keeper-on-the-track, reminder-of-our-goals, and voice of wisdom. Besides that, he is my friend. And I cannot be there Tuesday! And I was to have the honor of presenting the award! Naturally, I will be there with you in spirit, like tho not in body. But it is not quite the same. Please explain for me to Mac & Dorothy my great regret at being forced to be absent when he will be so deservedly recognized for his contribution to our common cause of integrated housing.

Next - a matter of business. This is intended for M-R'E/T. Please arrange for this suggestion to be considered in proper fashion by the trustees. I raise the question of the overall program implementation

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You will recall that I was one of those who first proposed & supported the basic change of program from that of construction to that of acquiring. The logical first step was that of the acquisition of existing, occupied large apartment houses. When M-REIT was conceived and formed this program seemed the thing to do. Collateral considerations included the ease of management and the long-range financial projections.

This method of implementation of our program does have drawbacks. From the point of view of accomplishment of our objective, it suffers from the unavoidable mathematical fact that a large dollar investment for each non-white family settled. Compounding this felony is the unavoidable sociological fact that the locations of such large apartment buildings, and the nature of human traffic around & inside them reduces the visibility of these few non-white tenants.

There is another practical problem. The purchase of large, existing, occupied apartment houses puts M-REIT in direct competition with other professional real-estate investors, often experienced, sophisticated investors.

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The inevitable twin results are the investment of considerable time and effort in the searching for + studying of available investment opportunities, also the narrow cash flow resulting from the competition by large sophisticated investors.

So, what? All the above is not new or original or startling. It is known to us all, I have discussed it months ago with you Barnie + others. But what do we do about it? I have a proposal. In essence, it is to operate in the field of 2-family houses rather than that of large, multi-family complexes. How will this change affect our objective of getting the most out of any given amount of capital? By "most" we mean, of course, the greatest number of non-white families with the greatest influence on the integration of new neighborhoods, not the generation of the greatest cash flow.

Assume, merely for convenience, a uniform average cost per apartment, regardless of location a number of units per building — say, $10,000. Assume non-white occupancy of Five to Fifteen [illegible] in multi-family - Assume Fifty percent [illegible] two-family. It could easily be One Hundred [illegible] in 2-family; but

the integration of one white and one non-white within the two-family is a stronger demonstration of horizontal integration than is the sandwiching of a two-family with two non-whites between all-white neighbors.

Assume the same cash investment percentage of 1/3 of cost. By simple mathematics, we achieve non-white occupancy of 50-100% in 2-family vs. 5-15% in multi-family — a range of 3½ to 20 times the number of non-white families with the same total dollar investment and the same investment of our own cash. By the criterion of number of families, therefore, this 2-family method is many times as effective.

Next, let us examine the influence on the neighborhood. This criterion is less simple to demonstrate mathematically. Yet it is simple, conceptually. In a multi-family, the tenants come and go little noticed by their neighbors within the apartment building; and, once on the street, are lost in the crowd, unidentified with their living quarters. In 2-family, each non-white family is highly visible to

neighbors + possibly on the block, with one or two negro families on the block, likely family on that block, as well as most in neighboring blocks, and surely others passing by, will be aware that by in fact, a racial negro family is there.

Compare the influence on the neighborhoods. In our current applications, there will be, for example, a single apartment house, probably in a neighborhood of apartment houses, consisting of 100 apartments with 10 negro families. In the suggested two-family application, there will be ten negro families; one in each of ten blocks, or two in each of five blocks, or something in between. These two examples, each in a two-family house along a street of mostly two-family houses. The comparison speaks for itself.

How about the mechanics? Acquisition? It is relatively simple, by comparison, to pick up 2-family houses at current market prices - availability of vacancies? Since most 2-family houses are owner-occupied, the fact of sale postulates a vacancy available at closing or shortly thereafter. Management? The effort

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and consequent dollar cost per apartment will be greater for, say, fifty two-family houses than for one apartment building of one hundred families; but the cost and effort per negro family and per neighborhood will be less.

What could be the foreseeable results of two such parallel programs with the same cash capital of $4,500,000.=?

	Multi-Family	Two-Family
Average Cost per apt.	$ 10,000	$ 10,000
" Cash " "	$ 3,350	$ 3,350
Total "	$ 4,500,000	$ 4,500,000
" no. apts.	1,350	1,350
Average apts. per bldg.	100	2
" cost " "	$ 1,000,000	$ 20,000-
" Cash " "	$ 335,000	$ 6,700-
No. non-whites " "	10	1-2
" bldgs.	13	675
" non-whites	130	675-1350
" neighborhoods	13	675

May we operate in this fashion? M-REIT prospectus refers to "income producing real estate improved with apartment buildings and other residential properties"

Please arrange to have this considered by M-REIT trustees. Cordially Irving

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DEC 1 1966

51 East 42nd Street
Suite 211
New York, N.Y. 10017
November 22, 1966

TO: All PC Board members-

Dear Floyd,

I am happy to report that you have been unanimously elected to the board of Planned Communities (PC), the new name of our merged corporation -- Modern Community Developers and Planned Communities.

The Board agreed to have the Executive Committee work out plans for overnight quarterly meetings of the Board. The first of these meetings is set for Wednesday, January 4 and Thursday, January 5, 1967 at the Roger-Smith Hotel, 47th Street and Lexington Avenue, New York City (755-1400). We will have dinner at 6 p.m., from 8-10 p.m. conduct business and start again the following morning with business from 9:30-12:00. We will then have lunch and adjourn at 2 p.m.

If this meeting is satisfactory, similar overnight quarterly board meetings will be held.

Do use the enclosed card now to indicate your plans for attendance and if any hotel reservations should be made for you. (PC does not pay expenses for board meeting attendance).

Thank you for giving this your earliest attention.

Cordially,

Morris Milgram

MM;cd

PLANNED COMMUNITIES, INC.
(A Merger of M.C.D., Inc. and
Planned Communities, Inc.)

EXHIBIT "A"

Condensed Consolidated Balance Sheet

December 31, 1966

ASSETS

Current Assets		
Cash in banks and savings accounts	25,790.41	
Accounts, loans, fees and rents receivable	58,845.36	
Postage inventory	728.26	
Prepaid taxes and expenses	628.82	
Total Current Assets		85,992.85
Investments - as valued by Board of Directors		
Land and improvements - River Ridge, Riverdale, NYC	175,000.00	
Land and improvements - Waterbury, Conn.	162,750.00	
Land under Highlands Apartments	385,000.00	
Stock in other corporations	49,914.75	
Shares in Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust	25,000.00	
Limited Partnership Units	152,000.00	
Debentures of Greater Washington Ltd. Partnership	50,000.00	
Second Mortgage - Claymore Builders	8,000.00	
Total Investments		1,007,664.75
Fixed Assets		
Office equipment and leasehold improvements		4,500.00
Other Assets and Deferred Charges		
Deposits and advances	2,872.78	
Unamortized organization expenses (Xenon)	246.77	
Reorganization expenses (Merger)	8,738.00	
Total Other Assets and Deferred Charges		11,857.55
TOTAL ASSETS		1,110,015.15

Subject to footnotes and comments contained in original pre-merger certified reports by Herman Blumenthal, C.P.A., from which these figures were taken. Copy of the full report available on request.

Real estate values by qualified independent appraisers

LIABILITIES

Current Liabilities		
Accounts and loans payable - unsecured	58,443.98	
Notes and mortgages payable - Secured by land	175,330.00	
Deed of Trust payable - Secured by Cal. St. land Current portion	20,000.00	
Interest payable	22,927.53	
Accrued and withheld payroll taxes	1,184.14	
Accrued expenses and taxes	10,731.10	
Total current liabilities		288,616.75
Non-current Liabilities		
Notes payable - unsecured	50,900.00	
Interest payable - Unsecured notes	13,361.01	
Deed of trust payable - Secured by Cal. St. land non-current portion	251,550.25	
Total non-current liabilities		315,811.26
Minority Interest		
Preferred shareholders - Meadow Homes, Inc.	54,000.00	
Less share of Meadow Homes, Inc. capital deficit	54,000.00	
Net minority interest		- 0 -
TOTAL LIABILITIES		604,428.01

TOTAL ASSETS	1,110,015.15
TOTAL LIABILITIES	604,428.01
EQUITY - Excess of assets over liabilities	505,587.14

PLANNED COMMUNITIES, INC.

EXHIBIT "A"

Condensed Consolidated Balance Sheet

December 31, 1966

EQUITY

Common Stock		
200,000 shares $5.00 par value authorized	$1,000,000.00	
99,129 shares unissued	495,645.00	
100,871 shares being issued	504,355.00	
Paid in surplus	1,232.14	
Equity December 31, 1966		$505,587.14
Book Value per share		$5.01

The above stock is being issued as follows:

To M.C.D. stockholders for 7,019 shares of M.C.D. on basis of 6 shares of new stock for each share of M.C.D. stock - Total Shares - 42,114 shares @ 5.00	210,570.00	
To P.C. Class "A" stockholders for 2,752 shares of P.C. on basis of 21 shares of new stock for each share of old P.C. Class "A" stock - Total Shares - 57,792 shares @ 5.00	288,960.00	
To P.C. Common stockholders, other than M.C.D. whose 10,000 shares are included in the M.C.D. valuation, 2,412 shares on a basis of 2/5 share of new stock for each share of old P.C. Common stock Total Shares - 965 shares @ 5.00	4,825.00	
Total value of stock being issued		$504,355.00

Planned Communities, Inc.
30 East 42nd Street
Suite 1305
NYC, NY 10017 MU7-6550

President's Report to PC Board Meeting
Monday & Tuesday, June 19 and 20, 1967
Roosevelt Hotel, 45th St. and Madison Ave.
New York City, New York 10017

Dear PC Board member:

Enclosed is an agenda for this meeting including recommendations on decisions which must be made, plus reports by various staff people. Reports prepared for an M-REIT board meeting are also enclosed to help bring you up to date on the growth of the various integrated housing efforts initiated by PC and its predecessor, MCD.

Today we have about 5,000 different investors who have put around $7 million to work in integrated housing development under our leadership. The number of investors in M-REIT, in which our major growth efforts now go, is increasing at a rate of over 2,000 a year.

The problems presented in the agenda and enclosed reports need all the wisdom and experience we have. I urge every board member to make an effort to attend the full overnight meeting and the cocktail party which precedes it at 5 p.m., Monday June 19 at the home of Dorothy and Max Delson, 77 Park Avenue at 39th St, NYC. Wives are welcome and it is all right to bring a friend to this warmly merited testimonial to outgoing PC chairman Frank Montero and incoming PC chairman Tom Gaines.

Cordially,

Morris Milgram

MM/cd
6/14/67

SUGGESTED AGENDA
PC Board Meeting
Hotel Roosevelt - 45th-46th St. & Madison Ave.
New York, NY 212-MU6-9200

Monday, June 19, 1967

5:00-6:30 p.m. Home of Dorothy & Max Delson 77 Park Ave. at 39th St. Apt. 8-F New York City	Cocktail Party in honor of outgoing board chairman, Frank Montero and incoming board chairman, Tom Gaines
6:30-8:00 p.m. Stuyvesant Room Hotel Roosevelt	Dinner
8:00-10:00 p.m. Stuyvesant Room Hotel Roosevelt	Opening statements by Chairman and Pres. Discussion: Future of PC 1. PC growth in relation to M-REIT's growth. 2. Use of PC as a consulting agency 3. Acquisition of property not suitable for M-REIT 4. Obtaining outside management & insurance for additional sources of income.

Tuesday, June 20, 1967

9:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m. Vanderbilt 6 Room Roosevelt Hotel	Business meeting
12:30-2:00 p.m. Stuyvesant Room Roosevelt Hotel	Business luncheon
2:00 p.m.	Adjournment

POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

PROPERTIES

1. Cities like Cleveland and Boston ask M-REIT to consider working in their area. What should be the criteria for agreeing to work in a city other than ones in which M-REIT is already committed?
   Staff Recommendation:
   a. $800,000 minimum be raised locally to buy $2.4 million properties.
   b. Purchasing start when $250,000 is subscribed; $200,000 is paid in.
   c. Key local leadership serve on the M-REIT advisory committee, and some serve on a local PC subsidiary board once first property is found.

2. M-REIT has bought five properties; three in New York, one in Virginia, one in Illinois (to be closed Jan. 2, 1968). What should be areas of concentration for purchase during the next few months?
   Staff Recommendation: In order of importance,
   a. greater Chicago
   b. greater New York
   c. greater Washington D.C.

3. The St. Louis group has raised $138,000 from 76 people, plus indications of interest for $33,500 from 57 people. Investment efforts are underway with individuals, institutions, etc. The local M-REIT advisory committee includes key churchmen, the largest residential realtor, and is headed by Father Doyle, the Chancery office's man on race relations. The St. Louis group has recommended Jerry Berger, Congressman Scheuer's St. Louis manager, for membership on our board. Mr. Berger has not indicated that he will accept . He is an outstanding management man, runs his own compnay, and acts as a consultant nationally on low cost and integrated housing.
   Staff Recommendation: That we elect him to the PC board.

4. We have received a cash offer of $880,000 net for 2325 42nd Street, Washington D.C. - 73 apartments. We paid $875,000 for this property five years ago. A slightly higher offer could be obtained if we persuaded some of our people to take a second mortgage.
   Staff Recommendation: An all cash offer seems preferable. We should accept this cash offer.

5. The Homeparks Board (PC's Washington D.C. subsidiary) has suggested that in larger properties the management fee be cut to 3%. This refers specifically to Rosemary where we have sharply improved conditions in 1966 over 1965 ($52,000 cash improvement). There are 47 Negro families now in residence at Rosemary. Vacancies which have been fluctuating at 25-30, are currently running at 32 in this 415-unit property.
   Staff Recommendation: That we suggest to Homeparks board collecting only 3% currently at Rosemary.

6. The Riverdale group is becoming restive and talks of calling the present mortgage on our 5.2 acres at 261 St. & Palisade Ave., Bronx, New York, because we rejected a $150,000 gross offer.
   Staff Recommendation: That we continue vigorous efforts to sell, but at the same time seek a two-year $100,000 mortgage, When we get the mortgage that we attempt to rezone property for use by moderate income families.

STOCK SALES

1. The enclosed M-REIT budget requires that we sell out the remaining $2 million of our M-REIT stock issue by Thanksgiving, or at the latest Christmas.
   Staff Recommendation:
   a. That we step up personal contacts by having PC board members go with MM or BL to 3 key major investment prospects known personally to them.

b. That we reach many of our present investors and friends through the direct mail now in process and planned, and through meetings of M-REIT & PC stockholders in cities where there are 25 or more such people.
c. Continue special efforts being made with various institutions and other personal contacts.

ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCES

1. Staff submits the enclosed budget for board action; also a cash flow statement and a short form financial report for 1966.

2. PC needs a controller.
Staff Recommendation: That Ruth Zwiback, our office manager, be named PC controller and be recommended to M-REIT for identical post, as urged by M-REIT's accountants.

3. A date for the PC annual meeting should be set.
Staff Recommendation: That we set Wednesday, October 11 for:
Board meeting - 10 a.m.
Annual Meeting - 11 a.m.
Award luncheon - 12:30 p.m.
New PC Board meeting - 2 p.m.
and arrange to hold the meetings in the Community Church, 40 East 35th St. The Community Church holds up to 275 people.

4. A report by the annual award committee will be presented. The Averell Harriman Equal Housing Opportunity Award was first given in 1958, at MCD's founding dinner, to Kivie Kaplan and Jackie Robinson, and is now given annually. Last year's recipient was Max Delson.

5. Our Providence project, University Heights, under Irving Fain's leadership, has successfully shown that economic and racial integration works. This is a first in the USA. However, our own friends are inadequately aware of this achievement, despite recognition given Fain by PC through the Harriman award and by Tougaloo College in an honorary degree to him this month.
Staff Recommendation: That the next PC annual meeting include an oral report to stockholders by Irving Fain on the progress of University Heights, and that special efforts be made by staff to obtain news coverage of this and of the award luncheon to follow.

N.S. Rooms are being reserved at the Hotel Roosevelt for the night of June 19, 1967, for those out-of-town board members who have indicated that they wish a reservation.

For further information contact: Miss Christina Downey
30 East 42nd Street, Suite 1305
New York, NY 10017 212-MU7-6550

PLANNED COMMUNITIES, INC.

Estimated Budget 1967

Estimated Disbursement

Salary	$ 37,000
Employee Benefits and Taxes	4,000
Travel	5,000
Telephone	800
Direct Mail	2,000
Stationery, Supplies and other Postage	2,000
Rent	2,000
Legal and Accounting	1,500
Moving Expenses and New Equipment	750
Taxes, Registration and Filing Fees	1,000
Miscellaneous	1,000
Appraisal and Consulting Fees	2,000
Contributions and Subscriptions	1,500
Insurance	1,000
TOTAL	$61,550

Estimated Cash Flow (4/1/67 -- 4/1/68)

Three Washington Limited Partnership	Mgmt. Fees	36,000
Virginia Building	Mgmt. Fees	9,000
Three New York Buildings	Mgmt. Fees	17,000
New Acquisitions (see NOTE 1)	Mgmt. Fees	22,500
Miscellaneous		
Consultation Fees		1,000
Sale of Lmtd. Part. Units-Capital		15,000
Conversions Units to Deb. (Est. 10 M)	Interest Income	300
University Heights Note - Capital		10,000
M-REIT Advisory Fee		15,000
50 M Rosemary Debentures @ 6%		3,000
		128,800
Less		
Note 2 - Loss of Mgmt. Income due to proposed sale of properties		(5,700)
		123,100

Note 1

Estimated Schedule of New Acquisition:

a. Assume 8 Title Closings beginning 8/67 and each month thereafter and the availability of proceeds for these continuing investments.

b. Assume average cash investment of approximately $300,000; assume average rental of $150,000 per annum; assume average management income of 5% gross on rental per annum per building

Note 2

Assume Sale and Delivery of Title on or about 12/1.67

a. 42nd Street Associates property (Glover Park Apts.)

b. California St. Lmt. Partnership property (Highlands)

Deduction for loss of management income ($5,700)

Manager's Report to M-REIT Trustees
June 7, 1967 - 10:00 a.m.
Office of Delson & Gordon
120 East 41st Street
New York, New York 10017

Integration of Our Buildings:

We have successfully integrated all four of our buildings in New York and Virginia, and we have overcome the one possibly serious problem that presented itself -- the premature Washington Star disclosure of purchase of our Virginia building. Five white families left because of integration before they met any Negro applicants. However, after mid-February, when we integrated the building which now has three Negro families and one interracial couple, only two white families left because of integration. No whites have left our other buildings because of integration, or have protested our policy. Vacancies have moved steadily downward. There are no vacancies in our New York buildings and three in Virginia. We have waiting lists for all buildings.

Headquarters:

We have expanded our headquarters to share with PC 1800 square feet at Room 1305, 30 East 42nd Street, NYC, NY 10017, keeping the same phone and remaining in the real estate district.

Staff:

We have strengthened the PC staff serving M-REIT, by the addition of Sol Fromer as PC's executive vice-president as discussed at the last M-REIT board meeting. His solid experience in buying and selling apartments and in general business matters has already shown itself in our first midwest acquisition and in finding convenient new office space.

Our new office manager, Ruth Zwiback, who started January 3, has become increasingly familiar with the problems of our office and of cost control. I recommend that she now be named controller of M-REIT, as urged by our accountants. A voucher system to control expenditures when incurred is being planned by her now, and she should have this authority to ride herd with all staff on adherence to the budget.

Stock Sales:

A. Personal Contact

Fine work has been done by Bernard Learman with churches, foundations and educational institutions. His report details the excellent start made in this field. It is likely, however, that unless a major breakthrough occurs in corporation investment or in non-profit institutional investment, the bulk of our investment will for the next year or two continue to come from individuals. The effort to get institutional and corporate investment is vital and has already brought far more results than I would have guessed.

My own personal contacts have brought signed indications of interest and checks totalling over $100,000 since February 1. Work with institutional leaders, including Catholic Bishop McCarthy in Cincinnati and Episcopal Bishop Cadigan in St. Louis, have started the ball rolling for possible investment, as have meetings with investment leaders of Germantown Unitarian Church in Philadelphia, Pilgrim Congregational Church in St. Louis, and a power structure group in Dayton, Ohio, where the City Commission on Human Relations paid for my trip to address their annual meeting.

A visit to Indianapolis has already resulted in $9,000 in checks plus several indications of interest and encouragement of investment efforts directed at the H.C. Gemmer Christian Family Foundation, the Christian Theological Seminary, and Butler University. I spoke with top officials of all three, plus one man with some real entre to the Lily Foundation. I also found warm support among members of the Butler Tarkington Neighborhood Association concerned with neighborhood stabilization, which paid for my trip to address their annual meeting.

In the average city with large apartment concentration, increasing interest in local efforts for neighborhood stabilization results both in a warm attitude to the M-REIT program and in an interest in a revised version of my fair housing pledge, which NCTI is now trying out with national leaders and on test mailings to some NCTI sponsors. Local leaders I consulted felt the new peldge would be signed by a substantial proportion of members of liberal churches and fair housing groups. Because NCTI sponsorship is tied into the pledge, it will promote growth in the number of NCTI sponsors. Expansion of NCTI sponsorship is crucial to the growth of M-REIT, as NCTI provides us with our most effective and productive mailing list. We have used it many times, and if it does not grow, its value to M-REIT will diminish. In addition, NCTI is planning a clearing house for open neighborhoods. This is of interest to us as a way in which we can find families for our buildings. The new fair housing pledge is attached to this report.

Direct Mail:

A separate report to you on direct mail stock sales shows results in this field and plans for sell out of the issue this year. Prepared by my assistant, Christina Downey, who has done a fine job in this complex field, the report shows a substantial amount of investment can be brought in at minimal cost through direct mail.

Stock Sales Figures:

Through May 31, 1967, 3,232 people subscribed for $2,611,540 of M-REIT stock, of which all but $68,510 is paid. In addition, indications of interest received since updating of the prospectus began on February 1, total $516,100 from 933 people. Over 600 of our investors have increased their investments.

Updated Prospectus:

The updated prospectus, with unaudited financial figures through March 31, should be registered with the SEC in June, as a result of hard work by Dick Schwarzstein of Delson and Gordon.

Finances:

With the aid of Dan Soba, a new budget for M-REIT has been developed and is presented separately. While it is based on a projected sell out of the $4,591,100 by December 31, 1967, I urge a special effort by all of us to aim at a Thanksgiving sell-out date. The 1967 sell-out will be easier if we show the following progress:

1. Investment of all but reserve funds in buildings by August 30th.

2. Steady pace of acquisitions roughly at the rate of a million dollars of buildings each month from now on.

3. Increase in cash flow from buildings. I believe this needs discussion by the board.

4. Action at this meeting to set an October date for the M-REIT annual meeting, with careful planning for substantial attendance by stockholders. In addition, then or at another time, we need a special session of the board with the advisory committee to ask some of them to head special committees to lead special stock sales campaigns at: universities, theological seminaries, churches, foundations, corporations, labor, pension funds.

M-REIT Board:

I have reported regularly and frequently to Chairman Bill Brill both through personal and telephone meetings, and his advice and suggestions have been most valuable. In addition, I have met with treasurer Klutznick in Chicago and reported by phone repeatedly, as have other staff members. Telephone contact with all trustees on trust matters has been most valuable, as has been repeated contact with our counsel, Delson and Gordon, led by Max Delson, and with our CPA, Fields, Fishgrund & Aeronson, led by Len Lichter and Dan Soba. All have given unstintingly of their time, energy and advice to strengthen M-REIT, and our steady growth is in no small measure due to their devotion and to that of our staff, quietly and most ably led by Ruth Zwiback.

PC Board

The board of Planned Communities, led by Thomas A. Gaines, has given valuable aid and advice on many matters. All of them serve without fee, and each of them has helped us in his own field. For example, Miss Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women and YWCA staff member, arranged for me to address the YWCA national convention on housing, attended by many influential and financially powerful individuals; David Scull of Virginia secured M-REIT endorsement by the Virginia Council on Human Relations which we were able to use in a direct mail appeal to the council members; Tom Gaines found us

a Connecticut stock sales person and has given many other assists; John McDermott, head of the Chicago Catholic Interracial Counsel has worked on local M-REIT sales and has given valuable advice. I could go on. But in addition, two PC board members have each invested $100,000 and several $25,000, $30,000 and $50,000 in M-REIT. Some are considering increases.

Local Meetings of M-REIT Stockholders:

Outside of lists of NCTI, ACLU, Urban League, and a few similar groups, our biggest resource for growth lies in our present M-REIT investors, plus those who signed the early and the recent indications of interest, and the PC investors. Following our annual meeting, in order to bring our stock sales drive to an early close, I suggest a real campaign to have local annual shareholder meetings held, preferably at the home of a leading investor, in those metropolitan areas where the total number of M-REIT investors is 25 or more. Staff, and M-REIT and PC board and advisory committee members, should be asked to help plan these meetings in their localities, and to speak at them.

Allocation of Expenses:

Re a request of the Trustees for documentation on allocation of expenses between M-REIT and PC, a time sheet system for such allocations has been put into daily use. At the end of each quarter adjustments between PC and M-REIT will be made. Costs are running close to the percentage allocations now in use.

Morris Milgram
Manager

MM/cd
May 31, 1967

TO: Congressman Donald M. Fraser, Chairman
National Committee on Tithing in Investment
Washington, D.C. 20009

Recognizing that deeds speak louder than words in developing equal housing opportunity, I agree to

(a) become a sponsor of the National Committee on Tithing in Investment, (NCTI), an educational agency based on the idea that one's funds can be an eloquent voice to help end "the terrible silence of the decent" in housing.

(b) to seek investment of a reasonable portion of any capital I influence to develop open housing.

(c) if I change my residence,

☐ If white, to try to find housing on a block where Negroes already live.

☐ If Negro, to try to find housing on a block where Negroes do not live, far from areas of Negro concentration.

Name (Please Print) _____ Signature _____

Address _____ Zip _____

Signers will get information about NCTI's planned national clearing house for open neighborhoods, to which they can write when moving regarding neighborhoods and apartment buildings - some integrated, seeking white families; some white, seeking Negro families; and some where both Negro and white buyers or renters are now being sought.

6/67

MEMORANDUM

TO: M-REIT Trustees DATE: May 31, 1967

FROM: Christina Downey RE: Direct Mail

The latest report on the results of the indication of interest mailings February 1-May 31, 1967 is as follows:

Between February 1 and May 31, 944 individuals indicated an interest to purchase $403,030 of M-REIT stock, through direct mail efforts. The total cost of these mailings was $24,614 averaging 24¢ per mailing piece. Cost, including staff time @ $350 per month was 6.1% of the total income.

In addition, during this period 307 M-REIT investors increased their subscriptions by $153,220 at no extra cost.

Direct Mail for Cash

Attached please find the revised plan for the 1967 direct mail for cash campaign. It is divided into the period from re-registration to June 30, 1967, the end of our fiscal year and July-December 1967, the proposed sell-out date.

Total figures propose:

Amount:	162,500 letters
Est. Cost:*	$31,273 (direct mail for cash)
	29,687 (indications of interest
	60,403

*Cost includes staff time, and has been reduced by $32,209 over the first proposed direct mail budget presented at the special budget conference of M-REIT, Tuesday, May 23rd. Average cost per mailing piece in the direct mail for cash campaign equals 19¢.

Direct Mail for Cash Campaign
Re-registration-June 30, 1967

1. Indication of Interest (June 15) encl: prosp., quarterly report, letter-subscription, stamped reply	1,500
2. MM-Key (June 30) encl: prosp., quarterly report, letter, sub., b.r. env.	10,000
3. NCTI (June 30) encl: prosp., quarterly report letter, sub., b.r. env.	18,000
4. PC Investors (June 30) encl: prosp., quarterly report, letter, sub., b.r. env.	1,000
5. M-REIT Investors (June 30) encl: prosp., Wash. Post., letter, sub., b.r. env.	3,500
6. Comm. of 100 (June 30) encl: prosp., quarterly report, letter, sub., b.r. env.	16,000
7. Missouri (June 30) encl: M-REITINGS.	3,000
Total Mailings	53,000

COST:			
reply envelopes		33M @ $3.50	$ 116
#10 envelopes		53M @ $5	265
quarterly reports		50M @ $4.50	225
subscription forms		48.5M @ $5	243
Wash. Post		3.5M @ $4.25	15
letters		50M @ $19	950
inserting		53M @ $7 (aver.)	371
stamping (2 stamps)		53M @ $7	371
folding		50M @ $2	100
postage	4.5M @ 5¢ - 48.5M @ 10¢		5,225
M-REITINGS		3M @ $20	60
exchange costs	NCTI	18M @ $30	540
	Comm. of 100		104
addressing envelopes		35M @ $6.50	228
misc. (freight, telf., tax, etc.)			100
		SubTotal	8,913
prospectus		50M @ $80	4,000
staff time	1/4 cld 1/8 Ruth Z. & MM		350
		TOTAL	13,263

cd
5/31/67

Direct Mail for Cash Campaign
July-December, 1967

1. Indications of Interest		
	1,000(July)	
	700(Aug)	
	500(Sept)	
	300(Oct)	2,500
encl: letter-sub., stamped reply clipping		
2. MM-Key(Nov)		
encl: 3rd quarterly report, clipping sell-out letter, b.r. env.		10,000
3. NCTI		
	18,000(July)	
	5,500(Aug)-carbons on hand	
	18,000(Oct)	
	18,000(Nov)	59,500
encl: letter, clipping, b.r. env. sub., (for Nov., 3rd quarterly report).		
4. PC Investors (Nov)		1,000
encl: 3rd quarterly report, letter, b.r. env., sub.		
5. M-REIT Investors (Nov)		4,500
encl: clipping, letter, b.r. env., sub.		
6. MISC. (ACLU, ADA, ACOA)		25,000
encl: prosp., quarterly report sub., letter, b.r. env.		
7. Missouri	3,500(Sept)	
encl: letter, b.r. env., sub., (Nov includes M-REITINGS)	3,500(Nov)	7,000
	Total Mailings	109,500

COST:			
reply envelopes		109.5M @ $3.50	$ 383
M-REITINGS		3.5M @ $20	70
#10 envelopes		32M @ $5	160
#9 envelopes		77.5M (in stock)	-----
quarterly report		54M @ $4.50	243
sub. forms		107M @ $5	535
clippings		58.5M @ $4.50	263
letter- folding		106M @ $21	2,226
inserting		109.5M @ $7 (aver)	767
stamping	28.5M @ $7 - 81M @ $5		605
postage	31M @ 10¢ - 78.5M @ 5¢		7,025
exchange	NCTI	54M @ $30	1,620
addressing envelopes		25M @ $6.50	163
misc. (freight, telf., tax, etc.			450
		SubTotal	14,510
prospectus		25M @ $80	2,000
staff	1/4 cld; 1/8 Ruth & MM		1,500
		TOTAL	18,010

5/31/67

TO: M-REIT Trustees
RE: Budget

At a special budget conference May 23, 1967, called to discuss a proposed M-REIT budget in relation to printing the prospectus, the attached was approved, subject to vote of the Trustees, as a budget through December 31, 1967. The December, 1967 date was set as a date by which the present issue could be sold in full.

Present at the budget conference were: Bill Brill, Max Delson, Morris Milgram, Bernard Learman, Mort Daves, Sol Fromer, Gene King, Dick Schwarzstein, Ruth Zwiback.

The figures were prepared by Ruth Zwiback, Office Manager and Dan Soba, CPA, and are based on staff plans and on actual expenditures from July 1, 1966 through March 31, 1967 (8mos.) and a projection of expenses for the remaining four months to complete a 12 month period. With these figures as a base, we then listed actual expenses from December 1, 1966 through March 31, 1967, and then projected for the additional nine months to take us through the December 31, 1967 date.

Morris Milgram
Manager

lf
5/31/67

MUTUAL REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT TRUST

Estimated Expenses Relating To Issuance of Shares
Based Upon Actual Expenses from Inception to
3/31/67, and Proposed Budget from 4/1/67 to 12/31/67

CLASSIFICATION	ACTUAL EXPENSES FROM INCEPTION TO 3/31/67	PROPOSED BUDGET FROM 4/ 1/67 To 12/31/67	COMBINED TOTAL FOR PRESENT OFFERING
Organization, Registration and Qualification			
Cost of printing prospectus	$ 38, 966	$ 12, 000	$ 50, 966
Legal and accounting fees	73, 537	20, 000	93, 537
Other registration and qualification expenses	7, 358	1, 600	8, 958
Total- Organization, Registration and Qualification	$ 119, 861	$ 33, 600	$ 153, 461
Selling and Other Expenses			
Salaries	$ 96, 946	$ 49, 900	$ 142, 346
Stationery, Printing, Postage and Mailing	125, 245	55, 500	180, 745
Rent, Telephone and other office expenses	29, 463	16, 000	48, 663
Travel and other Expenses	33, 350	18, 000	52, 650
Total - Selling and other expenses	$ 285, 004	$ 139, 400	$ 424, 404
Grand Total	$ 404, 865	$ 173, 000	$ 577, 865

MUTAL REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT TRUST
Revised Proposed Budget
12/1/66 - 12/31/67

CLASSIFICATION	ACTUAL EXPENSES 12/1/66-3/31/67	PROPOSED BUDGET 4/1/67--12/31/67	COMBINED TOTAL 12/1/66-12/31/67
Expenses Relating to Issuance of Shares			
Organization, Registration and Qualification			
Cost of printing prospectus	$ 1,543	$ 12,000	$ 13,543
Legal and accounting fees	9,657	20,000	29,657
Other registration and qualification expenses	1,241	1,600	2,841
Total - Organization, Registration and Qualification	$ 12,441	$ 33,600	$ 46,041
Selling and Other Expenses			
Salaries	$ 26,700	$ 49,900	$ 76,600
Payroll Taxes and employee benefits	1,993	3,500	5,493
Travel	5,719	9,200	14,919
Telephone	2,287	5,000	7,287
Direct Mail - printing, postage & mailing	28,020	50,000	78,020
Stationery, supplies & other postage	8,103	5,500	13,603
Rent	1,180	7,500	8,680
Other selling expenses (including office expenses, advertising, and services)	1,618	8,800	10,418
Total - Selling and Other Expenses	$ 75,620	$ 139,400	$ 215,020
Total - Expenses Relating to Issuance of Shares	$ 88,061	$ 173,000	$ 261,061

CLASSIFICATION	ACTUAL EXPENSES 12/1/66 - 3/31/67	PROPOSED BUDGET 4/1/67 - 12/31/67	COMBINED TOTAL 12/1/66- 12/31/67
General and Administrative Expenses			
Salaries and Office expenses - allocated	$ 4, 033	$ 17, 000	$ 21, 033
Trustees Fees and expenses	5, 409	6, 000	11, 409
Supervisory managing agent's fees	2, 900	10, 000	12, 900
Total - General and Administrative Expenses	$ 12, 342	$ 33, 000	$ 45, 342
Grand Total	$ 100, 403	$206, 000	$ 306, 403

31 May 1967

VICE PRESIDENT'S REPORT
to
M-REIT TRUSTEES

TOTAL SALES THROUGH MAY 29, 1967:

	No. Investors = ( )	
Subscriptions	$2,609,940 (3,227)	Cash — $2,541,374
Indications of Interest	499,400 (910)	
Total	$3,109,340 (4,137)-	

MONTHLY SALES SINCE FEBRUARY 1, 1967, beginning the SEC re-registration period:

	SUBS.	INDICATIONS	TOTAL
February	$181,020 (198)	$ 50,440 (126)	$224,320 (324)
March	104,800 (113)	135,300 (266)	240,100 (379)
April	39,160 (77)	133,960 (275)	173,120 (352)
May	43,620 (48)	188,600 (243)	232,220 (291)

EXPENSES THROUGH MAY 29, 1967:**

	All Expenses	% of Sales	Sales Expenses	% of Sales
February	$ 33,500	14.9 %	$ 18,500	8.2 %
March	23,685	9.8 %	15,762	6.5 %
April	34,798*	20.1 %	18,129	10.4 %
May (estimated)	21,858	9.4 %	16,894	7.2 %
Cumulative since November, 1965	$510,674	16.0 %	$331,206	10.6 %

* includes $10,000 legal fees
** based on percentage of sales, including indications

Reported sales goals called for reaching $2,600,000 by the end of March, presuming the hiatus due to re-registration would have been over by then. Sales reached $2,570,000, however, with $135,300 in indications. Projections also indicated reaching $3,100,000 by the end of May, and with indications, this target has been exceeded.

We are aiming to complete the current offering by the end of 1967 with the earliest projected sell-out date Thanksgiving, 1967, and the latest February 28th, 1968. Completion of the offering within this period means we must average about $300,000 per month in stock sales, attainable within the present framework.

Four major factors key to this accomplishment are:

Conversion of Indications
New subscribers (Individuals)
Institutional investors
Additional investment by current investors

Conversions, based on experience of a year ago and the more favorable conditions prevailing now as compared to then, should be effectuated at the 70% - 80% level. A brief letter with the final prospectus should be in the mail immediately (upon availability of the final prospectus) enclosing the final prospectus, with two follow-up letters at three week intervals. Telephone follow-up should begin immediately with all 25 share and over indications.

Nearly 600 investors have made additional investment totalling $250,000, and this should continue to be an important source of capital for us.

It is essential that profitable, low-cost mailings be continued simultaneously with intensive personal contact by Morris and myself. Reports have previously been submitted on direct mail plans.

RECENT TRIPS

The past three months included extensive travel with trips to the Midwest, Denver, and the West Coast. Presentations were made to individuals and institutions with attendance at the Unitarian and Presbyterian General Assemblies. No trips are scheduled at the present time, and I plan to concentrate for the next three months primarily on the New York metropolitan area, Boston, and Chicago.

MAJOR PROSPECTS AND THEIR STATUS

UAW: Tom Klutznick and I met very briefly with W. Reuther in Chicago last week. Phil Klutznick had spoken with him and there has been follow-up by several key UAW staff and UAW Board member, Jack Edwards. Mr. Reuther seems fully aware of M-REIT's $500,000 request. I am now

planning to see Robert Nathan who is close to Reuther and an M-REIT Advisory Committee member. Tom and I hope to go to Detroit to see Reuther if possible.

Meadville Theological Seminary: Tom K. and I met with Malcolm Sutherland, President. I had spoken with him in Denver and previously met with their Board Chairman and other key Board members. The following proposal has been suggested by Mr. Sutherland:

1. An investment of up to $500,000 as a partner of M-REIT in purchasing Chicago properties.

2. A current purchase of M-REIT shares in a smaller amount, such as $25,000 - $50,000.

3. A switching to M-REIT shares of the $500,000 when M-REIT is providing a higher return, 5% - 6%.

4. Inclusion on the M-REIT Board of Philip Dodge, a real estate entrepreneur and active liberal in Omaha. He is highly regarded in UUA circles in both regards.

Tom and I hope to meet with Mr. Dodge and other key Board members regarding this. Mr. Sutherland also requested that we draw up a set of alternative proposals along these lines.

Evanston Investment Corp.— owns an 11-unit building in Evanston which they have purchased in order to integrate. Their objectives and methods are quite similar to our own. They are showing a small deficit after about a year's operations. If they can be given sufficient involvement, they may be persuaded to merge with us but lean toward continuing on their own for a while longer. They have 41 investors and about $65,000 invested. M-REIT prospectuses and materials are being sent by them to each of their investors and a vote will be taken. Some key investors, including Charles Benton, are urging their merger with us. Pat Crowley is also a key investor and I will discuss it with him. In the meantime, they are attempting to help us secure investment on the North Shore, and several of their members told me they would invest with us when I met with them last week.

Ken Russ Group — also in Evanston, have raised $20,000 to $25,000. Leaders have agreed to invest this with us, and the paperwork for the transfer has begun.

SIGNIFICANT DENOMINATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

Unitarian: A resolution urging investment in M-REIT was passed unanimously at the UUA General Assembly. Due, however, to concern over abiding by the prudent man rule in Massachusetts and the feeling that M-REIT does not meet prudent investment standards, the UUA Board at its June

meeting will probably not invest more than $10,000. I have explored with Max Delson and Dick Schwarzstein legal palliatives for this conservative legal approach which can be a problem with many otherwise substantial institutional investors.

Nine Unitarian societies have now made investments. Investments of $10,000 are expected from Indianapolis, Portland, Oregon, Santa Barbara, Washington, D.C., Minneapolis, and Chicago, with consideration by a number of others.

Catholic: Investment is under consideration by Boston College, Immaculate Heart (Los Angeles), and other institutions. Following a presentation to the Commission of Social Justice of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, all commissioners agreed to recommend M-REIT to the Bishop, and offered to accompany me to see him. There will be a meeting in Chicago to formulate a plan with the Institute of Urban Life to effectuate investment by every Chicago parish.

Jewish: With Irving Fain's leadership, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations' Social Action Commission unanimously passed a resolution urging their 600 member temples to invest in M-REIT. It is now being sent with a covering letter by Irving, and I will follow-up several key temples. Irving and I have contacted his own temple from which we are requesting $15,000.

Protestant: Am seeking major investment from Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Quaker, and Episcopal national and local groups. A commitment of $10,000 was received from the Disciples of Christ in Indianapolis.

UNIONS: Presentations were made to the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers and ILWU pension trustees. I am working with Charles Cogen and their more affluent locals. I will be contacting Howard Kennan, President, American Federation of Musicians, and expect to step-up union contact.

PERSONNEL:

The development department eliminated one salaried position, that of secretary, to cut costs. Penny Sarno also went on part-time basis, but it will probably be more productive to restore her to full-time.

At the urging of Bill Brill and the PC Executive Committee we intensified our search for a sales executive, screening and interviewing 22 candidates during the last few weeks. We are continuing to seek qualified candidates and are contacting employment agencies, using ads and other sources.

COMMISSION SALESMEN

There are now 7 who have signed salesmen's agreements with 8 others pending. There are no significant results yet, but I hope we can develop this satisfactorily in time.

COLLEGES AND FOUNDATIONS:

With entree provided by Irving Fain contacting Brown. Tom Klutznick is contacting his alma mater, Oberlin. Also contacting University of Chicago, Bard, DePaul, Lake Forest, Notre Dame, and University of Minnesota. Foundations contacted must be stepped-up. Plan to approach all major liberal foundations. Met with Alan Maremont in San Francisco regarding investment by the Kate Maremont Foundation. Hope to follow-up with Arnold Maremont in Chicago.

SUMMARY

There is an urgent need in order to grow more rapidly that our funds be invested as promptly as possible with the highest return on investment. It is still an uphill struggle to effectuate major sales, and scepticism that M-REIT is an investment must be overcome. Increasing the return on investment is the single most important factor in increasing sales at lower cost.

Respectfully submitted,

Bernard W. Learman
Vice President

SUBSCRIPTIONS
M-REIT STATE ANALYSIS

31 May 1967

STATE	SUBSCRIBERS	INVESTMENT	RANK BY # SUBS.	RANK BY AMT. OF INVESTMENT
Arizona	13	$ 3,800	26	28
California	536	329,260	2	2
Colorado	28	15,600	18	19
Connecticut	77	83,800	11	9
Delaware	26	7,300	19	23
Washington, D.C.	130	68,600	8	10
Idaho	2	400	30	31
Illinois	254	173,590	5	5
Indiana	58	39,900	15	12
Iowa	18	7,800	23	22
Kansas	20	5,800	22	24
Maryland	172	124,400	7	8
Massachusetts	257	278,720	4	3
Michigan	42	20,840	17	18
Minnesota	67	38,300	13	15
Missouri	76	137,900	12	7
Nebraska	15	5,400	24	26
New Jersey	226	144,120	6	6
New Mexico	7	1,200	28	29
New York	756	752,060	1	1
Ohio	82	39,200	10	13
Oregon	22	7,540	21	25
Pennsylvania	293	197,980	3	4
Rhode Island	23	62,800	20	11
Tennessee	14	4,600	25	27
Utah	6	8,200	29	21
Vermont	10	10,900	27	20
Virginia	53	30,140	16	17
Washington	93	36,700	9	16
Wisconsin	62	38,800	14	14
Wyoming	2	600	30	30
Isolated Transactions	14	8,900		
TOTALS	3,232	$2,611,540		
1967 Indications of Interest	933	$ 516,100		

MUTUAL REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT TRUST
Schedule of Monthly Sales and Expenses

Date	Total Sales For Month	Total Sales Cumulative	Total Expenses For Month	Total Expenses Cumulative
To Nov.30, 1965	$567,100.00	$567,100.00	$ 56,689.86	$ 56,689.86
December, 1965	-	567,100.00	4,605.14	61,295.00
January, 1966	-	567,100.00	25,628.00	86,923.00
February, 1966	-	567,100.00	21,972.00	108,895.00
March, 1966	280,480.00	847,580.00	16,479.00	125,374.00
April, 1966	176,131.00	1,023,711.00	20,188.00	145,562.00
May, 1966	122,500.00	1,146,211.00	30,030.97	175,592.97
June, 1966	157,229.00	1,303,440.00	30,030.97	205,623.94
July, 1966	117,291.00	1,420,731.00	29,665.06	235,289.00
August, 1966	84,480.00	1,505,211.00	24,360.00	259,649.00
September, 1966	49,600.00	1,554,811.00	24,730.00	284,379.00
October, 1966	36,800.00	1,591,611.00	33,475.00	317,854.00
November, 1966	208,880.00	1,800,491.00	28,204.00	346,058.00
December, 1966	117,169.00	1,917,660.00	21,831.00	367,889.00
January, 1967	280,380.00	2,198,040.00	28,676.00	396,585.00
February, 1967	224,320.00*	2,422,360.00*	33,500.00	430,065.00
March, 1967	240,100.00*	2,662,460.00*	23,685.00	453,750.00
April, 1967	173,120.00*	2,835,580.00*	34,798.00	488,548.00
May, 1967	232,220.00*	3,067,800.00*	21,858.00 (E)	510,406.00 (E)

* Includes indications of interest.

NUMBER OF M-REIT SUBSCRIBERS BY MONTH

	BY MONTH	CUMULATIVE
3/31/66	8	
4/30/66	390	398
5/31/66	242	640
6/30/66	289	929
7/31/66	526	1,455
8/31/66	140	1,595
9/30/66	104	1,699
10/31/66	88	1,787
11/31/66	262	2,049
12/31/66	217	2,266
1/31/67	399	2,665
2/28/67	324	2,989
3/31/67	113	3,102
4/30/67	77	3,179
5/31/67	48	3,227

REPORT TO PC BOARD, JUNE 19 & 20, 1967
Sol M. Fromer, Executive Vice President, Planned Communities Inc.

M-REIT INVESTMENTS

An agreement has been signed on June 9, 1967, for purchase of our first Chicago property, located on the North Side, consists of a 5 story modern elevator building containing 90 apartments. Property will cost about $1,000,000, will have an estimated cash flow in excess of 10% after all expenses and amortization payments and management fees, but before depreciation.

Further attempts are being made to obtain other similar properties in the greater Chicago area. Objective: To build a solid portfolio of good income properties in Greater Chicago.

Several investment deals are pending in this area at the present time, including offers based upon varying yields subject to expense verifications and inspections. PC Executive Committee and M-Reit Trustees will be advised re progress.

The second area of concentration continues to be the New York Metropolitan Area, which, unfortunately, provides very little in the way of choice properties which also show good income pictures. I have investigated many properties in the suburbs of New York, including Nassau County, Westchester County, and near-by New Jersey. Most properties in these areas do not stand the test of close scrutiny of expenses; and, after application of normal reserve requirements for vacancies, repairs, decorations, etc., and after making the necessary deduction for management fees, these properties leave little in the way of return and, in some cases, show a true deficit operating picture.

With respect to properties in the prime areas of New York City, namely the choice areas of Manhattan, these properties could only be purchased on the assumption that land values justify the investment. There would be little or no present profit picture whatsoever. The rent control situation in the older buildings of New York City continues as before, and the constant battle of trying to push rent increases to cover the continuing inevitable increases of taxes, and all other expenses, and now the costs of conforming to new departmental requirements, is formidable. Methods of municipal financing in the City of New York are outrageously loaded against the commercial property owner. The over-all management problem involved in the handling of the older controlled low-rental buildings within the City of New York is many times that of middle income conventional post-war real estate. Also, in many cases, over the long period of time, turn-overs have been sufficient to bring rent increases up to the limit of the going market value; and the potential, therefore, is limited. Neighborhood changes are also more frequently a problem in localities where these buildings happen to be located, and these buildings, therefore, would certainly not qualify for our social purposes.

However, it should be further pointed out, that no general area is being ruled out as a possible area for investment other than certain specific areas which are not suited for our social purpose, which are by definition, ruled out.

FORMER QUARTERS

I am pleased to report the successful negotiation of an assignment of our old lease and a net recovery of $2,275.00 out of a maximum possible $2,450.00, to the end of the term; in addition to our security refunded in the amount of $350.00. Landlords consent to assignment was obtained on June 6, 1967.

No brokerage was paid. We continue contingently liable on the remaining term of the lease.

M-REIT INVESTMENT PORTFOLIO

The Board has been notified on May 11, 1967, that the Investment Committee of the American Bank and Trust Company has made recommendation that 90-day C/Ds be purchased in 15M maximum amounts per account to yield 5%; a substantial increase over present yields.

Since that time, excess cash accounts were thus converted; and my recommendation is that the Board approve the conversion of municipals, and authority bonds be likewise converted.

A list of approved banks is being prepared, and an investigation of their yield offerings on a 90 day C/D basis will be made, in addition to an examination of their most recent statement of condition.

An allocation of funds will be made therefrom.

It should be further noted that indications of "tight money" this fall are reported from various sources.

OTHER PROPERTIES

We are continuing vigorous efforts to sell River Ridge land. Current status of Waterbury land sale agreement, not yet signed, is being examined. Efforts to sell Highlands and Glover Park Apartments in Washington, D. C. is underway, as per PC Executive decision.

Sol M. Fromer
6-14-67

PROPERTY DIRECTOR REPORT TO PLANNED COMMUNITY BOARD
MEETING OF JUNE 19/20, 1967

ROSEMARY VILLAGE

Purchase of electrical lines, including engineering and installation of an electrical transformer was completed on May 9, 1967, at a cost of over $40,000. This improvement should result in a savings of $19,000 annually (estimated by the local utility company) in the purchase of electricity. A program of general repair and upgrading of the heating systems, which has long been a problem, is in progress with completion expected in early September.

Since the last Planned Community board meeting, the number of Negro families at Rosemary has increased from 37 to 47 in this 415 unit community.

A high vacancy factor still remains a problem and we are redoubling our efforts, with fresh approaches and new ideas for ways of acquiring new tenants. We now have 3% vacancies.

42 STREET

We have only 1 vacancy. An offer to purchase at $880,000 net is on the agenda for discussion.

HIGHLANDS

An exclusive was given to a Washington, D.C. real estate broker to acquire a tenant for the vacant commercial space. I feel he is making major efforts and he advises me that he is presently working with three potential tenants. The financial success of this property is predicated on the leasing of this space.

XENON MANAGEMENT CORP. (NEW YORK SUBSIDIARY)

I have prepared an ad seeking apartment house owners who believe in intergration and want us to manage for them. This was submitted to Tom Gaines and approved for insertion in various Real Estate Newspapers and the New York Times.

Respectfully submitted,

Morton I. Daves

Report of Property Director to M-REIT Trustees

Meeting of June 7, 1967

I can report good progress since the last Trustees meeting held on March 7, 1967. The high vacancy factor at Harvey Hall Apartments, Arlington, Virginia, which was of great concern to the Trustees, is under control and the number of vacant apartments as of May 31, 1967 is 3. This is a drastic reduction from the 11 apartments which were vacant as of the date of the last meeting. The turn-over of apartments has been greatly reduced due to the complete redecorating of the public halls and areas as well as a definite increase in service.

There are presently no vacancies in any of the New York properties and the outlook for maintaining a 0 vacancy factor is good.

Integration of all the properties has been achieved and will continue as vacancies arise. I am accumulating a waiting list for apartments at each property individually.

In general, all the properties are finally operating properly and I anticipate the next quarterly report to reflect this.

Morton I. Daves

MID/mf

6/1/67

FACT SHEET

	Rent Roll at Acquisition		Rent Roll as of 6/1/67	Rent Roll Increases*
Crescent St. Astoria, N.Y.	$161,716	(8/66)	$162,412	$696
Ocean Parkway Brooklyn, N.Y.	91,651	(10/66)	92,820*	1,169
Ascan Avenue Forest Hills, N.Y.	91,273	(10/66)	91,988*	715
Harvey Hall Arlington, Va.	198,228	(1/67)	198,480	52
			Sub Total	$2,632
* Plus pending increases for repiping.....				9,904
			Total	$12,536

	No. of non-white families	Vacancies--number of apartments 8/66	9/66	10/66	11/66	12/66	1/67	2/67	3/67	4/67	5/67
Crescent St. Astoria, N.Y.	4	5	6	2	2	2	4	3	2	0	0
Ocean Parkway Brooklyn, N.Y.	3			2	1	4	3	1	3	1	0
Ascan Avenue Forest Hills, N.Y.	1			1	2	2	3	1	1	2	0
Harvey Hall Arlington, Va.	4						3	11	7	6	3

Actual Vacancy Loss

	Original Annual Projection	Actual to 5/31/67	Period Covered
Crescent St. Astoria, N.Y.	$6,000	$3,867	10 months
Ocean Parkway Brooklyn, N.Y.	921	1,725	8 months
Ascan Avenue Forest Hills, N.Y.	931	2,027	7 months
Harvey Hall Arlington, Va.	5,950	4,264	5 months

MORTGAGES AND EQUITY

	Purchase Price	Equity at Acquisition	Mortgage Balance at Acquisition	Mortgage Balance as of 6/7/67	Amortization from Acquisition to 6/7/67
Crescent St. Astoria, N.Y.	$1,050,146	$275,200	$772,146	$755,794	$16,352
Ocean Parkway Brooklyn, N.Y.	591,500	184,858	406,642	399,254	7,388
Ascan Avenue Forest Hills, N.Y.	570,000	131,564	438,436	431,114	7,322
Harvey Hall Arlington, Va.	1,400,000	458,295	941,705	931,031	10,674
				Total	41,736

Pro-Forma Statement 7/1/67 - 6/30/68 — Crescent St., Astoria, N.Y.

Rental Income		$162,412
Estimated Expenses		
Mortgages-Int & Amort	$58,500	
Taxes	39,992	
Water & Sewer	2,244	
Payroll (2 men) (incl apt & payroll taxes)	12,054	
Utilities	2,544	
Fuel	3,500	
Maint, Supplies, Repairs	5,475	
Mgt fee	8,000	
Insurance	2,331	
Vacancies	4,000	
Renting	500	
Estimated Total Expenses		$139,140
Estimated cash flow before depreciation		$23,272

Pro-Forma Statement 7/1/67 - 6/30/68 — Ocean Parkway, Brooklyn, N.Y.

Rental Income		$98,508
Estimated Expenses		
Mortgage-Int. & Amort	$33,092	
Taxes	25,065	
Water & Sewer	2,012	
Payroll (1 man) (incl apt & payroll taxes)	4,648	
Utilities	1,200	
Fuel	4,250	
Maint Supplies, Repairs	4,400	
Mgt. fee	4,500	
Insurance	1,973	
Vacancies	800	
Renting	100	
Estimated Total Expenses		$82,040
Estimated cash flow before depreciation		$16,468

Pro-Forma Statement 7/1/67 - 6/30/68 — Ascan Avenue, Forest Hills, N.Y.

Rental Income		$96,204
Estimated Expenses		
Mortgage-Int & Amort	$33,752	
Taxes	23,645	
Water & Sewer	2,008	
Payroll (1 man) (inc apt & payroll taxes)	6,168	
Utilities	2,800	
Fuel	4,600	
Maint, Supplies, Repairs	3,750	
Mgt fee	4,300	
Insurance	1,740	
Vacancies	750	
Renting	100	
Estimated Total Expenses		$83,613
Estimated cash flow before depreciation		$12,591

Pro-Forma Statement 7/1/67 - 6/30/68 — Harvey Hall, Arlington, Va.

Rental Income		$198,480
Estimated Expenses		
Mortgage-Int & Amort	$81,864	
Taxes	20,260	
Water & Sewer	3,200	
Payroll (incl apt & payroll taxes)	12,960	
Utilities	12,750	
Fuel	3,700	
Maint, Supplies, Repairs	9,600	
Mgt fee	9,800	
Insurance	2,388	
Vacancies	4,500	
Renting	2,000	
Estimated Total Expenses		$163,022
Estimated cash flow before depreciation		$35,458

SUGGESTED AGENDA

PC Board of Directors' Meeting
Wed. Jan 4, 1967 at 6 p.m. thru
Thurs. Jan 5, 1967 at 2 p.m.

Roger-Smith Hotel
47th St. & Lexington Ave.
N.Y.C., N.Y. 212-755-1400

January 4, 1967
6 p.m. Dinner

8 p.m. Meeting

1. Statement of Chairman Tom Gaines -- Need for a thoughtful relaxed discussion of our work and problems.

2. President's Report -- Try to discuss policy, not details.

   A. What are we trying to do - teach housing industry by example
   B. Prerequisites to Success
      Tight-knit organization which can show in various metropolitan areas that integrated housing is economically feasible
   C. Problems
      1. Growth. Need for completion of sale of stock issue this summer
         (a) Importance of tithing movement
         (b) Reorganization of our proceedures to reach more potential investors personally
         (c) Strengthening of tithing movement
      2. Personnel. Stock sales people, managers, administrative assistant to MM
      3. Research needs
      4. Fain's Proposal. How to affect more neighborhoods by buying 2-family houses

3. Reports.
   A. On Stock Sales - Bernard Learman
   B. On Properties - Morton Daves
   C. On Finances - Morris Milgram and John Stillman

4. Discussion of Reports led by Chairman Tom Gaines

10 p.m. Adjourn

January 5, 1967
9:30 a.m. Meeting

1. Letter of Appreciation to Outgoing Chairman Frank Montero.

2. M-REIT - Stock Sales. Concentration on Growth Patterns

3. River Ridge

4. Washington Area

5. Fain Proposal re 2-family Housing
6. Wilmington

12:30 p.m. Lunch
2:00 p.m. Adjourn

Property Director's Report to Planned Communities Board
Meeting: January 4-5, 1967

1. Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust

Planned Communities staff has aided in acquiring the following properties for M-REIT:

a.	25-34 Crescent Street, Queens	$1,052,350
b.	602 Ocean Parkway, Brooklyn	591,500
c.	1 Ascan Avenue, Queens	570,000
d.	Harvey Hall, Arlington, Va.	1,400,000

2. Xenon Management Corporation, PC Subsidiary

M-REIT has awarded management contracts to Xenon Management Corporation for the management of the Trust's New York properties. This consists of three buildings with a total rent roll of about $350,000. Xenon receives 5 per cent, or approximately $17,500, from that figure as its yearly management fee.

3. Homeparks, Inc., PC Subsidiary

Homeparks has been awarded the contract for the management of the Trust's newest purchase, Harvey Hall in Arlington, Virginia. The annual rent roll at this building is about $195,000. In addition to the Harvey Hall contract, Homeparks also has management agreements with Rosemary, 1901 East-West Highway, Silver Spring, Md., the Highlands, 1914 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C., and Glover Park Apts., 2325 42 Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

4. Riverdale

As part of our effort to find a purchaser for this property, we made a mass mailing to 2,000 brokers in the New York area. This, together with an ad in the New York Times, has brought a good response. At the moment, we have a genuinely interested buyer. Morris Milgram and Max Delson have been negotiating for a one-year renewal of the mortgage on this property, which is due January 1st.

Respectfully submitted,

Morton I. Daves
Property Director

12/23/66

December 27, 1967

DEVELOPMENT DIRECTOR'S REPORT TO PC BOARD
Jan. 4-5, 1966, Roger-Smith Hotel, N.Y., N.Y.

DECEMBER SALES

As of December 27, sales are $105,660 from 194 investors. Cumulative sales are $1,913,051 from over 2,200 investors. Cash paid on subscriptions continues to run at about $100,000 less than total subscriptions at $1,776,280. December sales should reach the $130,000 to $135,000 level. There is yet no breakdown between direct sales expenses and general expenses for the month, but the latter is estimated at about $23,000. In spite of a decline from the record November sales, December continues to confirm a strong sales trend.

INSTITUTIONAL SALES

Interest in investing major funds is surging, particularly among churches with national as well as individual institutional investment expected during the next three months. A number of presentations have been or are scheduled, and the announcement of a dividend will make an enormous difference in accelerating and increasing amount of closings of sales in this area.

SUMMARY AND FORECAST

As in November, I am making direct sales appointments and presentations to secure major amounts virtually continuously, and seek to expand our capacity in this key direction with the addition of an assistant development director as soon as possible. Mr. Dobie Jenkins of Sacremento will begin in the New York office January 26 for a two week trial and orientation period. He is currently Legislative Assistant to the California State Legislature.

Future sales should continue to benefit from the improved general picture and the beginning successful operational records which could be utilized for the first time in November, and which would now be further enhanced by the dividend.

Please see the attached report made to the M-REIT Trustees, December 6, for further details regarding sales. The report includes sales and expense charts.

The first quarter of 1967 can be expected to produce $450,000 to $600,000. We should make every effort to reach $2,500,000 by March 31.

12/6/66

DEVELOPMENT DIRECTOR'S REPORT TO TRUSTEES

SALES

$208,880 from 262 investors showed a dramatic upturn from the sales levels of the previous three months and brought total sales to $1,805,291, with the number of investors passing the 2,000 mark. This upsurge was the result of intensive personal contact with special prospects and a mailing to the NCTI list. General sales and the securing of major investments were augmented by:

1. M-REIT's improving profile as an investment as assets grow and profitable and smooth management begins to appear evident.
2. Integration without incident or fanfare.
3. Effective supplementary sales documents and publicity reprints.
4. Large visual display cards for group meetings and audiences.

Major investments included the Evangelical United Church of the Brethren, $10,000; the Field Foundation, $20,000; and three individual investors of $10,000 to $20,000. The Brethren became the first church group to invest national funds, and the Field Foundation the first major foundation to invest. Among the 22 founding investors, Delson & Gordon increased their investment. Direct sales expenses for November were 6.2%, and cumulative expenses were 13.4%. A current state analysis is attached.

WESTERN TRIP

I made a week and a half trip to the West Coast which resulted in $10,000 in hand and an additional $35,000 to follow. Principal among these is $20,000 from the San Francisco Unitarian Church, with others scheduled. Meetings were well-attended, and follow-up is being made by Advisory Committee members and investors. They are also holding subsequent meetings as well. There was a particularly enthusiastic response in Seattle, helped by good organizational work by Advisory Committee Member, Marvin Durning. Articles appeared in both major papers, and a copy of the Seattle Times article is attached. The return trip to New York included a weekend in the

Detroit area where a number of contacts were made in Detroit, Grosse Pte., and other affluent suburbs, and with the UAW. Meetings are being scheduled by key M-REIT workers in these areas.

UNITARIAN CAMPAIGN

The campaign is progressing briskly. On the West Coast in addition to San Francisco, the Mt. Diablo Church in Walnut Creek, California invested $3,000. This investment by a small church helps set the level for others. The Seattle church will invest in order to be included but is in financial difficulty. The San Mateo and Tacoma churches also plan to invest. In Michigan, Ann Arbor is considering investment, and meetings are being arranged by the ministers in Detroit, Grosse Pte., Bloomfield Hills and Birmingham. The First Unitarian Churches of Chicago and Cleveland are co-sponsors with the San Francisco, Community Church of New York, and Arlington Street Church of Boston, of a resolution to be presented at the national Unitarian convention to be held in May in Denver to the effect that national UUA funds be invested in integrated housing and singling out M-REIT as an excellent vehicle for such investment. It will also urge that UUA member societies and individuals invest similarly, naming M-REIT. Chicago and Cleveland are expected to make major investments, and the Finance Committee of the Community Church of New York is meeting the first week of January to increase their $5,000 investment. Yesterday, I met with the business manager and minister of the Plandome, L.I. church, one of the most affluent in UUA circles (probably the only one with an investment manager); and they will urge a $10,000 investment. Their investment advisor is also the UUA advisor for bequests and estates, and he is keeping me informed regarding developments in this regard. For example, the Watertown, N.Y. church received $400,000 a few days ago. I have contacted them.

OTHER DENOMINATIONS

A meeting was held with representatives of seven Presbyterian churches in Fairfield and Westchester Counties which are considering investment. I also have meetings scheduled with national Presbyterian officials and will be meeting with Baptist officials. The Church of the Brethren has particular influence in Methodist circles with whom they are merging (the merger making them the largest protestant group in the country), and they are arranging a meeting with national Methodist officials. Little has been done in Catholic, Quaker and Episcopalian circles, which represent substantial potential which must be developed. It should be noted that many Church investments are initial and will be increased as M-REIT proves out as an investment. The Church of the Brethren, for example, will invest $15,000 more in 1967 on this basis, as will the Arlington Street Church and others; and I am arranging as many future committments on this basis as possible. The Jewish fraternal order, Workmen's Circle, which invested $5,000 is expected to add $25,000 to this soon.

PUBLICITY

M-REIT was again featured as the lead article in the New York Sunday Times Real Estate Section as the result of coverage of the annual meeting. The North American Newspaper Alliance will begin this week to distribute a story scheduled to appear in its 400-700 affiliates. Stories also appeared in the major St. Louis, Atlanta papers and in other cities. Articles are expected in The Reporter, The Workmen's Circle Call, Saturday Review and Grisis. M-REIT is news, and fresh articles from time to time help sales. I do not believe that staff time should be distracted by publicity efforts. Publicity can and should, however, be secured adroitly.

SALES EXPENSES

Sales charts showing the relation of sales and expenses are attached. Cumulative expenses which include sales and what are deemed other expenses in-

cluding legal and other fees, printing of prospectuses, etc. is $346,000, with a 19.2% ratio. If we use only direct sales expenses, these total $203,000 for a sales expense percentage of 11%. For example, sales expenses at June 30 (based on a conversation with counsel) were under 10% according to the state of California, since actual sales figures, about $115,000 were used. If this figure can be used it obviously diminishes the pressure regarding expense. This question needs full clarification by counsel and CPA. It will be noted that cumulative expenses per month have remained relatively constant.

STAFF EXPANSION

Commission sales arrangements which have been made with already licensed or registered representatives has not been successful. Although there are exceptions, and there are a few who may turn out well, I do not think this is worth substantial staff time which distracts from sales. As effective representatives are found, they will be developed and gradually a sales force can be built. More important, it is feasible to develop M-REIT advisory committees built around enthusiastic and capable investors and national advisory committee members, and to involve these same individuals with or without committees. Such relationships are at work for us in State College, Pa., San Francisco, Seattle, Wilton, Conn., Ann Arbor, Mich., Grosse Pte. and Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., and are the most successful and facile way of proliferating our personal outreach. We flourish, as in fund raising in general, partially on the basis of personal recommendation which must be cultivated and utilized repeatedly.

Interviews were held, and a number of candidates screened for the position of Assistant Director of Development. One of the best prospects is Doby Jenkins, currently a special assistant in the Governor's office in Sacramento. He is knowledgable nationally, has lived in the East, is poised and has organized a Sacramento committee for M-REIT. He will be coming East on personal business, and I am trying to arrange for him to work with us on a trial basis for the month

of January in New York. His salary requirement is $10,000.

PERSONNEL

After discussion with the Manager and Board Chairman, it was decided to put Western Director, Mack Lovett, on a commission basis after 1/2/67. The West Coast office was not functioning at a high enough sales to expense ratio. Mack agreed to continue on a commission basis.

PACIFIC TRUST MERGER

I met with Robert McNeil of the Pacific Plan and toured the Pacific Trust's Palo Alto property, Coronado Apartments, and a similar property there, both managed by McNeil. McNeil had mentioned M-REIT to the Pacific trustees only the week before, and their primary concern was whether our social concern meant no profit or profit motive. There was no enthusiasm for integration, and McNeil claims that two trustees (of five) had to be dropped and replaced before M-REIT could be discussed. He admitted there were other reasons. If there were to be a merger, they would insist on the presence of two Pacific trustees on an enlarged M-REIT board. He says that they are most eager to remain involved. Pacific Trust owns two apartment buildings in San Francisco Bay area. McNeil is interested in the merger solely in order to manage M-REIT buildings on the West Coast, and to act as broker, and he is straightforward about it. I believe that for profit he would follow our directives, but would need some watching over. Of greater concern, we discovered that his broker's license had been suspended once, and his insurance license twice. He would like an offer from M-REIT to present to the trustees and is willing enough to negotiate with M-REIT stock.

Visual Sales Aids

In addition to the large display cards, a slide presentation is being prepared for use on visits to individuals.

Sincerely,

Bernard W. Learman
Director of Development

BWL:th

Apartment Integration Is Aim of New Trust

A nationally minded New York trust, now making money by buying apartment houses and operating them racially integrated, might set up business here.

The deciding factor is likely to be whether Seattle residents invest sufficiently in the trust, Bernard W. Learman, director of development for the Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust, said here yesterday.

LEARMAN, a short, quiet-spoken man of 31 who served on the staff of the International Rescue Committee, a refugee-aid group, said:

"My impression is that there is a need for integrated housing here. Your referendum vote, turning down an open-housing measure would indicate that Seattle is like most other major American cities in its opposition to integration."

There is nothing particularly new in that statement.

The unusual thing about Learman's organization (M-REIT, pronounced "M-right") is that, so far, it is making money on open housing.

M-REIT, its literature says, is operated "for business purposes and to develop integrated housing, because residential segregation, like school segregation, is socially unjust and contrary to the democratic tenet of full equality for all."

Its method of operation is to buy "only in areas closed by discriminatory practices to nonwhites," quietly making it known that its buildings are "open to all qualified tenants without regard to race, creed, color or national origin."

OFFERING 200,000 shares at $20 (minimum purchase, ten shares), it is more than $1.6 million along on its $4 million first capitalization above the $591,000 originally invested by 22 founders in 1965. It now owns three formerly all-white apartment ment buildings in New York City totalling 213 units.

"Our first ownership," Learman said, **"is an 83-unit formerly all-white apartment house in Queens. We have operated it three months, and it is showing an 11 per cent return. There were six vacancies when we took over. Of the five new families, three are Negro. No white families have moved out."**

Now under negotiation for purchase is a $2 million structure in a suburb of Washington, D. C., in nearby Virginia. M-REIT is "looking hard" at a North Side apartment house in Chicago and is considering a purchase in St. Louis. Seattle, said Learman, might come after a California move sometime in the first six months of 1967.

OUT OF MORE than 2,000 investors, about 400 are west Coast residents, 300 of them in California, 60 in the Seattle area. The figures explain why Seattle is not an immediate-action goal. Learman said:

"We are not trying to do everything. For example, we do not head into areas of great resistance. This is not because we lack courage but simply because a prolonged controversy would defeat our purpose. We hope to reach the dividend stage by next October so that we can attract major capital for a second stock issue by proving we are economically as well as socially sound.

"That is why we are inclined to go where the investors live. It is not just a matter of buying one apartment house in Seattle. Wherever we go, we want to buy a cluster of buildings so that we can establish a management office and operate a sound business venture."

Nationally, M-REIT's trustees include Paul T. O'Keefe, former deputy mayor of New York, and Norman F. Mason, administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency in the Eisenhower administration.

Morris Milgram, long a civil-rights activist, and a Negro, Frank Montero, former assistant director of the National Urban League, are president and board chairman, respectively, of Planned Communities, Inc., M-REIT's management agent.

M-REIT'S advisory committee includes two residents of the Pacific Northwest, Mrs. Gus J. Solomon of Portland and Marvin Durning, Seattle attorney.

How might Seattle qualify financially for M-REIT action?

"Perhaps we would say that $600,000 should be invested by Seattle people," Learman answered. **"We might bring in $400,000 from the outside. That probably would get us started here."**

Learman, talking with church and business groups as well as with M-REIT investors, will leave tonight after having spent two days here on that goal.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

M-REIT STATE ANALYSIS

DECEMBER 2, 1966

STATE	SUBSCRIBERS	INVESTMENT	RANK BY # OF SUBS.	RANK BY AMT. OF INVEST.
Arizona	9	$ 2,200	20	24
California	312	151,200	2	3
Colorado	21	12,500	16	17
Connecticut	33	33,000	14	11
Delaware	17	5,400	18	19
Washington, D.C.	77	43,400	8	10
Illinois	145	120,800	6	5
Indiana	39	22,900	12	12
Iowa	7	2,800	22	22
Kansas	13	3,000	19	21
Maryland	139	92,380	7	8
Massachusetts	174	232,000	4	2
Michigan	21	9,100	16	10
Minnesota	41	18,600	11	14
Missouri	34	109,500	13	7
Nebraska	8	1,800	21	25
New Jersey	153	114,400	5	6
New York	534	568,480	1	1
Ohio	43	15,240	10	15
Oregon	13	3,000	19	21
Pennsylvania	212	132,100	3	4
Rhode Island	19	58,500	17	9
Tennessee	2	600	24	26
Utah	5	5,000	23	20
Vermont	5	2,400	23	23
Virginia	29	14,240	15	16
Washington	61	20,740	9	13
Isolated transactions	8	3,800		
	2,058	$1,805,291		

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MUTUAL REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT TRUST
Schedule of Monthly Sales and Expenses

Date	Total Sales		Total Expenses	
	For Month	Cumulative	For Month	Cumulative
To Nov.30, 1965	$567,100.00	$567,100.00	$ 56,689.86	$ 56,689.86
December, 1965	-	567,100.00	4,605.14	61,295.00
January, 1966	-	567,100.00	25,628.00	86,923.00
February, 1966	-	567,100.00	21,972.00	108,895.00
March, 1966	280,480.00	847,580.00	16,479.00	125,374.00
April, 1966	176,131.00	1,023,711.00	20,188.00	145,562.00
May, 1966	122,500.00	1,146,211.00	30,030.97	175,592.97
June, 1966	157,229.00	1,303,440.00	30,030.97	205,623.94
July, 1966	117,291.00	1,420,731.00	29,665.06	235,289.00
August, 1966	84,480.00	1,505,211.00	24,360.00	259,649.00
September, 1966	49,600.00	1,554,811.00	24,730.00	284,379.00
October, 1966	36,800.00	1,591,611.00	33,475.00	317,854.00
November, 1966	208,880.00	1,800,491.00	28,204.00	346,058.00

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4/30/66	390	398
5/31/66	242	640
6/30/66	289	929
7/31/66	526	1,455
8/31/66	140	1,595
9/30/66	104	1,699
10/31/66	88	1,787
11/31/66	262	2,049

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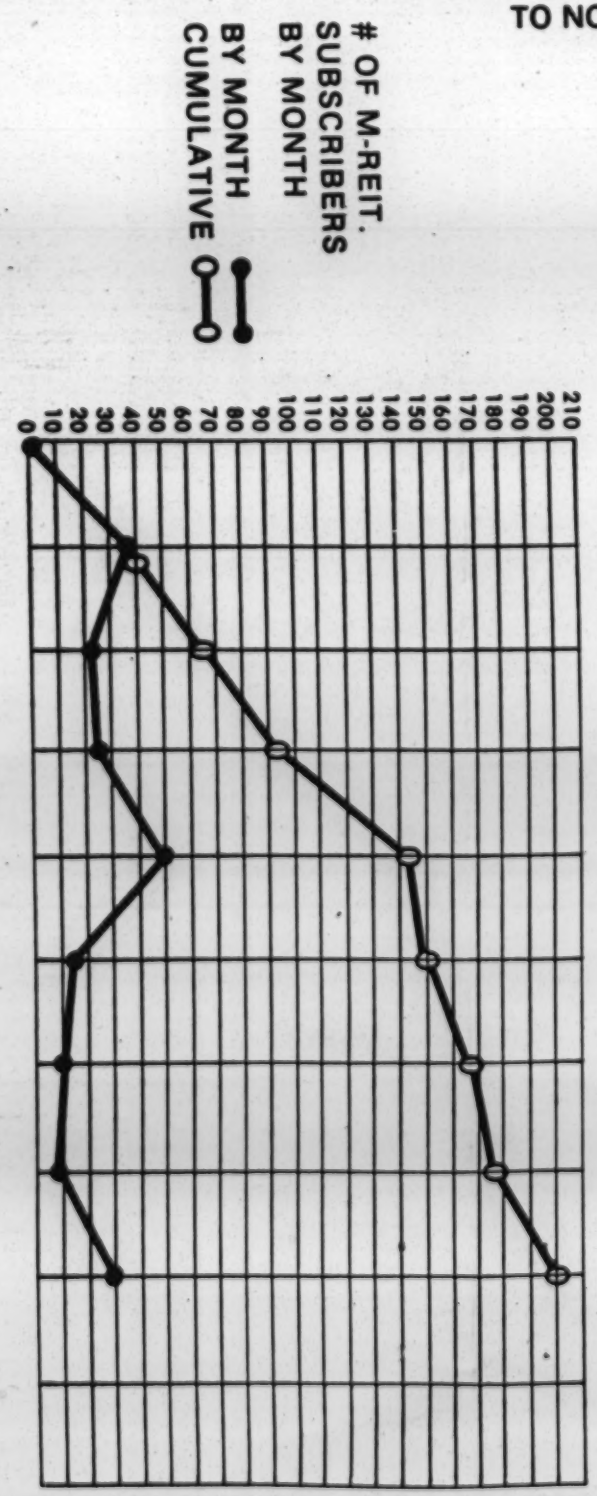
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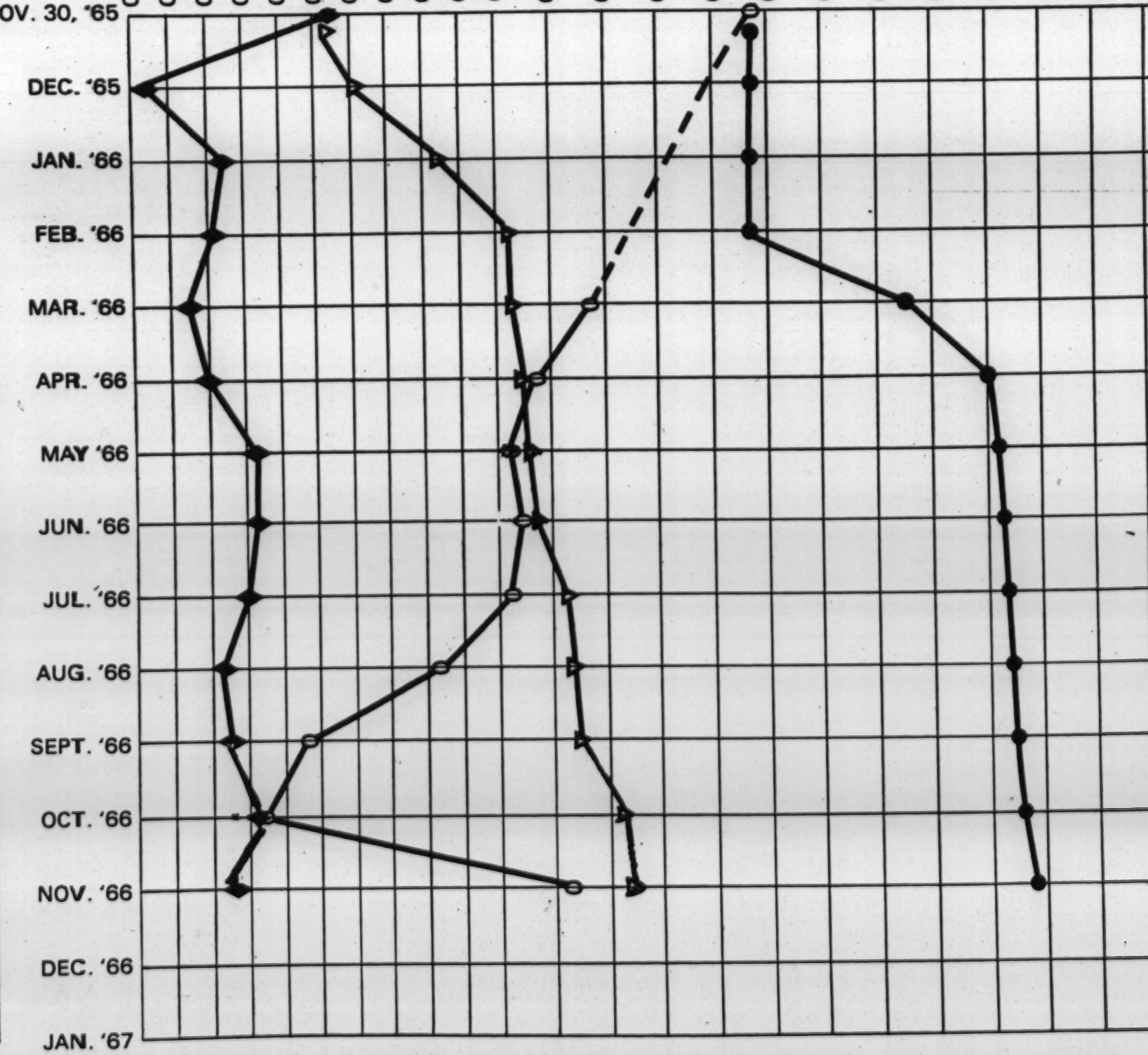
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Planned Communities, Inc.
Board of Directors Meeting
January 4-5, 1967
New York, New York

Present: Thomas Gaines, chairman, David H. Scull, Dr. R. Frank Jones, Morris Milgram, Jon Blum, Sophia Yarnall Jacobs, John S. Stillman, Nathaniel Colley, Louis Pollak, Herbert J. Tate, Andrew Norman, Morton Grossman, Alexander J. Allen. Also, William W. Brill, Bernard Learman, Richard Schwarzstein, Ruth Zwiback.

The meeting was opened after dinner at 8 P.M. January 4, 1967, by chairman Thomas Gaines who presented three items which he felt the Board should discuss:

1. Where do we buy property?
2. Should we manage other properties to make money for the corporation and accomplish our social goal?
3. Rosemary Village

President's Report

Morris Milgram reported that in February, 1966, M-REIT registered with SEC, having 22 investors who had subscribed $591,100. Now there are 2,300 investors and $1,900,000 subscribed, with all but $100,000 paid. In his opinion the growth has been good, but too slow and he feels the need for more sales people to spur the sales.

Milgram introduced Mrs. Ruth Zwiback, who started as office manager yesterday, January 3. He is also interviewing applicants for the position of administrative assistant to handle the business problems of our companies, so he would be free to do more selling. Mr. Milgram reported that M-REIT had voted its first dividend on December 28 to paid February 20 to fully-paid stockholders of record January 20, 1967

Office Manager

The Board unanimously voted to appoint Ruth Zwiback to the post of assistant secretary-treasurer of PC and MCD and the merged corporation, PC, and to give her the authority to sign checks in this capacity, as set forth in existing bank resolutions in all situations where her predecessor, Tom Garth, had signed.

The Board unanimously voted a resolution of appreciation to Tom Garth for his faithful service for more than 4 years.

Stock Sales

Bernard Learman, director of development, presented his report. In December, 1966, M-REIT took in subscriptions totalling $123,000 from 217 investors. Although this is lower than the $208,000 subscribed in November, 1966, the sales are on the upswing. He presented an updated sales and expense chart. He felt the declaration of a dividend would have a good effect on sales. Some church and labor groups who were interested would probably now find it easier to convince their committees.

There was considerable discussion on the possibility of selling out the first issue through personal and mail approach both with

and without additional personnel either on a salaried or commission basis. It was pointed out that about $25,000 monthly is currently being spent on staff and other costs and the question was asked of how much would have to be spent on a monthly basis to sell out the first issue by fall of 1967. Mr. Learman's projection was that he and Morris Milgram could each sell about $1 million by the end of the year. Milgram pointed out, however, that the Trust would have to have a great deal more money before it could really be commercially successful.

Finances

Morris Milgram presented a brief report of Planned Communities estimated 1967 income of $101,000, which would be slightly higher than estimated disbursements.

The meeting then proceeded to discuss the questions raised by the chairman in his opening remarks:

1. Where do we buy--Some of the points discussed were why stockholders invested. For the social ideal, for the promise of integration in their home areas or for returns? Each reason has some bearing on such a discussion. The question of establishing M-REIT as a strong, going enterprise in a few concentrated areas, as opposed to going into many areas was discussed. The problems of trying to get managers for single buildings without a trustee in that general area were aired.

Morris Milgram reported on discussions with representatives of FHA in re our taking advantage of 221D3 financing and rent supplements.

There was considerable discussion on Rosemary Village but action was deferred until the next day.

The questions raised by the chairman led the discussion into many areas. However, no decisions were reached since the plan of the meeting was for the Board to have a general discussion in the evening and then convene the next morning for further discussion and decisions.

The meeting was adjourned at 10:15 P.M. until 9 A.M. January 5.

January 5, 1967

Present: Thomas Gaines, chairman, Morris Milgram, Morton Grossman, David J. Scull, Dr. R. Frank Jones, Nathaniel Colley, Sophia Yarnall Jacobs, Herbert J. Tate, Alexander J. Allen. Also, William W. Brill, Morton I. Daves, Bernard W. Learman, Ruth Zwiback.

The meeting was called to order by chairman Thomas Gaines.

Rosemary

Since there were many questions on the financial status of Rosemary, Mr. Brill volunteered to take a look at the operation and to then meet with Morton Daves and Rhoda Laskin (manager) and discuss with them his opinion of its prospects for success.

It was moved and carried to amend the minutes of the October 4, 1966 meeting to show election of the Board of Directors.

Morris Milgram introduced Dobie Jenkins who is joining the development staff.

Morris Milgram spoke briefly on the importance of the tithing movement.

Property

Morton Daves, property manager, reported on the newest acquisition in northern Virginia. M-REIT now owns 328 units bought for $3,600,000. He hopes for a cash flow of 8% on cash invested.

Tom Barrett resigned as manager of Homeparks in DC and Rhoda Laskin has taken over the job of managing all DC area property on a three months' trial basis. If at the end of three months all parties are satisfied, she will remain on the job; if not, she will return to just managing Rosemary.

The Trust has agreed that Homeparks can manage the new property in Virginia, as long as the cost remains competitive.

River Ridge

Milgram reported he has obtained what he feels is an extension of the mortgage for an additional year, based on our promise not to ask for renewal, to redouble efforts to sell the site and to push for sale in the first half of 1967. We paid interest of almost $6,000, plus $4,000 principal on the mortgage. The difficulty with this 5.2 acre property overlooking the Hudson River at 261st and Palisade Avenue rises out of the fact that the land is zoned for single homes, and a request for rezoning must be accompanied by actual plans. Moved and carried that Morton Daves, with approval of and in consultation with Tom Gaines and William Brill, be permitted to spend a reasonable amount of money to find a possible buyer, prepare preliminary plans and start procedures for a variance to permit about 75 town houses to be built.

M-REIT Investments

Mr. Brill presented for the discussion the possibility of M-REIT lending money for small commercial first mortgages. There was objection, save to a very rare use of this power.

Property Management

It was also suggested that Planned Communities might seek the management of property in areas where it is operating in order to increase income and carry out its social goal. It was the sense of the meeting that PC could consider management of certain properties based on a report by Morton Daves on feasability with suggested guidelines for such work.

Personnel

Moved and carried that Blue Cross-Blue Shield coverage be extended to cover the families of employees now covered, this coverage to start January, 1967. This would increase the costs from approximately $1,400 to $2,700 annually.

Two-family Homes

Irving Fain's proposal, which had been circulated to all members, was discussed in detail.

It was felt the Board should think about this proposal

(integration through purchase of two-family houses) and discuss it again at a future meeting attended by Mr. Fain, about 6 months from now when a financial report of the work he has done in this field might be available.

It was reported that Mr. Norman Mason would visit Providence to study the two-family house effort and that his report would be sent to the PC Board.

Where to buy--There was a fairly detailed discussion on the question of where to buy in the future. The sense of the meeting was that 1967 is the year to consolidate and build a solid structure in a few major metropolitan areas; that our social goal would best be served by staying out of cities and getting into the suburbs.

Personnel

Jon Blum, Tom Gaines, William Brill and Morris Milgram were appointed to serve as a committee to work out a job description and, with personnel committee and executive committee, select an executive director to run the business end of our companies.

Since Frank Montero did not accept renomination it was moved and carried that the Board send him a letter of appreciation for his fine service on staff and board, and as chairman of the Board.

Commission Salespeople

During lunch there was a discussion on the proposition that the Trust get some commission salespeople. Bernard Learman reported that Mack Lovett, formerly on the staff full time, is willing to work on a part-time commission basis, as are a few other individuals. Milgram urged an effort to get fair housing people to work part-time, the way Tom Gaines found a person in Connecticut for such stock sales work.

The need for clear letters of agreement with salesmen was stressed in order to avoid any possibility of misunderstandings of our responsibilities.

Bernard Learman pointed out that it would take many months to train salespeople and he thought the Trust would benefit more if he stuck to selling at this time. It was agreed to go ahead with the salespeople program where it did not entail too much of Learman's time.

The meeting was adjourned at 1:40 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

Ruth Zwiback
Assistant Secretary

February 6, 1967

Mr. John S. Stillman
Planned Communities, Inc.
51 East 42nd Street, Suite 211
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Stillman:

Thank you for your letter of January 26.

I am indeed proud of the progress being made by M-Reit. Just a few days ago, I read Morris Milgram's letter and that letter, and yours, make me glad to be associated with Planned Communities, Inc.

As you know, when I became National Director of CORE about a year ago,we were faced with a debt of $400,000. Within the year, that debt has been reduced to $130,000--at the expense of curtailing certain programs and reducing staff.

As most of my time must be devoted to the complete eradication of this debt and the rebuilding of this organization, it will not be possible for me to divert much of my time from CORE to any other organization. It may be possible at another date.

Thank you very much for your understanding, and wishing you continued success.

Very truly yours,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

FBMcK:ilh

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THOMAS A. GAINES, *Chairman*
DAVID H. SCULL
ANDREW E. NORMAN
MAX DELSON
Vice Presidents

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ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE
IRVING JAY FAIN
JAMES FARMER
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CLARENCE WALTON
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WILLIAM L. C. WHEATON
JOHN H. WHEELER
ROY WILKINS
FRANKLIN H. WILLIAMS
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WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.
CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN
CLARENCE E. PICKETT 1959-1965
CATHERINE BAUER WURSTER 1959-1964

BERNARD W. LEARMAN
Secretary & Director of Development
MORTON DAVES
Property Director

Planned Communities, Inc.

Continuing the work of Modern Community Developers

51 East 42nd Street, Suite 211
New York, N.Y. 10017
212 MU 7-6553

January 26, 1967

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
C.O.R.E.
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Floyd:

You and I as Board members of Planned Communities have a vital stake in the growth of M-REIT. We have a committment to see that it fulfills its social purpose and a personal interest in the Trust's financial success. You know, of course, that PC is the Trust's supervisory management agent.

M-REIT is making rapid progress. You will be glad to know that to date $2,100,000 has been invested by 2,500 shareholders, including a number of churches, labor unions, and foundations. The Trust now owns four buildings comprising 328 apartments at a cost of $3,600,000, and which are located in areas of New York and Virginia closed by discriminatory practices to Negroes and other minority groups. Integration has taken place quietly and without fanfare or incident.

You will be interested to learn that on December 28, M-REIT declared a dividend of 15¢ per share to stockholders of record January 20, 1967, payable February 20, 1967. This is particularly significant since it is nearly a year sooner than a return on investment had been expected. The news of the dividend is giving added impetus toward the completion of M-REIT's $4,600,000 stock issue.

It is anticipated that at least 50% of this distribution will be non-taxable to shareholders, the exact percentage to be determined after the close of the Trust's June 30 fiscal year. This initial distribution is at an annual rate of 3%, payable quarterly. However, we expect the return to increase to 4% by the end of this year.

PC, as well as being M-REIT's supervisory management agent, is managing M-REIT's apartment buildings through its wholly owned subsidiaries, Xenon Management Corporation in New York and Homeparks in Virginia. We, as a special sub-committee of the PC Board, feel deeply that all members of this Board, besides giving of their time and general interest, should share the responsibility of fund-raising to make M-REIT a success. Therefore, we are writing to you to ask that each of you pledge to raise the capital for 500 shares at $20 per share, or $10,000. Each of you must know likely prospects that have not been reached either by the staff or our direct mail appeals. The office stands ready to assist each Board member in meeting this challenge, and is anxious to explain the Trust's achievements and features to all prospective investors.

We know that some of you have already invested $10,000 or more in M-REIT. As part of, or in addition to filling the above pledge, we hope you will increase your personal investment, as have over 10% of M-REIT's first 2000 investors.

M-REIT's success will redound to the financial advantage and credit of all PC stockholders.

Please return the enclosed card letting us know when we may be in touch with you.

Cordially,

John S. Stillman
For the committee
Herbert H. Tate
Max Delson

MAR 24 1967

MEMORANDUM

To: PC Executive Committee
M-REIT & PC Staffs
From: William Brill

Date: 21 March 1967
Subject: Bernard W. Learman

file

I am pleased to announce the election, by the Trustees, of Bernard Learman as Vice-President and an officer of the Trust. The Trustees are pleased to acknowledge Mr. Learman's role and contribution to M-REIT's development. I know you all join me in congratulating him and wishing him continued success.

Copies to: M-REIT Trustees
M. Milgram

WB:th

M-REIT

Mutual
Real Estate
Investment Trust

ESTABLISHED TO INVEST IN HOUSING OPEN TO ALL

30 East 42nd Street, Suite 1305-7, New York, N.Y. 10017 • MU 7-6553 (212)

30 E 42nd St Suite 1305 N.Y. 10017.

July 31, 1967

Dear Floyd,

A special joint meeting of the M-REIT and Planned Communities boards and advisory committees will be held to discuss the grave urban crisis. Do plan to attend.

PURPOSE: To discuss how the programs of M-REIT and Planned Communities, buying buildings in all-white areas far from ghettoes and opening them to all, can be geared to urgent needs.

We're holding it in Providence so that all who wish can see the exciting University Heights development, owned and managed by Rhode Island citizens, inspired by PC (then MCD) in 1960. Irving Jay Fain, president of University Heights and PC Boardmember, has invited us to take this opportunity to visit this 430 unit garden apartment-town house and 90,000 square foot shopping centre complex where 145 families, about 15% Negro, are living. This is the first economically and racially integrated development in the U. S., where 221-d-3 (3%) and 220 (5 3/4%) mortgages are combined.

M-REIT, which PC manages, is growing rapidly in stature due to successful integration of its first 4 buildings bought in 1966 in white areas of New York and Virginia. M-REIT has optioned two more buildings in Illinois and seeks properties in metropolitan areas. Nearly $3,000,000 has been subscribed by 3,500 individuals and institutions. A third quarterly distribution at 3%, tax free due to depreciation, will be paid August 31st to stockholders of record July 31st.

The plan is to discuss broad outlines of our work, not minutiae, and to leave the agenda open for new ideas.

TIME: Wednesday, August 16th, 10:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m.

PLACE: Home of Irving & Macie Fain, 400 Laurel Ave., Providence. (Off Blackstone Blvd., 20 min. by cab from airport.)

Those who arrive early are invited to see University Heights before the meeting. Take a cab. (20 min. from airport) to University Heights, at North Main & Olney Sts., Providence, and go to the management office. I will be there from 8:00 a.m. Wed. to show you through. It is 5 minutes to the Fain home from there. Transportation details are enclosed. We need your advice and guidance. Please reply promptly on the enclosed sheet. I do look forward to seeing you.

Cordially,

Morris Milgram

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Member National Association of Real Estate Investment Funds

SPECIAL TRANSPORTATION FOR M-REIT - PC BOARD and ADVISORY COMMITTEE

MEETING ON THE URBAN CRISIS
Wednesday, August 16, 1967
10:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. - Irving Fain, 400 Laurel Ave., Providence

NEW YORK TO PROVIDENCE

Leave New York		Arrive Providence
LaGuardia	7:20 a.m.-American #762	8:07 a.m.
Kennedy	8:40 a.m. " 702	9:31 a.m.
Newark	9:20 a.m.-Eastern #582	10:15 a.m.

PROVIDENCE TO NEW YORK

Leave Providence		Arrive New York	
4:20 p.m.	American #775	Kennedy	5:15 p.m.
4:35 p.m.	National #223	Kennedy	5:20 p.m.
6:43 p.m.	Alleghany #307	Newark	7:30 p.m.
7:00 p.m.	American	Kennedy	7:53 p.m.
7:55 p.m.	Eastern #585	Newark	8:44 p.m.

****

WASHINGTON, D.C. TO PROVIDENCE

Leave Washington, D.C.	Arrive Providence
National Airport - 7:00 a.m. Alleghany #860	8:18 a.m.

PROVIDENCE to WASHINGTON, D.C.

		Arrive Washington	
4:35 p.m. (1 stop Kennedy)	National #223	National	6:57 p.m.
6:05 p.m.	Alleghany #931 (1 stop Phil)	"	8:00 p.m.

****

PHILADELPHIA TO PROVIDENCE

Leave Philadelphia		Arrive Providence
Internat'l	8:32 a.m. Alleghany #A800	9:55 a.m.

PROVIDENCE TO PHILADELPHIA

		Arrive Philadelphia
6:05 p.m.	Alleghany #A93	7:05 p.m.
8:14 p.m.	" #A829	9:37 p.m.

****

CHICAGO TO BOSTON (Inform Fain of arrival time - cars will meet you at airport - 1 hour drive to Providence)

Leave Chicago (Leave Tuesday, August 15th)		Arrive Boston
7:00 p.m.	American	9:57 p.m.
8:55 p.m.	TWA	11:49 p.m.
8:40 p.m.	American	11:37 p.m.
9:55 p.m.	United	12:52 a.m.
6:30 p.m.	TWA	9:28 p.m.

BOSTON TO CHICAGO

Leave Boston		Arrive Chicago
5:00 p.m.	American	6:15 p.m.
6:25 p.m.	United	7:46 p.m.
8:15 p.m.	American	9:25 p.m.

NOTE: We hope Chicago members will inform Tom Klutznick (Tel. 312-321-1810) of plane they plan to take so that, if possible, all will be on same flight to be met at Boston. Two earlier flights from Chicago on 8/15/67 are:

Leave Chicago		Arrive Boston
5:25	American	8:24 p.m.
6:05 p.m.	United	9:07 p.m.

AUG 9 1967

file - M-Reit

Planned Communities, Inc.
Board of Directors Meeting
June 19-20,1967
Roosevelt Hotel
New York

Present: Thomas Gaines, Herbert Tate, Morris Milgram, Chester Carlson, William Schiede, Frank Loescher, Sophia Yarnall Jacobs, Alexander Allen, Andrew Norman, John Stillman, David Scull, Max Delson. Also: Richard Schwarzstein, Morton Daves, Bernard Learman, Sol Fromer, Ruth Zwiback.

The meeting was opened after dinner, at 8 P.M., by Chairman Thomas Gaines, who reminded the Board that the two day meeting was planned so the Board could have full discussion on many of the problems in the evening and the Board members could then have some time to think about the problems before voting on them the next day.

President's Report

Morris Milgram briefly supplemented his written report. He introduced Sol Fromer, Executive Vice President, who had been hired since the last meeting of the Board.

The important job ahead is to sell out the M-REIT stock issue by the end of the year requiring $2,000,000 in stock sales. There are about 2,000 indications of interest, old and new, to be followed up for cash conversion.

Milgram urged those PC board members who have not invested in M-REIT to do so.

Because most liberal whites and Negroes are unwittingly continuing segregated neighborhoods by moving without adequate consideration of their ethical goals,he is suggesting to the NCTI the sponsership of this new fair housing pledge:

> Recognizing that deeds speak louder than words in developing equal housing opportunity, I agree to
>
> (a) become a sponser of the National Committee on Tithing in Investment, (NCTI), an educational agency based on the idea that one's funds can be an eloquent voice to help end "the terrible silence of the decent" in housing.
>
> (b) to seek investment of a reasonable portion of any capital I influence to develop open housing.

(c) if I change my residence,

If white, to try to find housing on a block where Negroes already live.

If Negro, to try to find housing on a block where Negroes do not live, far from areas of Negro concentration.

NCTI is planning to circulate it widely, and various religious and fair housing groups plan to do this too.

Max Delson suggested that larger audiences must be reachedthrough contacting already existing organizations to promote this pledge, and to urge their members to make the break from segregated living.

Morris Milgram reported the executive committee is attempting to regularize its meetings and is planning to meet on the second Tuesday of each month, except in those months when the Board will meet, and July and August. He also reported that Tom Gaines has given a great deal of leadership to PC between meetings.

Use of PC for Apartment House Management and Consultation

This could be a source of possible income for PC if a real effort was made for our knowledge to be used increasingly on a consultant basis. With this is also tied in the possibility of our obtaining outside management and Mort Daves is investigating this area. He is preparing some advertisements for this purpose. Non-profit organizations owning properties should be approached. Churches should also be approached and should be impressed with the need of integrating their properties. As M-REIT grows, it can add to PC's income through management fees.

Growth of M-REIT

It was pointed out that it is not too early to begin to think in terms of another stock issue when the present one is sold out. Some brokerage firms are showing an interest in handling M-REIT shares and it was suggested that a small fee be charged for buying back shares.

Acquiring Property Not Suitable for M-REIT

Sol Fromer reported that while looking for property for M-REIT he may come across something which is a good buy but which does not meet M-REIT's qualifications because of size of mortgage or building. He would like authority to buy these, integrate them and sell them. PC could make money on commission, management fees, insurance, etc. While it is true that our major commitment is to M-REIT, we do have an

obligation to the PC shareholders and management fees are not enough for solid growth. Investors in limited partnership to buy these buildings would include contacts of Sol Fromer and other people not ordinarily contacted for M-REIT who seek tax shelter.

Properties

Staff recommended criteria for agreeing to work in new areas. Morris Milgram reported on conversations with William Brill and Norman Mason based on the staff recommendations and reported that both felt the initial minimum required should be $250,000, with additional similar amounts to be raised in successive campaigns. There was considerable discussion on what should be required of local people before we could move in. It was agreed that a statement of criteria is essential and should be prepared at Tuesday's meeting.

The meeting was adjourned at 10:30 P.M.

Present: Thomas Gaines, Morris Milgram, Chester Carlson, David H. Scull, Max Delson, Frank Loescher, William H. Schiede, Sophia Yarnall Jacobs, Joseph Viertel, John S. Stillman,(Herbert Tate, Andrew E. Norman, Alexander Allen who attended June 19th could not come) Also: Sol Fromer, Morton Daves, Bernard Learman, Richard Schwarzstein, Ruth Zwiback.

The meeting was opened at 9:45AM by Chairman Tom Gaines. Morris Milgram reported Morton Grossman had telephonedto explain he could not attend this meeting due to a special urgent matter that came up.

Vice President

1. Moved and carried Herbert Tate be elected to serve as vice president.

Properties

2. Planned Communities must not be dependent solely on M-REIT for income. Moved and carried: in order to diversify PC's activity, staff be give the authority to negotiate to purchase buildings not qualified for M-REIT, with purpose of raising money for PC. The investors would be personal friends, as limited partners. PC would earn additional money through management fees, insurance, brokers fees, etc. All purchases would have to be approved by the PC executive committee. Sol Fromer is to prepare a formula for submission to executive and board outlining time to be spent and the money raising campaign necessary for acquiring such buildings.

Area of Concentration for M-REIT

Staff had recommended Chicago, New York, and Washington, D.C.(in that order) be three top priority cities for the immediate future purchases by M-REIT. The Board agreed to drop Washington, D.C. as as immediate priority. In order to set guidelines for the staff the following actions were taken:

3. Moved and carried: although M-REIT is a national organization, we feel it is necessary until January 1, 1968 to concentrate personal stock solicitation and apartment purchasing efforts in the New York and Chicago areas.

4. Moved and carried: for the balance of 1967 staff members involved in M-REIT stock sales will spend not to exceed 10% of their time in areas outside of New York and Chicago. Staff members, within this 10% limitation, will follow up on good prospects for substantial immediate stock sales wherever they may be located but without any commitment as to a campaign or building acquisition program in a local area. The executive committee will review monthly all staff travel outside of the New York and Chicago areas and, as far as possible, will approve such travel in advance.

5. Forty Second Street: Staff had reported an offer which turned out to be premature for the purchase of this property in Washington, D.C. However, since the property is owned by a limited partnership any sale would have to be their decision. However, there was a feeling that PC should be compensated for work put into sale of this property. Moved and carried to instruct staff to arrange, if possible, for PC to receive some compensation for efforts put into the sale of any D.C. area property. Even though we do not wish to jeopardize our existing good relations with the limited partners, our relationship with them is not the same as the relationship with M-REIT.

6. Rosemary: Management fee: The Home-parks Board had suggested the management fee for Rosemary be reduced from 5% to 3%. Moved and carried the management fee remain at 5% but that as of 7/1/67 3% be represented as current obligations, 2% to be due upon final disposition of the building at which time the debt to PC would be in an equal position with the claim of the partners to a maximum of the2% figure.
7. Riverdale: Morris Milgram reported that vigorous efforts for sale or, failing that, refinancing are being pushed. No Board action is necessary.

Stock Sales

8. A suggestion was made that Board members be asked to accompany staff on some visits to major prospects. Board members are also urged to send in names of major prospects.

Budget

9. Several suggestions were made for changes in the budget which was presented. An ammended budget is to be prepared incorporating these changes and mailed to the Board.

Comptroller

10. On the recommendation of PC and M-REIT accountants it was moved and carried to appoint office manager Ruth Zwiback as comptroller of PC, and to recommend her as comptroller of M-REIT.

Annual Meeting

11. Moved and carried Annual meeting be set for October, staff to make all necessary arrangements.

October 11th, 11 AM for
Annual meeting. 12:30 for
Annual award luncheon set.
Community Church,New York

It was agreed that Irving Fain should be asked to orally report on the successful economic and social integration in the first 140 apartments at University Heights in Providence, R.I.

Averell Harriman Equal Housing Opportunity Award

12. The award committee unanimously nominated Chester Carlson for the 1967 Averell Harriman Equal Housing Opportunity Award, in recognition of his courageous and pioneering efforts in this field. Carried unanimously. (The award be presented at the luncheon following the PC Annual Meeting October 11th, Community Church, 40 E. 35th Street, New York, N.Y.)

The meeting was adjourned at 2:15 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

Ruth B. Zwiback

PLANNED COMMUNITIES, INC. & WHOLLY OWNED SUBSIDIARIES

Estimated Budget 1967

Estimated Disbursement	Budget	Actual Expense 1/67 - 5/31/67
Salaries	$51,420	$18,271
Employee Benefits and Taxes	5,200	1,639
Travel	9,000	3,760
Telephone	2,600	400
Stockholder Mail	2,000	170
Stationery, Supplies and other Postage	2,200	1,900
Rent	3,300	917
Legal and Accounting	11,500*	5,120*
Moving Expenses and New Equipment	750	110
Taxes, Registration and Filing Fees	1,250	485
Miscellaneous	2,000	729
Appraisal and Consulting Fees	2,000	150
Contributions and Subscriptions	1,500	422
Insurance	1,000	88
TOTAL		
*Includes Merger Costs	$96,200	$34,161

Estimated Cash Flow (1967)	Management Fees	Actual Income 1/67 - 5/31/67
Three Washington Limited Partnerships	$44,050	$ 8,130
Virginia Building	9,300	3,571
Three New York Buildings	17,000	6,699
New Acquisitions (see NOTE 1)	6,250	
	77,100	

Miscellaneous		
Consultation Fees	1,000	420
Conversions Units to Deb.(Est 10M) Int Income	300	
M-REIT Advisory Fee	15,000	625
50 M Rosemary Debentures @ 6%-interest	3,000	3,000
M-REIT Distributions - 25,000 @ 3%	750	187
42nd St. Distribution	60	15
Miscellaneous Income	500	291
	97,710	22,938

NOTE 1

Estimated Schedule of New Acquisition:

a. Assume minimum four Title Closings to 12-31-67 and the availability of proceeds for these continuing investments.

b. Assume average cash investment of approximately $300,000; assume average rental of $150,000 per annum; assume average management income of 5% gross on rental per annum per building.

XEROX COPY

ESTABLISHED TO INVEST IN HOUSING OPEN TO ALL

M-REIT

Mutual
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ROY WILKINS
GAYRAUD S. WILMORE, JR.
WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.
A. L. ZWERDLING

July 28, 1967

TO: M-REIT TRUSTEES and
PC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Attached you will find copies of night letters sent July 26th to all M-REIT investors and indicators of interest. These were sent based on the experience and belief of Morris and myself, with the support of Bill Brill and Tom Klutznick, that the response due to the crisis in our cities would merit their dispatch. Letters are following the telegram this weekend.

I am pleased to report stock sales for the last six days are about $165,000, and we should reach the $3 million mark no later than early August.

We are receiving a generally warm response from various sectors including current investors--individual, institutional and prospects.

Sincerely,

Bernard W. Learman
Vice President

BWL:bev

Encl.

PLANNED COMMUNITIES, INC., Supervisory Management Agent, 30 East 42nd Street, Suite 1305-7, New York, N.Y. 10017 • MU 7-6553 (212)
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YOUR WONDERFUL HELP ENABLED MREIT INTEGRATE 4

APARTMENT HOUSES FAR FROM GHETTOES, OPTION TWO MORE.

URBAN CATASTROPHE MAKES IMPERATIVE MREIT ACCELERATE

PROGRAM OPEN CLOSED AREAS HELP NEGROES LEAVE GHETTOES.

THIRD QUARTERLY DISTRIBUTION, 3%, RECORD JULY 31, TAX FREE.

BUILDINGS AVAILABLE, $2,000,000 NEEDED. URGE MAXIMUM

INCREASED SUBSCRIPTIONS MREIT.

MORRIS MILGRAM

30 E 42 NYC

TELEGRAM CURRENT INDICATIONS

YOUR WONDERFUL INDICATION INTEREST ENCOURAGING.

MREIT INTEGRATED 4 BUILDINGS FAR FROM GHETTOES,

OPTIONED TWO MORE. URBAN CATASTROPHE COMPELS

MREIT ACCELERATE OPENING AREAS HELP NEGROES LEAVE

GHETTOES. JULY PROSPECTUS MAILED. THIRD QUARTERLY

DISTRIBUTION, 3%, TAX-FREE, RECORD JULY 31. BUILDINGS

AVAILABLE, $2,000,000 NEEDED. URGE MAXIMUM SUBSCRIPTIONS

MREIT.

MORRIS MILGRAM
30 E 42, NYC

1966 INDICATIONS

YOUR INDICATION INTEREST LAST YEAR ENCOURAGED MREIT

INTEGRATE 4 BUILDINGS FAR FROM GHETTOES, OPTION TWO

MORE. URBAN CRISIS COMPELS MREIT ACCELERATE PROGRAM

HELP NEGROES LEAVE GHETTOES. JULY PROSPECTUS MAILED.

THIRD QUARTERLY DISTRIBUTION, 3% TAX FREE, RECORD

JULY 31. BUILDINGS AVAILABLE, $2,000,000 NEEDED. URGE

MAXIMUM SUBSCRIPTIONS MREIT.

MORRIS MILGRAM
30 E 42 NYC

This letter is not an offer to sell or a solicitation of an offer to buy these securities. The offer is made only by the prospectus.

ESTABLISHED TO INVEST IN HOUSING OPEN TO ALL

M-REIT

Mutual
Real Estate
Investment Trust

51 East 42nd Street, Suite 211, New York, N.Y. 10017 • MU 7-6550 (212)

Mr. McK might be interested in this — file pers

BOARD OF TRUSTEES
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PAUL T. O'KEEFE, *VICE CHAIRMAN*
THOMAS J. KLUTZNICK, *TREASURER*
NORMAN P. MASON
JOHN H. WHEELER

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EARL B. DICKERSON
MSGR. JOHN EGAN
M. R. EMRICH
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JAMES FARMER
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CHARLES F. VATTEROTT, JR.
JOSEPH VIERTEL
WILLIAM L. C. WHEATON
MRS. WALTER WHITE
ROY WILKINS
GAYRAUD S. WILMORE, JR.
WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.

Dear Friend:

Enclosed please find the prospectus of the Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust, (M-REIT - say M-right) which buys apartment houses and opens them to all without regard to race, creed, color or national origin. Do read the prospectus.

A subscription form and a reply envelope are enclosed to facilitate your response.

Cordially,
Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust

Morris Milgram

MM/prl
Enclosures

by: Morris Milgram, Manager

P.S. You will be glad to know that shares totaling nearly $1,500,000 have been subscribed to date.

Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust is a business trust organized under a declaration of trust on file and available for inspection at the office of the Trust. Any agreement, obligation, paper, action or liability made, entered into or incurred by or on behalf of the Trust binds only the Trust's property and no Shareholder, Trustee, Officer or Agent of the Trust assumes or shall be held to any liability therefor.

Please note:

M-REIT has purchased its first two buildings. Together they comprise 162 units and are valued at over $1,600,000. Both are located in areas closed by discriminatory practices to Negroes and other minority groups. The Trustees are now seeking buildings in Chicago and other major metropolitan areas which represent good investments and fulfill our Trust's social purpose. There is an urgent need for M-REIT to buy buildings, but we can do so only as capital will allow. Your participation now and that of religious or other institutions with which you are affiliated, will help do this and further M-REIT's growth as an investment.

M. M.

9/27/66

STOCK SALES REPORT TO M-REIT TRUSTEES

M-REIT subscriptions, as of 9/26/66, total $1,547,000 from nearly 1,700 investors, with about 1,487,000 fully paid. Sales have averaged about $143,000 per month since completion of registration with the SEC seven months ago. Direct mail continues to be an important source of capital, but with somewhat diminishing volume of pieces mailed and increasing personalization of mailings--about 500,000 pieces mailed to date. More time is now spent in personal contact with potential investors including individuals and selected institutions.

Several subsidiary campaigns are under way or are being launched:

CHICAGO

Tom Klutznick has provided vigorous leadership and hard work in Chicago where we are engaged in an campaign to raise $400,000 by the end of the year. Nearly $100,000 has been raised from over 100 investors with several major prospects for investments of ten to twenty-five thousand. The Chicago campaign was introduced with a luncheon at the Standard Club on June 29, which over forty prominent business leaders attended. These included several journalists particularly interested in our social purpose and intentions in Chicago. The luncheon and ensuing articles in major Chicago papers appearing immediately after the luncheon helped raise the level of investment and produced several prospects. Several members of the Advisory Committee are also lending a strong hand in raising funds,

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and overall Chicago prospects are favorable toward reaching our goal there.

CALIFORNIA

Similar efforts along the same lines are being made in California. An M-REIT cocktail reception sponsored by Advisory Committee members H. Claude Hudson and Stanley Gewirtz will be held in the Beverly Hills Hotel after the elections. In spite of the late completion of registration in California, there are already more investors there than in any other state except New York, and California has the strongest accelerating trend toward further investment. The California effort should be greatly strengthened by the presence of Mack Lovett, our West Coast Representative. Morris Milgram made several trips to the Coast and I made one two-week trip which included appointments with major investors, laying the groundwork with West Coast leaders for our California campaign, where we should seek to raise close to one million dollars. I also interviewed candidates for West Coast Representative and attended the NAACP convention as delegate.

CONNECTICUT

Registration was completed several weeks ago and Tom Gaines, PC Executive Committee Chairman and I are beginning a special effort in Connecticut with emphasis on Fairfield county, which should be lucrative.

NEW YORK and MASSACHUSETTS

The New York area continues to be an area of prime emphasis, as

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its members. I have had several meetings with Reverend Mendelsohn and his associate Gene Teixeira, the former Public Relations Director of the UUA, and we will have a formal working relationship. An article by Reverend Mendelsohn will appear in the November issue of the Register Leader, the Unitarian magazine, describing the procedure and approach of the Arlington Street Church in deciding to invest. Coupon advertisements which announce that the Arlington Street and Community Churches have invested (as per the attached sample) will begin running in the October issue of the Register Leader and will appear simultaneously with the article. Similarly, we are beginning to attempt to mail to the lists of publications while M-REIT coupon ads and/or articles are appearing.

M-REIT SALES LITERATURE

The Question and Answer document was approved by the SEC and last week by Illinois permitting the Trust its first supplementary sales piece which should be of great benefit and relief from the rather restrictive nature (for sales) of the Prospectus. The layout cannot be, in keeping with SEC standards, too flamboyant, but I hope the draft of the layout, here for your inspection, will meet the requirement and that we will go to press as quickly as possible.

COMMISSION SALES

Counsel has approved M-REIT's making commission arrangements, and in keeping with the Declaration of Trust, we can raise a limited amount such as $1,000,000 via commissions. I propose that we offer a straight 5% without expenses to carefully selected persons. There are several registered representatives with member firms with whom I would like to conclude such an arrangement.

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COMMENTS

Several general observations should be made. Indications of interest have not been fulfilled to as great a degree as we had hoped, but I am in personal contact with all persons who indicated interest in making purchases of $500. or more. This has proved successful in converting these indications to subscriptions, but the factors influencing those who have not yet subscribed are symptomatic of the general climate for our issue. First, some investors are locked in by the current decline in stock market prices, preventing or inhibiting their investment with us. Second, the tight money market has forced cash to be used for purposes other than M-REIT. Third, there are the influences of not paying a yield yet or being able to say when and at what rate.

I would like respectfully to urge that we forecast as nearly as possible when the first payment may be, and in what rate range, and that we attempt to do so if possible next June. I would like to vigorously stress that far and away the most salient factor in scaling down investment to a token amount or inhibiting it entirely is the uncertainty of the whole question of return on investment. We attract only persons of good will who then invest (except for those for whom $200. is a sacrifice) a token amount. Investors of large and small amounts alike sometimes make it explicitly clear that they will invest more if we establish a good record, and this is unquestionably true of most of the investors. It is also important to note that we should sometimes associate capital raising with buying in a particular area, particularly where we have strong leadership. This is especially true in Chicago and probably on the West Coast where M-REIT may appear

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to be an Eastern organization. It is also true in St. Louis where Morris has been active with a major investment group that wants a written commitment on our intention to invest in the area before they get rolling. It is important to form local boards or advisory committees in areas in which we are buying for local involvement is a further stimulant to raising capital. The holding of regional stockholders meetings in key cities such as Philadelphia, where one is scheduled, will also help to stimulate investment. M-REIT's current investors represent an important source of new as well as increased capital, and it would be beneficial if trustees could attend meetings in their areas.

There is, at this time, virtually no end to the amount of capital available for investment in integrated housing if the Trust can show that it is a good investment. Investment is under consideration by some institutions other than churches, but institutions including insurance companies, pension funds, colleges usually require an immediate yield. Except for a few liberal churches, we cannot yet raise significant capital in this area. We are therefore largely dependent on individuals. I hope that we will be able to purchase buildings with the stock and sometimes create co-ops and condominiums both of which would make our capital go further and accelerate M-REIT's growth.

Finally, with faith in M-REIT's potential, I respectfully seek your advice and active support in securing major investments.

Again I would like to thank all of the Trustees for all your help and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Bernard W. Learman
Director of Development

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ADDENDUM: M-REIT CABINET

It would be beneficial to M-REIT's growth, particularly during this initial period of early development, if there were greater coordination and liaison between the PC and M-REIT Boards and staff. I therefore would like to propose an ad hoc M-REIT Cabinet which would meet more often than the Trustees, perhaps monthly or every six weeks. It would include members of the PC and M-REIT Boards and key members of the M-REIT Advisory Committee. The Cabinet's authority would not, of course, supercede that of the Trustees. It is basically an advisory group to aid the staff in solving problems vital to M-REIT's growth. I am prepared to submit a list of those who would comprise the Cabinet and to service it.

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SAMPLE COPY - AD NEW REPUBLIC

This advertisement is not an offer to sell or a solicitation of an offer to buy these securities. The offering is made only by the prospectus.

New Issue

A NEW REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT TRUST WHICH INTENDS TO INVEST IN HOUSING OPEN TO ALL.

Please send without obligation the M-REIT Prospectus. Attn.: Morris Milgram, Mgr., M-REIT, 51 E. 42nd St., Suite 211, New York, N.Y. 10017

NR-6-18-7-2

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

M-REIT

Mutual
Real Estate
Investment Trust

SAMPLE COPY - AD THE REGISTER-LEADER OCTOBER '66

This advertisement is not an offer to sell or a solicitation of an offer to buy these securities. The offering is made only by the prospectus.

New Issue

A NEW REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT TRUST WHICH INVESTS IN HOUSING OPEN TO ALL

(The Arlington and Community Churches have invested.)

M-REIT

Mutual
Real Estate
Investment Trust

Please send without obligation the M-REIT Prospectus. Attn: Morris Milgram, Mgr., M-REIT, 51 E. 42nd St., Suite 211, New York, N. Y. 10017

RL-1

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State ..... Zip .....

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SUBSCRIPTIONS

M-REIT STATE ANALYSIS

SEPTEMBER 23,1966

RANK BY NO. OF SUBS.	AMT. OF INVEST.	LOCATION	NO. OF SUBSCRIBERS	AMOUNT OF INVESTMENT
26	29	Alabama	1	$ 200
26	29	Alaska	1	200
22	23	Arizona	9	2,200
2	3	California	236	122,740
17	18	Colorado	20	11,500
14	12	Connecticut	25	26,200
19	20	Delaware	14	4,400
8	10	Washington D.C.	70	34,200
7	7	Illinois	107	76,200
10	11	Indiana	38	28,100
24	24	Iowa	4	1,600
21	22	Kansas	11	2,600
6	8	Maryland	121	69,080
4	2	Massachusetts	151	220,400
15	17	Minnesota	23	13,200
16	56	Missouri	22	90,500
23	26	Nebraska	5	1,000
5	5	New Jersey	139	106,400
26	29	New Mexico	1	200
1	1	New York	460	512,560
26	26	North Carolina	1	1,000
11	16	Ohio	34	13,340
20	21	Oregon	12	2,800
3	4	Pennsylvania	193	121,400
18	9	Rhode Island	17	56,300
24	19	Utah	4	4,800
25	25	Vermont	2	1,400
13	15	Virginia	28	44,040
9	14	Washington	49	17,140
12	13	Wisconsin	30	22,600
25	27	Wyoming	2	600
26	29	Tennessee	1	200
25	28	Foreign	2	400
		Total	1674	1,545,500

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M-REIT

Mutual
Real Estate
Investment Trust

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NORMAN P. MASON
JOHN H. WHEELER

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EARL B. DICKERSON
MSGR. JOHN EGAN
M. R. EMRICH
IRVING JAY FAIN
JAMES FARMER
CONG. DONALD M. FRASER
HARVEY FURGATCH
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STANLEY GEWIRTZ
SETH M. GLICKENHAUS
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ESTABLISHED TO INVEST IN HOUSING OPEN TO ALL

51 East 42nd Street, Suite 211, New York, N.Y. 10017 • MU 7-6550 (212)

September 22, 1966

MANAGER'S REPORT TO M-REIT BOARD OF TRUSTEES MEETING

Tuesday, September 27, 1966
12:00 Noon

Delson and Gordon
120 E. 41 St.
New York, N. Y.

WE'RE IN BUSINESS

M-REIT is now a functioning business owning property and with over $1,500,000 in stock subscriptions, virtually all paid in.

Our first building, for which title closed in July, has already been integrated. A second building under agreement of sale will be ours September 30. Additional building acquisition possibilities will be discussed at our meeting. Morton Daves has done a careful job of screening properties, and several good ones are available. He is also working hard closing and managing effectively those selected for purchase. His detailed report is attached and others will reach you shortly. Further items will be presented at the meeting. If possible, please bring the reports you receive to the meeting.

STOCK SALES PROGRESS

About 1700 people have to date subscribed about $1,550,000 for M-REIT shares. Of this, all but $50,000 is paid.

Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust is a business trust organized under a declaration of trust on file and available for inspection at the office of the Trust. Any agreement, obligation, paper, action or liability made, entered into or incurred by or on behalf of the Trust binds only the Trust's property and no Shareholder, Trustee, Officer or Agent of the Trust assumes or shall be held to any liability therefor.

Member National Association of Real Estate Investment Funds

More personalized efforts in this field are underway, and are to be intensified. Bernard Learman will report in detail. We have learned a great deal about our market. We now know several major lists pull well for us, and through direct mail on a more selective and more personalized basis, as well as personal contact, we can sell out this issue.

Costs are being watched closely and I am cutting our budget to meet the actual situation. The tight money market has undoubtedly weakened our stock sales as has the lack of enough stock sales personnel to assist Bernard Learmna, who has been working hard and effectively. You will meet Mack Lovett, recently engaged for this purpose, at the meeting.

CPA'S REPORT

A tentative statement for the fiscal ended June 30 will reach you separately before the meeting. Because this is our first report, our accountants and I felt the best approach is to get comments of the Trustees at the meeting before finalizing the form of the report.

FORMULA FOR WORKING IN LOCAL AREAS

In major metropolitan areas including New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Los Angeles and elsewhere, people are working to help strengthen our efforts. One problem that we must face is how we talk to such groups, for they all ask: "How much investment can we expect in our metropolitan areas if substantial funds are raised here?"

In my opinion, unless we make clear that M-REIT expects to invest more in any specific metropolitan area than comes from the area, there will be strong feeling on the part of some local groups that they would be

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better off setting up an independent company and working on a local basis. This has occurred in one area. My own recommendation is that we should explain that we will invest about 50% more than is raised in the local area, provided we find buildings which we feel are economically feasible and meet our social criteria.

ANNUAL MEETING AND BOARD MEETINGS IN 1967

There is a need for an early annual meeting of M-REIT's stockholders. I suggest Wednesday, October 26, 1966 at noon in New York with a brief board meeting before at 11:30 a.m., and one continuing after lunch. This was the day originally set aside when we agreed that if feasible the M-REIT Trustees would meet the 4th Wednesdays of every 3rd month. Under that proposal, our following meetings would be January 25, 1967 and April 26, 1967.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

The Trustees should know that a real estate investment trust owning two apartment houses in Northern California which it bought for about a million dollars is interested in merging into M-REIT. I am not suggesting any action, but feel you should have this information.

TEMPER OF THE TIMES

Defeat of the 1966 civil rights bill, based largely on rejection of its fair housing proposals, may cause many of our friends to feel that current progress on fair housing needs a strengthening of private investment efforts. Certainly this is the reaction already of many of our good friends in the National Committee on Tithing in Investment. We

should be prepared to reach fair housing supporters who want integrated housing growth now, and get them to back our efforts. Your suggestions along these lines will be most helpful.

AN INVITATION

You are cordially invited to attend the MCD-PC annual award luncheon which follows our stockholders meeting. Max Delson is to receive the Averell Harriman Equal Housing Opportunity Award. His service in the field of equal housing opportunity has been one of solidly dedicated concern expressed vigorously and imaginatively for over a decade. The award will be made at Community Church, 40 E. 35 St., New York, Tuesday, October 4, 1966 at 12:30 p.m. Distinguished speakers will be:

A. Philip Randolph	President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
Kenneth J. Brown	President, Lithographers and Photo Engravers International Union
Charles Cogan	President, American Federation of Teachers
Dr. John A. Morsell	Assistant Executive Director, NAACP

I've tried to keep this brief and readable and to present an outline of the total picture. I look forward to full and open discussion with you at the meeting.

Cordially,

Morris Milgram

MM:mh

Enclosures

MCD-PC PROPERTY DIRECTOR'S REPORT

September 22, 1966

I take great pleasure in submitting this report covering the current status of M-REIT's recent purchases, and additional properties recommended for acquisition for your consideration . I sincerely hope the the following will meet with your approval.

ACQUISITIONS

1. 25-34 Crescent Street, Astoria, New York

M-REIT took title to the property on July 28, 1966 with adjustments as of July 15, 1966. Thus, the Trust received the rental income from July 15 to July 28. By assuming the expenses for this period of about $800, M-REIT gained $4,100, deducted from the purchase price. Prior to the Trust taking title the undersigned negotiated the prepayment of the $37,838 second mortgage simultaneously with the closing of title, at a cost of $34,000, affording the Trust an additional savings of $3,838. The purchase price according to the contract was $1,052,350, but in actuality the net price to M-REIT was $1,044,321. The total cash investment in this property is $272,158. Based on my estimated operating expenses, this property should yield a cash flow of $22,000 (8.1%).
I am also pleased to report that I have increased the fire insurance coverage on the property from $880,000 to $1,000,000 and the liability coverage from $300,000 to $500,000 at a saving of $348 per annum.

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2. 602-618 Ocean Parkway, Brooklyn, New York

This property is presently under contract which was signed by M-REIT August 23, 1966 at a price of $591,500 ($83,600 cash above two mortgages). I am presently negotiating with the second mortgagee endeavoring to obtain a discount by prepaying this mortgage of $103,500 and which we must do. The analysis which I submitted on the property indicated a rent roll in the sum of $92,199 which after having certified was found to be $1,300 greater than the aforementioned sum, therefore, the estimated cash flow will be that much greater.

By having the building repiped, under the present Rent Control Laws, the rental income will be increased $5,688 per year at a cost of $51,350. Aside from the increase in the rental income this would also keep plumbing repair costs for the next few years down to a minimum. At worst, if a discount on the second mortgage is not obtainable (which I doubt) and said mortgage was prepaid dollar for dollar taking into consideration the expense of the repiping, the return on M-REIT's cash investment, based upon my estimated operating expenses, should be approximately $20,000 or 8.5%.

Documents on new properties suggested for discussion at the M-REIT Trustee meeting, September 27 are being sent separately.

1. Covent Gardens	Falls Church, Virginia
2. 1 Ascan Avenue	Forest Hills, Queens, New York City
3. 905 Palmer Avenue	Mamaroneck, Westchester County, New York
4. Harvey Hall	Arlington, Virginia

Respectfully submitted,

Morton I. Daves

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September 22, 1966

SUGGESTED AGENDA

M-REIT Board of Trustees Meeting
Tuesday, September 27, 1966
12:00 Noon to 6:00 p.m. (or later)

Delson and Gordon
120 E. 41 St.
New York, N. Y.

1. Approval of minutes of last meeting.

2. Opening statement by Chairman William Brill.

3. Report by Manager Morris Milgram.

4. Report by Director of Development Bernard Learman.

   a. Commission rate for stock salesmen - 5% suggested.

5. Report by PC Property Director Morton Daves.

6. a. Properties purchased or under agreement of sale.
   b. Management of properties.
   c. Properties recommended for purchase.

6. Report by Treasurer Thomas Klutznick.

7. Report by Counsel Delson and Gordon.

   a. New states registered since last meeting.
   b. Compensation for Trustees - suggested resolution.

8. Report by CPA Leonard Lichter.

9. Bookkeeper requested that "Checks of $1,000 or less require only signatures of Morris Milgram or Thomas Garth; that checks of larger amounts be signed by either Treasurer or Chairman of the Board plus either Milgram or Garth." This will avoid delays and possible penalties re checks for taxes and withholdings.

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ANNUAL SALARIES AT M-REIT OFFICE

as of Oct. 1, 1966

President	Morris Milgram	17,500
Dir. of Devel.	Bernard Learman	14,000
Office Manager	Tom Garth	8,000
Office Secretary	Merle Hozid	5,720
Bookkeeper	Ann Neufeld	7,800
Asst. Bookkeeper	Helen Corley	4,420
Secy to Dir of Devel	Toby Heizler	5,720
Receptionist secy	-	5,200
File & Mail clerk	-	3,640
Asst. to Dir. of Devel.	Penny Sarno	4,000
Regional Dir. of Devel.	Mack Lovett	8,400
Contingencies - extra help etc.		5,000
		89,400
Portion borne by MCD-PC		20,000
M-REIT ANNUAL		69,400
M-REIT quarterly		17,350

NON-M-REIT STAFF

Property Dir.	Morton Daves	9,000
Secy-Clerk for Prop. Dir.	Terry Funk	4,680
Washington Director	Tom Barrett	7,800
Wash. Office Mgr -Bkkpr	Emelina Ceguerra	6,000
		27,480
Plus portion M-REIT		20,000
Grand Total MCD-PC		47,480

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M-REIT BUDGET - QUARTERLY

	Budget for last quarter of 1965	New Budget Suggested
All M-REIT Salary Average October	$35,000	$21,000
Telephone	1,300	2,000
Mailing and Advertising	30,000	24,000
Travel	7,000	7,000
Misc., Contingincies and Rent	1,500	2,000
Sub-total	$74,800	$56,000
Other Expenses,- Fees, Printing Prospectus etc.	10,000	7,000
Total Expenses	$84,800	$63,000

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September 22, 1966

MEMO TO: TRUSTEES AND STAFF

HOW CAN WE CUT STOCK SALES COSTS? We must sell $3,000,000 stock in nine months at a cost of $200,000 to sell out and stay at about 10% stock sales cost.

1. Get big investments through personal efforts of our key people.

2. Buy buildings with stock and some cash..

3. Get more stock sales personnel - some on commission, some salary.

4. Carefully arrange phoning of all NCTI sponsors and other good prospects.

5. Personalized mailings mostly to tested lists and lists provided by M-REIT Trustees, advisory committee and stockholders.

6. All personnel and other costs must be kept minimal.

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October 4, 1966

SUGGESTED AGENDA
NEW (and presumably merged) MCD-PC BOARD

Tuesday, October 4, 1966
2:00 p.m.

Community Church of N.Y.
40 E. 35 St., New York

1. Introduction of board and staff.

2. Report of nominating committee.

Chairman	Thomas A. Gaines
Vice Presidents	David H. Scull
	Andrew E. Norman
	Frank C. Montero
	Max Delson
Treasurer	John S. Stillman
Secretary	Bernard W. Learman
Ass't. Sec.-Treas.	Thomas V. Garth

3. Election of Executive Committee.

4. Reports

   a) President, Morris Milgram
   b) Director of Development, Bernard W. Learman
   c) Property Director, Morton I. Daves
   d) C.P.A., Herman Blumenthal
   e) Treasurer, John S. Stillman

5. M-REIT growth - How can we build it? Board discussion.

6. River Ridge land sale.

7. Waterbury land sale.

8. Providence.

9. Payment on Homeparks notes, given when MCD bought Homeparks - Ray Watts.

10. Washington area work - projects and special M-REIT effort.

11. Budget

12. Plans for regular meetings. (Note Tues. and Fri. out for Dr. Frank Jones; Mondays poor for some.)

13. Plans for first meeting of Executive Committee.

14. Adjournment - not later than 6:00 p.m.

LAW OFFICES
DELSON & GORDON
120 EAST 41ST STREET
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

MURRAY HILL 6-8030

CABLE "DELEGOR"

August 3, 1967

To: The Officers, Directors, and Beneficial Owners of more than 10% of Common Stock, of Planned Communities, Inc.

On June 30, 1967 the Common Stock of Planned Communities, Inc. became registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission, in accordance with the requirements of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934. This registration had been required because Planned Communities' assets reached $1,000,000.00 and stockholders reached 1,000 upon the merger with Modern Community Developers. As a result of the registration all officers, directors and beneficial owners of more than 10% of the Common Stock of Planned Communities, Inc. must complete, sign and return Form 3 to the undersigned for filing with the Securities and Exchange Commission as soon as possible to indicate their direct and indirect beneficial ownership of shares of Planned Communities' Common Stock as of June 30, 1967. The SEC has also asked us to furnish you with copies of two releases that indicate how you should determine beneficial ownership of shares.

We also enclose a copy of Form 4 to permit you to set forth any changes in stock ownership for any month subsequent to the preparation of Form 3. Please note that if you do not own any Planned Communities stock you must state "none" on Form 3. We have also been asked to provide the Securities and Exchange Commission with your social security numbers. Therefore please indicate this number on the enclosed form.

We also wish to advise you that by virtue of the registration of the Planned Communities' securities under the Exchange Act of 1934, §16 (b) of the Exchange Act now applies to Planned Communities' securities and accordingly if any director, officer or 10% stockholder of Planned Communities purchases and then sells (or sells and then purchases) Planned Communities stock within a six month period, Planned Communities will be entitled in a stockholder proceeding to receive all profits resulting from such purchases and sales.

Please return Form 3 in the enclosed self-addressed envelope as soon as possible. However, if you have any question with respect to the matters covered in this letter feel free to advise us.

Very truly yours,

DELSON & GORDON

Richard J. Schwarzstein

Richard J. Schwarzstein

RJS/bm
Encs.

Social Security No. _____

SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION
Washington, D.C. 20549

FORM 3

INITIAL STATEMENT OF BENEFICIAL OWNERSHIP OF SECURITIES

Filed pursuant to Section 16(a) of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934, Section 17(a) of the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935, or Section 30(f) of the Investment Company Act of 1940.

_____
(Name of listed company, holding company or investment company)

_____
(Name of person whose ownership is reported)

_____
(Business address of such person; street, city, zone, state)

Relationship of such person to company named above. (See instruction 5) _____

_____

Date of event which requires the filing of this statement (See instruction 6) JUN 30 1967

SECURITIES BENEFICIALLY OWNED (See instruction 7)

TITLE OF SECURITY (See instruction 8)	NATURE OF OWNERSHIP (See instruction 9)	AMOUNT OWNED beneficially (See instruction 10)

REMARKS: (See instruction 11)

Date of statement _____

_____
Signature

INSTRUCTIONS

1. PERSONS REQUIRED TO FILE STATEMENTS.

A statement on this form is required to be filed by each of the following persons:

(a) Every person who, at the time any class of equity securities (other than exempt securities) becomes listed and registered on a national securities exchange, (i) is directly or indirectly the beneficial owner of more than 10 percent of such class, or (ii) is a director or officer of the company which is the issuer of such securities; and every person who thereafter becomes such a beneficial owner, director or officer;

(b) Every person who, at the time a public utility holding company becomes registered under the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935, is a director or officer of such company, and every person who thereafter becomes such a director or officer;

(c) Every person who, at the time a closed-end investment company becomes registered under the Investment Company Act of 1940, (i) is directly or indirectly the beneficial owner of more than 10 percent of any class of outstanding securities (other than short-term paper) of which such company is the issuer, or (ii) is a director, officer, member of an advisory board, investment adviser, or affiliated person of an investment adviser, of such company; and every person who thereafter becomes such a beneficial owner, director, officer, member of an advisory board, investment adviser or affiliated person.

2. WHEN STATEMENTS ARE TO BE FILED.

(a) Persons who hold any of the relationships specified in Instruction 1 when any class of equity securities of the company becomes listed and registered on a national securities exchange, or when the issuer becomes registered as a public utility holding company or closed-end investment company, are required to file a statement within 10 days after the date such registration becomes effective. Persons who subsequently assume any of the specified relationships are required to file a statement within 10 days after assuming such relationship.

(b) Statements are not deemed to have been filed with the Commission or an exchange until they have actually been received by the Commission or such exchange.

3. WHERE STATEMENTS ARE TO BE FILED.

One signed copy of each statement shall be filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission, Washington, D.C. 20549. If the statement is filed for any person specified in Instruction 1(a), one signed copy thereof shall also be filed with each exchange on which any class of equity securities of the company is listed and registered. However, if such company has, in accordance with Rule 16 a-1, designated a single exchange to receive statements, the statement need only be filed with the Commission and the designated exchange.

4. SEPARATE STATEMENT FOR EACH COMPANY–EXCEPTION

A separate statement shall be filed with respect to the securities of each company, except that a single statement shall be filed with respect to the securities of a registered public utility holding company and of all of its subsidiary companies.

5. RELATIONSHIP OF REPORTING PERSON TO COMPANY.

Indicate clearly the relationship of the reporting person to the company; for example, "Director", "Director and Vice President", "Beneficial owner of more than 10 percent of the company's common stock", etc.

6. DATE AS OF WHICH BENEFICIAL OWNERSHIP IS TO BE GIVEN.

The information as to beneficial ownership of securities shall be given as of the date on which the event occurred which requires the filing of a statement on this form; for example, when equity securities of the company become listed and registered on a national securities exchange, or when the person whose ownership is reported became a director or officer of the company.

7. CLASSES OF SECURITIES TO BE REPORTED.

(a) Persons specified in Instruction 1(a) above shall include information as to their beneficial ownership of all classes of equity securities of the company, even though one or more of such classes may not be listed and registered on a national securities exchange.

(b) Persons specified in Instruction 1(b) above shall include information as to their beneficial ownership of all classes of securities of the registered holding company and of all of its subsidiary companies.

(c) Persons specified in Instruction 1(c) above shall include information as to their beneficial ownership of all classes of securities of the registered closed-end investment company (other than "short-term paper" as defined in Section 2(a) (36) of the Investment Company Act of 1940).

8. TITLE OF SECURITY.

The statement of the title of a security shall be such as clearly to identify the security even though there may be only one class; for example, "Class A Common Stock", "$6 Convertible Preferred Stock", "5% Debentures Due 1965", etc. Include the name of the issuer of the security if the issuer is a public utility holding company or a subsidiary company thereof.

9. NATURE OF OWNERSHIP.

Under "Nature of ownership", state whether ownership of the securities is "direct" or "indirect". If the ownership is indirect, i.e., through a partnership, corporation, trust or other entity, indicate in a footnote or other appropriate manner, the name or identity of the medium through which the securities are indirectly owned. The fact that securities are held in the name of a broker or other nominee does not, of itself, constitute indirect ownership. Securities owned indirectly shall be reported on separate lines from those owned directly and also from those owned through a different type of indirect ownership.

10. STATEMENT OF AMOUNT OWNED.

In stating the amount of securities beneficially owned, give the face amount of debt securities or the number of shares or other units of other securities. In the case of securities owned indirectly, the entire amount of securities owned by the partnership, corporation, trust or other entity, shall be stated. The person whose ownership is reported may, if he so desires, also indicate in a footnote or other appropriate manner, the extent of his interest in the partnership, corporation, trust or other entity.

11. INCLUSION OF ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

A statement may include any additional information or explanation deemed relevant by the person filing the statement.

12. SIGNATURE.

If the statement is filed for a corporation, partnership, trust, etc., the name of the organization shall appear over the signature of the officer or other person authorized to sign the statement. If the statement is filed for an individual, it shall be signed by him or specifically on his behalf by a person authorized to sign for him.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1961 O—595550
866-818

SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION
Washington, D.C. 20549

FORM 4

STATEMENT OF CHANGES IN BENEFICIAL OWNERSHIP OF SECURITIES

Filed pursuant to Section 16(a) of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934, Section 17(a) of the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935, or Section 30(f) of the Investment Company Act of 1940.

_____
(Name of listed company, holding company or investment company)

_____
(Name of person whose ownership is reported)

_____
(Business address of such person; street, city, zone, state)

Relationship of such person to company named above. (See instruction 5) _____

_____

Statement for Calendar Month of _____, 19___

CHANGES DURING MONTH AND MONTH-END OWNERSHIP (See instruction 6)

TITLE OF SECURITY (See instruction 7)	DATE OF TRANSACTION (See instruction 8)	AMOUNT BOUGHT or otherwise acquired (See instruction 9)	AMOUNT SOLD or otherwise disposed of (See instruction 9)	NATURE OF OWNERSHIP (See instruction 10)	AMOUNT OWNED beneficially at end of month (See instruction 9)

REMARKS: (See instruction 11)

Date of statement _____

_____
(Signature)

INSTRUCTIONS

1. PERSONS REQUIRED TO FILE STATEMENTS.

Statements on this form are required to be filed by each of the following persons:

(a) Every person who at any time during any calendar month was (i) directly or indirectly the beneficial owner of more than 10 percent of any class of equity securities (other than exempt securities) listed and registered on a national securities exchange, or (ii) a director or officer of the company which is the issuer of such securities, and who during such month had any change in his beneficial ownership of any class of equity securities of such company;

(b) Every person who at any time during any calendar month was a director or officer of a public utility holding company registered under the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935, and who during such month had any change in his beneficial ownership of any class of securities of such registered company or of any of its subsidiary companies;

(c) Every person who at any time during any calendar month was (i) directly or indirectly the beneficial owner of more than 10 percent of any class of outstanding securities (other than short-term paper) of a closed-end investment company registered under the Investment Company Act of 1940, or (ii) a director, officer, member of an advisory board, investment adviser or affiliated person of an investment adviser, of such company, and who during such month had any change in his beneficial ownership of any class of securities (other than short-term paper) of such company.

2. WHEN STATEMENTS ARE TO BE FILED.

Statements are required to be filed on or before the 10th day after the end of each month in which any change in beneficial ownership has occurred. Statements are not deemed to have been filed with the Commission or an exchange until they have actually been received by the Commission or such exchange.

3. WHERE STATEMENTS ARE TO BE FILED.

One signed copy of each statement shall be filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission, Washington 25, D.C. If the statement is filed for any person specified in Instruction 1(a), one signed copy thereof shall also be filed with each exchange on which any class of equity securities of the company is listed and registered. However, if the company has, in accordance with Rule 16 a-1, designated a single exchange to receive statements, the statement need only be filed with the Commission and the designated exchange.

4. SEPARATE STATEMENT FOR EACH COMPANY—EXCEPTION.

A separate statement shall be filed with respect to the securities of each company, except that a single statement shall be filed with respect to the securities of a registered public utility holding company and all of its subsidiary companies.

5. RELATIONSHIP OF REPORTING PERSON TO COMPANY.

Indicate clearly the relationship of the reporting person to the company; for example, "Director", "Director and Vice President", "Beneficial owner of more than 10 percent of the company's common stock", etc.

6. TRANSACTIONS AND HOLDINGS TO BE REPORTED.

(a) Persons required to file statements on this form shall include in their statements all changes during the month in their beneficial ownership, and their beneficial ownership at the end of the month, of the following securities:

(1) In the case of persons specified in Instruction 1(a), all classes of equity securities of the company, even though one or more of such classes may not be listed and registered on a national securities exchange;

(2) In the case of persons specified in Instruction 1(b), all classes of securities of the registered holding company and of all its subsidiary companies; and

(3) In the case of persons specified in Instruction 1(c), all classes of securities of the registered closed-end investment company (other than "short-term paper", as defined in Section 2 (a) (36) of the Investment Company Act of 1940).

(b) Every transaction shall be reported even though purchases and sales during the month are equal or the change involves only the nature of ownership; for example, from direct to indirect ownership. Beneficial ownership at the end of the month of all classes of securities required to be reported shall be shown even though there has been no change during the month in the ownership of securities of one or more classes.

7. TITLE OF SECURITY.

The statement of the title of the security shall be such as clearly to identify the security even though there may be only one class; for example, "Class A Common Stock", "$6 Convertible Preferred Stock", "5% Debentures Due 1965", etc. Include the name of the issuer of the security if the issuer is a public utility holding company or a subsidiary company thereof.

8. DATE OF TRANSACTION.

The exact date (month, day and year) of each transaction shall be stated opposite the amount involved in the transaction.

9. STATEMENT OF AMOUNTS OF SECURITIES.

In stating the amount of securities acquired, disposed of, or beneficially owned, give the face amount of debt securities or the number of shares or other units of other securities. In the case of securities owned indirectly, i.e., through a partnership corporation, trust or other entity, the entire amount of securities involved in the transaction or owned by the partnership, corporation, trust or other entity shall be stated. The person whose ownership is reported may, if he so desires, also indicate in a footnote or other appropriate manner, the extent of his interest in the transaction or holdings of the partnership, corporation, trust or other entity.

10. NATURE OF OWNERSHIP.

Under "Nature of ownership", state whether ownership of the securities is "direct" or "indirect". If the ownership is indirect, i.e., through a partnership, corporation, trust or other entity, indicate in a footnote or other appropriate manner, the name or identity of the medium through which the securities are indirectly owned. The fact that securities are held in the name of a broker or other nominee does not, of itself, constitute indirect ownership. Securities owned indirectly shall be reported on separate lines from those owned directly and from those owned through a different type of indirect ownership.

11. CHARACTER OF TRANSACTION.

If the transaction was with the issuer of the securities, so state. If it involved the purchase of securities through the exercise of options, so state and give the exercise price per share. If any other purchase or sale was effected otherwise than in the open market, that fact shall be indicated. If the transaction was not a purchase or sale, indicate its character; for example, gift, 5% stock dividend, etc., as the case may be. The foregoing information may be appropriately set forth in the table or under "Remarks" at the end of the table.

12. INCLUSION OF ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

A statement may include any additional information or explanation deemed relevant by the person filing the statement.

13. SIGNATURE.

If the statement is filed for a corporation, partnership, trust, etc., the name of the organization shall appear over the signature of the officer or other person authorized to sign the statement. If the statement is filed for an individual, it shall be signed by him or specifically on his behalf by a person authorized to sign for him.

* U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1961 O—595551

For RELEASE Monday, February 14, 1966

SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION
Washington, D. C.
20549

SECURITIES ACT OF 1933
Release No. 4819
SECURITIES EXCHANGE ACT OF 1934
Release No. 7824
PUBLIC UTILITY HOLDING COMPANY ACT OF 1935
Release No. 15403
TRUST INDENTURE ACT OF 1939
Release No. 229
INVESTMENT COMPANY ACT OF 1940
Release No. 4516
INVESTMENT ADVISERS ACT OF 1940
Release No. 196

BENEFICIAL OWNERSHIP OF SECURITIES HELD BY FAMILY MEMBERS

The Securities and Exchange Commission published a release on January 19, 1966 (Securities Exchange Act Release No. 7793) concerning the beneficial ownership of securities held by family members. The staff of the Commission has received a number of inquiries about the application of the opinions expressed in the release to filings that had been made with the Commission prior to its publication. The text of the release is set forth in full below.

The Commission did not intend that opinions expressed in the release would be applied retroactively; accordingly, prior reports need not be amended. In order that ample time may be afforded to give effect to the opinions expressed in the release, it will be sufficient if reports, proxy solicitation material, registration statements and other material filed after May 1, 1966 reflect beneficial ownership as described in the release. Reports filed for the month of April under Section 16(a) of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 should reflect beneficial ownership as described in the release. If no transactions occurred during that month, a report should nevertheless be filed under Section 16(a) by May 10, 1966, if the last report filed does not reflect current beneficial ownership as described in the release.*/

The Commission also wishes to point out that the opinions expressed in the release were directed to the information contained in reports and other material filed with the Commission. The fact that ownership of securities and transactions in those securities are reported under Section 16(a) of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 does not necessarily mean that liability will result therefrom under Section 16(b). The question whether liabilities under Section 16(b) will arise from transactions is, of course, to be determined by the facts of each particular case in an appropriate action brought by the issuer or its security holders.

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The text of Securities Exchange Act Release No. 7793 is as follows:

The Securities and Exchange Commission is publishing this release to restate1/ and clarify the meaning of "beneficial ownership of securities"2/

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*/ Similar reports should be filed by persons filing under Section 30(f) of the Investment Company Act of 1940 and Section 17 of the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935.

1/ An early interpretation concerning beneficial ownership of securities held by members of a family was published in SEA Release No. 175 (April 16, 1935). This release supersedes SEA Release No. 175.

2/ The term "beneficial ownership" as used herein includes both direct and indirect beneficial ownership.

under the securities acts administered by the Commission as such term relates to the beneficial ownership of securities held in the name of family members.

Although the discussion below relates to the reporting of beneficial ownership of securities under Section 16(a) of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 (Exchange Act), it should be noted that generally the same principles apply to disclosing beneficial ownership in registration statements,3/ annual reports,4/ proxy statements,5/ applications for registration as a broker-dealer or as an investment adviser,6/ and statements of eligibility and qualification to act as indenture trustee7/ under the securities acts where such disclosure is required.

Section 16 of the Exchange Act

Section 16(a) of the Exchange Act requires every person owning beneficially, directly or indirectly, more than 10% of a class of equity security registered on a national securities exchange or registered pursuant to new Section 12(g) of the Act, or who is a director or an officer of the issuer of such security, to file an initial report disclosing the amount of each class of the issuer's equity securities, whether or not registered, which are beneficially owned by such person at the time the issuer's securities become registered, or at the time a person becomes such a director, officer or beneficial owner after registration.8/ Thereafter, each such person must

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3/ E.g., Item 19, Principal Holders of Securities, Form S-1 under the Securities Act of 1933; Item 11, Principal Holders of Securities, Form 10 under the Exchange Act; Item 15, Twenty Largest Holders of Capital Stock, Form U5B under the Public Utility Act of 1935; Item 14(b), Persons Owning Equity Securities of Registrant, Form N-8B-1 under the Investment Company Act of 1940.

4/ E.G., Item 5, Principal Holders of Securities, and Item 6, Directors of Registrant, Form 10-K under the Exchange Act; Item 8, Holders of Capital Stock, Form U5S under the Public Utility Act of 1935; Item 1.09(b), Persons Owning Equity Securities of Registrant, Form N-1R under the Investment Company Act of 1940.

5/ E.g., Item 5, Voting Securities and Principal Holders Thereof, and Item 6, Nominees and Directors, Schedule 14A under the Exchange Act.

6/ E.g., Item 3(c) of Form BD under Section 15(b) of the Exchange Act and Item 3(c) of Form AVD under Section 203(c) of the Investment Advisers Act of 1940.

7/ E.g., Item 6, Voting Securities of the Trustee Owned by the Obligor or Its Officials, Form T-1; Item 4, Securities of the Obligor Owned or Held by the Trustee, Form T-2 under Section 310(b), (subsections 5, 6, 7 and 8), of the Trust Indenture Act of 1939.

8/ Similarly, under Section 17 of the Public Utility Act of 1935 periodic ownership reports disclosing the beneficial ownership of officers and directors of a registered holding company in all securities of their company and any subsidiary company thereof are required. Also, by virtue of Section 30(f) of the Investment Company Act of 1940, the provisions of Section 16 of the Exchange Act attach to beneficial owners of more than ten percent of any class of securities, other than short-term paper, issued by a registered closed-end investment company, officers and directors of such a company, as well as other persons, specified in Section 30(f), having specified relationships with such a company.

report any change in his beneficial ownership of the issuer's equity securities within 10 days after the end of each calendar month during which any change occurs. 9/ Persons required to file reports under Section 16(a) are also subject to Section 16(b) and (c) of the Act.10/

Thus, the determination of whether a person is the beneficial owner of securities held in the name of his spouse, minor children or other relatives is significant in deciding whether such securities should be included in the reports filed by officers, directors and beneficial owners pursuant to Section 16(a). It is also significant in determining whether a person is subject to Section 16 as the beneficial owner of more than 10% of a class of registered equity security.

Generally a person is regarded as the beneficial owner of securities held in the name of his or her spouse and their minor children. Absent special circumstances such relationship ordinarily results in such person obtaining benefits substantially equivalent to ownership, e.g., application of the income derived from such securities to maintain a common home, to meet expenses which such person otherwise would meet from other sources, or the ability to exercise a controlling influence over the purchase, sale,*/ or voting of such securities. Accordingly, a person ordinarily should include in his reports filed pursuant to Section 16(a) securities held in the name of a spouse or minor children as being beneficially owned by him.

A person also may be regarded as the beneficial owner of securities held in the name of another person, if by reason of any contract, understanding, relationship, agreement, or other arrangement, he obtains therefrom benefits substantially equivalent to those of ownership. Accordingly, where such benefits are present such securities should be reported as being beneficially owned by the reporting person. Moreover, the fact that the person is a relative or relative of a spouse and sharing the same home as the reporting person may in itself indicate that the reporting person would obtain benefits substantially equivalent to those of ownership from securities held in the name of such relative. Thus, absent countervailing facts, it is expected that securities held

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9/ The initial report form, designated Form 3, is required to be filed within 10 days after registration is effective or after a person becomes the beneficial owner of more than 10% of a registered class of equity security or a director or officer of the issuer of such security. Changes in beneficial ownership are required to be reported on Form 4. By virtue of Rule 72 under the Public Utility Act of 1935 and Rule 30f-1 under the Investment Company Act of 1940, Forms 3 and 4 are made applicable to the persons required by those acts to file periodic beneficial ownership reports.

10/ Section 16(b) provides that profits realized by persons required to report pursuant to Section 16(a) from the purchase and sale, or sale and purchase, of any equity security, whether or not registered, of the issuer, within a period of less than six months inure to and are recoverable by or on behalf of the issuer. Section 16(c) prohibits the sale by such persons of any equity security of such issuer if the person selling the security or his principal (1) does not own the security sold, or (2) if owning the security does not promptly deliver it against such sale -- sometimes referred to as selling against the box.

*/ The words "or the ability to exercise a controlling influence over the purchase, sale," were inadvertently omitted from the release.

by relatives who share the same home as the reporting person will be reported as being beneficially owned by such person. 11/

A person also is regarded as the beneficial owner of securities held in the name of a spouse, minor children or other person, even though he does not obtain therefrom the aforementioned benefits of ownership, if he can vest or revest title in himself at once, or at some future time.

In order to determine Section 16(a) obligations to report options and similar rights, and securities held in a trust or other fiduciary capacity, the applicable provisions of the rules and regulations promulgated under Section 16 should be consulted.

The final determination of the existence of beneficial ownership under Section 16 is, of course, a question to be determined in the light of the facts of the particular case. It should be noted that although a report includes the holdings of other members of the family of the person filing reports, a person may avail himself of the privilege granted by Rule 16a-3 and disclaim that such report is an admission of beneficial ownership of any securities included in the report.

If special circumstances exist indicating that a person is not the beneficial owner of securities held in the name of members of his family, e.g., the person is divorced or legally separated from his spouse and does not receive any benefits of ownership from the securities held by such spouse -- or if he wishes advice as to whether he should report securities held by family members as being beneficially owned -- he may write to the Securities and Exchange Commission, Washington, D. C., 20549, setting forth the relevant facts involved and request from the staff of the Commission an expression of opinion with respect to whether such securities should be reported as being beneficially owned.

By the Commission.

Orval L. DuBois
Secretary

11/ Where individual members of a family hold less than 10% of a class of registered equity security, but when combined in accordance with the standards herein discussed, such holdings exceed 10%, a single filing by the head of the family group as the beneficial owner of more than 10% of a class of registered equity security will suffice.

UNITED STATES
SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20549
OFFICIAL BUSINESS
RETURN AFTER FIVE DAYS

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U. S.
SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION

(As of November 1, 1965)

United States
Securities and Exchange Commission

STATEMENTS OF BENEFICIAL OWNERSHIP OF AND TRANSACTIONS IN SECURITIES

I. Statements of Directors, Officers and Principal Stockholders Pursuant to Section 16(a) of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934

Statutory Provisions

Section 16. (a) Every person who is directly or indirectly the beneficial owner of more than 10 per centum of any class of any equity security (other than an exempted security) which is registered pursuant to section 12 of this title, or who is a director or an officer of the issuer of such security, shall file, at the time of the registration of such security on a national securities exchange or by the effective date of a registration statement filed pursuant to section 12(g) of this title, or within ten days after he becomes such beneficial owner, director, or officer, a statement with the Commission (and, if such security is registered on a national securities exchange, also with the exchange) of the amount of all equity securities of such issuer of which he is the beneficial owner, and within ten days after the close of each calendar month thereafter, if there has been a change in such ownership during such month, shall file with the Commission (and if such security is registered on a national securities exchange, shall also file with the exchange), a statement indicating his ownership at the close of the calendar month and such changes in his ownership as have occurred during such calendar month.

Section 3. (a) When used in this title, unless the context otherwise requires—

* * * * *

(11) The term "equity security" means any stock or similar security; or any security convertible, with or without consideration, into such a security; or carrying any warrant or right to subscribe to or purchase such a security; or any such warrant or right; or any other security which the Commission shall deem to be of similar nature and consider necessary or appropriate, by such rules and regulations as it may prescribe in the public interest or for the protection of investors, to treat as an equity security.

Rules Relating to Statements

Rule 16a-1. Filing of Statements

(*a*) Initial statements of beneficial ownership of equity securities required by section 16(a) of the Act shall be filed on Form 3. Statements of changes in such beneficial ownership required by that section shall be filed on Form 4. All such statements shall be prepared and filed in accordance with the requirements of the applicable form.

(*b*) A person who is already filing statements pursuant to section 16(a) of the Act with respect to equity securities registered pursuant to either section 12(b) or 12(g) of the Act need not file an additional statement on Form 3—

(1) when an additional class of equity securities of the same issuer becomes registered pursuant to the same subsection of the Act; or

(2) if any class of equity securities is registered pursuant to section 12(b), when another class of equity securities of the same issuer becomes registered pursuant to section 12(g); or

(3) when such person assumes another or an additional relationship to the issuer; for example, when an officer becomes a director.

(*c*) Any issuer which has equity securities listed on more than one national securities exchange may designate one such exchange as the only exchange with which reports pursuant to section 16(a) of the Act need be filed. Such designation shall be made in writing and shall be filed with the Commission and with each national securities exchange on which any equity security of the issuer is listed. After the filing of such designation the securities of such issuer shall be exempted with respect to the filing of statements pursuant to section 16(a) of the Act with any exchange other than the designated exchange.

Rule 16a–2. Ownership of More Than Ten Percent of an Equity Security

In determining, for the purpose of section 16(a) of the Act, whether a person is the beneficial owner, directly or indirectly, of more than 10 percent of any class of any equity security, such class shall be deemed to consist of the total amount of such class outstanding, exclusive of any securities of such class held by or for the account of the issuer or a subsidiary of the issuer; except that for the purpose of determining percentage ownership of voting trust certificates or certificates of deposit for equity securities, the class of voting trust certificates or certificates of deposit shall be deemed to consist of the amount of voting trust certificates or certificates of deposit issuable with respect to the total amount of outstanding equity securities of the class which may be deposited under the voting trust agreement or deposit agreement in question, whether or not all of such outstanding securities have been so deposited. For the purpose of this rule a person acting in good faith may rely on the information contained in the latest consolidated financial statement in a registration statement or annual report filed with the Commission under the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 with respect to the amount of securities of a class outstanding or in the case of voting trust certificates or certificates of deposit the amount thereof issuable.

Rule 16a–3. Disclaimer of Beneficial Ownership

Any person filing a statement may expressly declare therein that the filing of such statement shall not be construed as an admission that such person is, for the purpose of section 16 of the Act, the beneficial owner of any equity securities covered by the statement.

Rule 16a–4. Exemptions From Sections 16(a) and 16(b) of the Act

(*a*) During the period of 12 months following their appointment and qualification, securities held by the following persons shall be exempt from section 16(a) and 16(b) of the Act.

(1) Executors or administrators of the estate of a decedent;

(2) Guardians or committees for an incompetent; and

(3) Receivers, trustees in bankruptcy, assignees for the benefit of creditors, conservators, liquidating agents, and other similar persons duly authorized by law to administer the estate or assets of other persons.

(*b*) After the 12-month period following their appointment or qualification the foregoing persons shall be required to file reports with respect to the securities held by the estates which they administer under section 16(a) and shall be liable for profits realized from trading in such securities pursuant to section 16(b) only when the estate being administered is a beneficial owner of more than 10 percent of any class of equity security (other than an otherwise exempted security) which is registered pursuant to section 12 of the Act.

(*c*) Securities reacquired by or for the account of an issuer and held by it for its account shall be exempt from sections 16(a) and 16(b) during the time they are held by the issuer.

Rule 16a–5. Exemption From Section 16 of Securities Purchased or Sold by Odd-Lot Dealers

Securities purchased or sold by an odd-lot dealer (1) in odd lots so far as reasonably necessary to carry on odd-lot transactions or (2) in round lots to offset odd-lot transactions previously or simultaneously executed or reasonably anticipated in the usual course of business, shall be exempt from the provision of section 16, with respect to participation by such odd-lot dealer in such transactions.

Rule 16a–6. Certain Transactions Subject to Section 16(a)

The acquisition or disposition of any transferable option, put, call, spread or straddle shall be deemed such a change in the beneficial ownership of the security to which such privilege relates as to require the filing of a statement reflecting the acquisition or disposition of such privilege. Nothing in this paragraph, however, shall exempt any person from filing the statements required upon the exercise of such option, put, call, spread or straddle.

Rule 16a–7. Statements Filed Under More Than One Act

Any person required to file a statement under both section 16(a) of the Act and section 17(a) of the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935 or section 30(f) of the Investment Company Act of 1940 may file a single statement containing

the required information which will be deemed to be filed under both Acts. To comply with the requirment of section 16(a), where applicable, that statements be filed with national securities exchanges, a duplicate original of such statement shall be filed with such exchanges or with the exchange designated pursuant to Rule 16a–1(*c*).

Rule 16a–8. Ownership of Securities Held in Trust

(*a*) Beneficial ownership of a security for the purpose of section 16(a) shall include:

(1) the ownership of securities as a trustee where either the trustee or members of his immediate family have a vested interest in the income or corpus of the trust,

(2) the ownership of a vested beneficial interest in a trust, and

(3) the ownership of securities as a settlor of a trust in which the settlor has the power to revoke the trust without obtaining the consent of all the beneficiaries;

(*b*) Except as provided in paragraph (*c*) hereof, beneficial ownership of securities solely as a settlor or beneficiary of a trust shall be exempt from the provisions of section 16(a) where less than 20 percent in market value of the securities having a readily ascertainable market value held by such trust, determined as of the end of the preceding fiscal year of the trust, consists of equity securities with respect to which reports would otherwise be required. Exemption is likewise accorded from section 16(a) with respect to any obligation which would otherwise be imposed solely by reason of ownership as settlor or beneficiary of securities held in trust, where the ownership, acquisition, or disposition of such securities by the trust is made without prior approval by the settlor or beneficiary. No exemption pursuant to this subsection shall, however, be acquired or lost solely as a result of changes in the value of the trust assets during any fiscal year or during any time when there is no transaction by the trust in the securities otherwise subject to the reporting requirements of section 16(a).

(*c*) In the event that 10 percent of any class of any equity security (other than an exempted security) which is registered pursuant to section 12 of the Act is held in a trust, that trust and the trustees thereof as such shall be deemed a person required to file the reports specified in section 16(a) of the Act.

(*d*) Not more than one report need be filed to report any holdings or with respect to any transaction in securities held by a trust, regardless of the number of officers, directors or 10 percent stockholders who are either trustees, settlors, or beneficiaries of a trust: *Provided*, That the report filed shall disclose the names of all trustees, settlors and beneficiaries who are officers, directors or 10 percent stockholders. A person having an interest only as a beneficiary of a trust shall not be required to file any such report so long as he relies in good faith upon an understanding that the trustees of such trust will file whatever reports might otherwise be required of such beneficiary.

(*e*) As used in this rule the "immediate family" of a trustee means:

(1) a son or daughter of the trustee, or a descendent of either,

(2) a stepson or stepdaughter of the trustee,

(3) the father or mother of the trustee, or an ancestor of either,

(4) a stepfather or stepmother of the trustee,

(5) a spouse of the trustee.

For the purpose of determining whether any of the foregoing relations exists a legally adopted child of a person shall be considered a child of such person by blood.

(*f*) In determining, for the purposes of section 16(a) of the Act, whether a person is the beneficial owner, directly or indirectly, of more than 10 percent of any class of any equity security, the interest of such person in the remainder of a trust shall be excluded from the computation.

(*g*) No report shall be required by any person, whether or not otherwise subject to the requirement of filing reports under section 16(a) with respect to his indirect interest in portfolio securities held by

(1) any holding company registered under the Public Utility Holding Company Act,

(2) any investment company registered under the Investment Company Act,

(3) a pension or retirement plan holding securities of an issuer whose employees generally are the beneficiaries of the plan,

(4) a business trust with over 25 beneficiaries.

(*h*) Nothing in the rule shall be deemed to impose any duties or liabilities with respect to reporting any transactions or holding prior to its effective date.

Rule 16a–9. Exemption for Small Transactions

(*a*) Any acquisition of securities shall be exempt from section 16(a) where

(1) The person effecting the acquisition does not within 6 months thereafter effect any disposition, otherwise than by way of gift, of securities of the same class, and

(2) The person effecting such acquisition does not participate in acquisitions or in dispositions of securities of the same class having a total market value in excess of $3,000 for any 6 months period during which the acquisition occurs.

(*b*) Any acquisition or disposition of securities by way of gift, where the total amount of such gifts does not exceed $3,000 in market value for any 6 months period, shall be exempt from section 16(a) and may be excluded from the computations prescribed in paragraph (*a*)(2).

(*c*) Any person exempted by paragraphs (*a*) or (*b*) of this rule shall include in the first report filed by him after a transaction within the exemption a statement showing his acquisitions and dispositions for each 6 months period or portion thereof which has elapsed since his last filing.

Rule 16a–10. Exemption From Section 16(b) of Transactions Which Need Not Be Reported Under Section 16(a)

Any transaction which has been or shall be exempted by the Commission from the requirements of section 16(a) shall, insofar as it is otherwise subject to the provisions of section 16(b), be likewise exempted from section 16(b).

II. Statements of Directors and Officers Pursuant to Section 17(a) of the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935

Statutory Provisions

Section 17. (*a*) Every person who is an officer or director of a registered holding company shall file with the Commission in such form as the Commission shall prescribe (1) at the time of the registration of such holding company, or within ten days after such person becomes an officer or director, a statement of the securities of such registered holding company or any subsidiary company thereof of which he is, directly or indirectly, the beneficial owner, and (2) within ten days after the close of each calendar month thereafter, if there has been any change in such ownership during such month, a statement of such ownership as of the close of such calendar month and of the changes in such ownership that have occurred during such calendar month.

Rule Relating to Statements

Rule 72. Filing of Statements Pursuant to Section 17(a).

(*a*) Initial statements of beneficial ownership of securities required by section 17(a) of the Act shall be filed on Form 3. Statements of changes in such beneficial ownership required by that section shall be filed on Form 4. All such statements shall be prepared and filed in accordance with the requirements of the applicable form.

(*b*) The rules under section 16(a) of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 shall apply to statements filed pursuant to paragraph (*a*) to the extent that such rules are pertinent.

III. Statements of Directors, Officers, Principal Security Holders and Certain Other Persons Pursuant to Section 30(f) of the Investment Company Act of 1940

Statutory Provisions

Section 30. . . .

(*f*) Every person who is directly or indirectly the beneficial owner of more than 10 per centum of any class of outstanding securities (other than short-term paper) of which a registered closed-end company is the issuer or who is an officer, director, member of an advisory board, investment adviser, or affiliated person of an investment adviser of such a company shall in respect of his transactions in any securities of such company (other than short-term paper) be subject to the same duties and liabilities as those imposed by section 16 of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 upon certain beneficial owners, directors, and officers in respect of their transactions in certain equity securities.

Section 2. (*a*) When used in this title, unless the context otherwise requires—

* * * * *

(36) "Short-term paper" means any note, draft, bill of exchange, or banker's acceptance payable on demand or having a maturity at the time of issuance of not exceeding nine months, exclusive of days of grace, or any renewal thereof payable on demand or having a maturity likewise limited; and such other classes of securities, of a commercial rather than an investment character, as the Commission may designate by rules and regulations.

Rule Relating to Statements

Rule 30f–1. Filing of Statements Pursuant to Section 30(f).

(*a*) Initial statements of beneficial ownership of outstanding securities required by Section 30(f) of the Act shall be filed on Form 3. Statements of changes in such beneficial ownership required by that section shall be filed on Form 4. All such statements shall be prepared and filed in accordance with the requirements of the applicable form.

(*b*) The rules under Section 16(a) of the Securities Exchange Act of 1934 shall apply to statements filed pursuant to paragraph (*a*) to the extent that such rules are pertinent.

(*c*) No statements need be filed pursuant to Section 30(f) of the Act by an affiliated person of an investment adviser in his capacity as such if such person is solely an employee, other than an officer, of such investment adviser.

M-REIT

Mutual
Real Estate
Investment Trust

ESTABLISHED TO INVEST IN HOUSING OPEN TO ALL

51 East 42nd Street, Suite 211, New York, N.Y. 10017 • MU 7-6550 (212)

"We cannot keep our moral convictions in one pocket and our thoughts and actions about business and politics and social order and justice in another pocket quite apart. . . ."
Bishop Arthur Lichtenberger
Past Presiding Bishop
Episcopal Church, U.S.A.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES
WILLIAM W. BRILL, *CHAIRMAN*
PAUL T. O'KEEFE, *VICE CHAIRMAN*
THOMAS J. KLUTZNICK, *TREASURER*
NORMAN P. MASON
JOHN H. WHEELER

MORRIS MILGRAM, *MANAGER*
BERNARD W. LEARMAN, *DIRECTOR OF DEVELOPMENT*
DELSON & GORDON, *COUNSEL*

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
MORRIS B. ABRAM
ANDREW J. BELL, JR.
CHARLES BENTON
JOHN B. COLEMAN
NATHANIEL S. COLLEY
RANDOLPH P. COMPTON
ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE
JOHN S. deBEERS
SIDNEY B. DEXTER
EARL B. DICKERSON
MSGR. JOHN EGAN
M. R. EMRICH
MRS. HENRY EPSTEIN
IRVING JAY FAIN
JAMES FARMER
CONG. DONALD M. FRASER
HARVEY FURGATCH
RICHARD GLENN GETTELL
SETH M. GLICKENHAUS
JOHN GLUSTROM
PATRICK E. GORMAN
JACK GREENBERG
ROBERT K. GREENFIELD
DOROTHY I. HEIGHT
RALPH HELSTEIN
SOPHIA YARNALL JACOBS
BYRON L. JOHNSON
KIVIE KAPLAN
FRANK E. KARELSEN
PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK
ROBERT R. NATHAN
DANIEL M. PATTISON
JOHN de J. PEMBERTON, JR.
JACOB S. POTOFSKY
CHARLES A. ROBINSON
W. BYRON RUMFORD
RICHARD A. RUSSELL
HOWARD J. SAMUELS
LEON SHULL
FORTNEY H. STARK, JR.
JOHN S. STILLMAN
FRANK UNTERMYER
CHARLES F. VATTEROTT, JR.
JOSEPH VIERTEL
WILLIAM L. C. WHEATON
MRS. WALTER WHITE
ROY WILKINS
GAYRAUD S. WILMORE, JR.
WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.

Dear Friend:

We believe you are interested in helping to eliminate segregation in housing, and are sending you the Prospectus of the Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust which plans to invest in properties and open them to all without discrimination as to race, creed, color or national origin. Please read the Prospectus.

The Trust proposes to invest primarily in residential properties which it intends to integrate and, by its example, encourage other property owners to do likewise.

Our goal is to raise $4,000,000. You will be pleased to know that nearly $600,000 has already been paid in.

We look forward to your joining this group of dedicated investors by subscribing to as substantial a block of shares as your convictions and means permit.

If you wish to participate with us in this effort, please use the enclosed form to indicate the number of shares you wish to purchase at $20 per share. A reply envelope is enclosed for your convenience. Thank you.

Cordially,
Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust

by: Morris Milgram

MM/jh
Enclosures

P.S. Your early response will expedite our efforts to achieve integrated housing.

PLANNED COMMUNITIES, INC., Supervisory Management Agent, 51 East 42nd Street, Suite 211, New York, N.Y. 10017 • MU 7-6550 (212)

Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust is a business trust organized under a declaration of trust on file and available for inspection at the office of the Trust. Any agreement, obligation, paper, action or liability made, entered into or incurred by or on behalf of the Trust binds only the Trust's property and no Shareholder, Trustee, Officer or Agent of the Trust assumes or shall be held to any liability therefor.

Member National Association of Real Estate Investment Funds

FIRST CLASS
PERMIT NO. 35158
NEW YORK, N. Y.

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL
NO POSTAGE NECESSARY IF MAILED IN THE UNITED STATES

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY–

M-REIT

51 EAST 42nd STREET, SUITE 211

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

Attn: Morris Milgram

21

TO: M-REIT - Attn: Morris Milgram, Manager
Suite 211 - 51 E. 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. 10017

Thank you for the February 17th, 1966 final prospectus of the Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust which plans to invest in properties and open them to all without discrimination as to race, creed, color or national origin. I hereby subscribe for _____shares at $20 each and enclose my check for $_____ and will remit the balance due, if any, in 45 days.

Date_____Signed_____

_____
Print name or names in which stock is to be issued

Residence address_____

City_____State_____Zip Code_____

(Multiples of 10 shares, please)

PROSPECTUS

Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust

(A Business Trust organized in New York and Intending to Qualify as a "Real Estate Investment Trust" Under Sections 856-858 of the Internal Revenue Code)

200,000 Shares of Beneficial Interest
(Par Value $1)

SUPERVISORY MANAGEMENT AGENT:
PLANNED COMMUNITIES, INC.

The management, investment practices and policies of the Trust are not supervised or regulated by any Federal or state authority. There is no quoted market for the Trust's shares, and the offering price has been fixed arbitrarily by the Trustees. The Trust has not commenced operations. The Trust is not a bank or trust company, and does not and will not solicit, receive or accept money or its equivalent on deposit as a business.

These shares are offered on a best efforts basis by the Trustees. There is no assurance that any or all of the shares offered hereby will be sold. All persons and broker dealers who participate in the distribution of these Shares may be deemed to be "underwriters" as this term is defined in the Securities Act of 1933. There is no assurance that there will be a future market for shareholders who may wish to sell their securities.

THESE SECURITIES HAVE NOT BEEN APPROVED OR DISAPPROVED BY THE SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION, NOR HAS THE COMMISSION PASSED UPON THE ACCURACY OR ADEQUACY OF THIS PROSPECTUS. ANY REPRESENTATION TO THE CONTRARY IS A CRIMINAL OFFENSE.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK HAS NOT PASSED ON OR ENDORSED THE MERITS OF THIS OFFERING. ANY REPRESENTATION TO THE CONTRARY IS UNLAWFUL.

	Price to Public	Underwriting Discounts and Commissions	Proceeds to the Trust(1)
Per Share	$20.00	$0.00	$20.00
Total	$4,000,000	—	$4,000,000

(1) The proceeds to the Trust shown above are based upon the assumption that all of the Shares offered will be sold. This amount does not reflect $56,715.73 of preliminary sales and organizational expenses incurred up to September 30, 1965 nor does it reflect deduction of additional sales expenses of the Trust estimated at $304,000 and other expenses estimated at $86,000 anticipated in connection with the shares offered hereby.

The Shares are offered subject to prior sale and if, as and when issued by the Trust. The Trust reserves the right to reject any offer in whole or in part.

The date of this Prospectus is February 17, 1966

MUTUAL REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT TRUST

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust (the "Trust") is a business trust created in New York pursuant to a Declaration of Trust dated February 23, 1965. The Trust will have perpetual existence unless terminated by the Shareholders or the Trustees. The principal office of the Trust is located at New York, N. Y.

The Trust was organized through the efforts of Morris Milgram, who is President of Planned Communities, Inc., the Trust's Supervisory Management Agent. Planned Communities, Inc. and Milgram may each be deemed a "promoter" of the Trust as that term is defined under the Securities Act of 1933. See MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION for information with respect to the compensation to be paid to the Supervisory Management Agent (the "SMA").

The purpose of the Trust is to provide investors with an opportunity to own, through transferable shares, an interest in properties, primarily apartment developments, to be open to all people (see INVESTMENT POLICY). The interest of investors will be represented by certificates of beneficial interest (the "Shares") which are transferable in the same manner as shares of a corporation.

The Trustees intend to operate the Trust for the business purposes set forth in this Prospectus. The Trust was also formed to develop integrated housing because residential segregation, like school segregation, is socially unjust and contrary to the democratic tenet of full equality of opportunity for all. School segregation is, in part, caused by housing that is not open to all.

The Trustees and the Supervisory Management Agent have for many years been concerned with eliminating racial segregation in housing. Substantial amounts of their time and effort have been devoted to this end. The Trust intends to follow a policy of making occupancy in the property which it has the power to control available to all without regard to race, creed, color or national origin. Although the management of properties held by the Trust must be placed in the care of independent contractors as managing agents, the Trustees intend that the independent agents shall agree to pursue the foregoing policy of the Trust in the management of the Trust's properties.

Investors in the Trust will assume the usual risks of an enterprise which has not yet begun operations and which is seeking to promote a pattern of integrated housing, supported in principle through a growing number of state and local ordinances but of limited acceptance in practice. For these reasons, it is not possible to predict when the Trust's operations will be on a profitable basis, and there is no assurance that the Trust's business will ever be operated at a profit. It is conceivable that a property bought by the Trust might not be occupied by both whites and non-whites. The Trust's policy is to take all measures it deems reasonable and lawful to achieve integrated housing.

The Trust has no operating history and at present holds no property. The purpose of this offering is to raise money in addition to the amount already contributed to the Trust's capital for the purchase of real property or mortgages as more particularly described herein. There is no limitation on the time within which the Trustees must invest the proceeds of this offering. The future of the Trust is not predictable and will depend in part upon general economic conditions and the condition of the real estate market which is highly competitive. The investor is therefore placing great reliance upon the ability of the Trustees to invest advantageously the proceeds of this offering.

This offering is made on a "best efforts" basis. There is no assurance that any or all of the shares offered hereby will be sold. None of the Trustees has been engaged in the selling of securities. The investor should bear in mind that should this offering not be successful, the Trust would have limited capital available to it consisting of the capital already subscribed for its shares prior to the date of this offering (see SALE OF SHARES) and the capital received as a result of subscriptions to the shares offered hereby. In such event, the Trust cannot reasonably expect to achieve substantial diversification of its assets. The Trust must have at least 100 shareholders to qualify as a "real estate investment trust" under the Internal Revenue Code.

The Trust is designed to qualify as a "real estate investment trust" pursuant to §§ 856-858 of the Internal Revenue Code which provide that a qualifying real estate investment trust which distributes at least 90% of its ordinary income to shareholders will not be required to pay Federal income tax on such distributed income. Such a trust also is not taxed on distributed capital gains. Undistributed ordinary taxable income and capital gains are taxed to such a trust as a corporation.

The Trustees will have full responsibility for all investment decisions and for the conduct of the business of the Trust. The Trustees may change the investment policies of the Trust at any time without a vote of the shareholders. It is expected that each of the Trustees will devote only a small percentage of his time to Trust activities. The Trustees are not prohibited from engaging in other real estate activities nor is there any requirement that a Trustee first submit any real estate proposal to the Trust prior to engaging in such other activities.

The Trustees plan to issue the shares hereby offered for cash. They reserve the right, however, to issue shares in exchange for interests in real property if in the future such an opportunity deemed advantageous by them should arise.

Since the Trust will be engaged primarily in the business of investing in real estate interests and not in the securities of other companies, it will not be required to register as an investment company under the provisions of the Investment Company Act of 1940.

Pending the acquisition of suitable investments, the proceeds will be deposited first in a special trust account maintained at the American Trust Company, New York, N. Y. They may at any time thereafter be invested by the Trustees under the aforementioned Declaration of Trust. Interest-bearing obligations issued or guaranteed by the Federal government, the states of the United States, their political subdivisions and their respective instrumentalities or bank time deposits may be held as a means of providing liquid reserves for contingencies and future investment. (See INVESTMENT POLICY).

INVESTMENT POLICY

The primary investment objective of the Trust is to acquire (for investment and not for resale) fee or leasehold interests in income-producing real estate improved with apartment buildings and other residential properties. There is no limitation on the percentage of the Trust's assets which may be invested in real estate in general or any type of improved real property. Real estate investments in non-residential properties may also be made but are not contemplated. The Trustees anticipate that the Trust's initial investments will be made in the area extending from New England through the District of Columbia and its environs. The Trustees intend eventually to acquire interests in other parts of the United States.

Properties will be purchased primarily if the net income is or is expected to be favorable to the Trust. In making such a determination, some of the factors which will be given consideration are: gross rentals, operating expenses, fixed charges, physical condition and rental history of the properties; mortgageability at favorable interest rate and for a relatively long repayment period; prospects for appreciation in value, although it will not be the policy of the Trust to hold any property primarily for sale in the ordinary course of business or with a view to making short-term profits from the sale of such assets.

At least one of these factors must be present in the opinion of the Trustees before any real estate property will be purchased by the Trust. It should be noted that real estate meeting the Trust's requirements is desired by many investors and there is a great deal of competition for the acquisition of such desirable real estate. Availability of funds of the Trust and current investment opportunities will determine whether and to what extent the Trust will depart from its present intention as to the type and location of its investment properties.

The Declaration of Trust prohibits the investment of more than 5% of the Trust's assets in unimproved real property. The Trust will not acquire or convey any interest in any property in which any trustee, independent contractor, the SMA, adviser of the trust or employee for the trust also has an interest, directly or indirectly, although such person may learn of the availability of such interests and recommend action concerning same to the Trust.

The consideration paid for real property acquired by the Trust will ordinarily be not more than the fair market value of such real property as determined by a qualified, disinterested, independent appraiser. The Trust may invest in real property subject to one mortgage, trust deed or similar encumbrance and may encumber real property and interests therein held by it provided that the holder of such encumbrance is a bank, insurance company or other institutional lender. The total amount of encumbrances to which all of the Trust's real property shall be subject shall not be more than 66⅔% of the fair market value of said property as confirmed by a competent independent appraiser. However the encumbrance against any one interest may exceed this percentage. In this connection any appraisal of a particular property made for any purpose within 15 months of the date of such determination may be adopted as the fair market value of such property. The Trust may acquire its investments for cash, for shares of the Trust, partly for cash and subject to secured obligations, or in any other manner considered suitable and desirable by the Trustees.

The Trust presently owns no real estate interests. No specific plans of acquisition have been formulated. Neither the Trust nor the Supervisory Management Agent, nor any Trustee, officer or employee of the Trust or of the Supervisory Management Agent has any understanding or agreement with respect to the acquisition of any real estate interest.

The Trustees do not have any fixed policy regarding the method to be used to reflect the depreciation of any of the Trust's real estate interests.

Interests in first mortgages and first deeds of trust on real property improved with residential, commercial or industrial buildings may be acquired by the Trust although investment opportunities in fee interests in real property will be preferred. The maximum amount of any such mortgage may not exceed 66⅔% of fair market value of the mortgaged property (as determined by a competent independent appraiser). Any mortgages guaranteed or insured by the FHA or VA shall be deemed qualified investments without any other conditions. The Trust does not intend to originate, service or warehouse mortgages but it may create liens against properties owned by it. The Declaration of Trust does not limit the percentage of the assets of the Trust that may be invested in real estate mortgages as a class or in any single real estate mortgage.

The Trust intends to qualify as a real estate investment trust under the Internal Revenue Code at such time as it has invested a sufficient amount of the proceeds of this offering so as to comply with the various investment and income requirements as set forth below. It cannot be predicted when such qualification will occur.

In order to qualify as a real estate investment trust, the Trust must satisfy a number of conditions, one of which is the distribution to its Shareholders of at least 90% of its net income. The Trust may also, but it is not required to, distribute its capital gains to its Shareholders. The Shareholders will be taxed at their normal rates on the distributed net income, and will report and pay taxes on the distributed capital gains as such. A qualified Trust is taxed as a corporation on net income and capital gains which it does not distribute to its Shareholders. The Trust will not be entitled to carry-back or carry-over any net operating losses.

If in any taxable year, the Trust does not qualify as a real estate investment trust, it would be taxed as a corporation and distributions to its Shareholders would not be deductible by the Trust in computing its taxable income.

To qualify as a real estate investment trust for purposes of the Federal income tax laws, the Trust must meet the following requirements, among others:

CAPITALIZATION

The capitalization of the Trust as of September 30, 1965, and as adjusted to reflect the issuance of the shares offered hereby is as follows:

Title of Class	Amount Authorized or to be Authorized	Amount Outstanding as of September 30, 1965	Amount to be Outstanding if all Securities being Registered are Sold
Shares of beneficial interest ($1 par value)	Unlimited	$591,100	$4,591,100

FEDERAL INCOME TAX

The Trust intends to qualify as a real estate investment trust under the Internal Revenue Code at such time as it has invested a sufficient amount of the proceeds of this offering so as to comply with the various investment and income requirements as set forth below. It cannot be predicted when such qualification will occur.

In order to qualify as a real estate investment trust, the Trust must satisfy a number of conditions, one of which is the distribution to its Shareholders of at least 90% of its net income. The Trust may also, but it is not required to, distribute its capital gains to its Shareholders. The Shareholders will be taxed at their normal rates on the distributed net income, and will report and pay taxes on the distributed capital gains as such. A qualified Trust is taxed as a corporation on net income and capital gains which it does not distribute to its Shareholders. The Trust will not be entitled to carry-back or carry-over any net operating losses.

If in any taxable year, the Trust does not qualify as a real estate investment trust, it would be taxed as a corporation and distributions to its Shareholders would not be deductible by the Trust in computing its taxable income.

To qualify as a real estate investment trust for purposes of the Federal income tax laws, the Trust must meet the following requirements, among others:

(1) At least 75% of the assets of the Trust must consist of real estate assets (including interests in mortgages on real property), cash items (including receivables), government securities and shares in other qualified real estate investment trusts. The Trust may invest the remaining 25% of its assets in other securities, but in connection with such investments not more than 5% of the total of all assets of the Trust may be invested in the securities of any one issuer, nor may the Trust invest in more than 10% of the voting securities of any one issuer.

(2) At least 75% of the gross income of the Trust must be derived from real property rents, interest on obligations secured by mortgages on real property, refunds of real estate taxes, gains from the sale of real estate interests or mortgages on real property and dividends on, and gains from the sale of shares of, other qualified real estate investment trusts. An additional 15% of the gross income must be derived from these same sources or from dividends, interest or gains from the sale of stock or securities.

(3) Gross income from sales of stock or securities held for less than six months or of real property held less than four years must be less than 30% of the Trust's total gross income.

(4) Beneficial ownership of the Trust must be held by 100 or more persons during at least 335 days of a taxable year of 12 months, or during a proportionate part of a taxable year of less than 12 months.

The term "funds generated from operations," as used herein, means the taxable income generated from the ownership of real estate, adjusted by adding back depreciation or amortization of property and deducting regular principal payments on mortgages and recurring capital improvements or reserves therefor not included in the determination of net income. In periods in which depreciation taken on real estate exceeds regular principal payments on mortgages, funds generated from operations may exceed the taxable income of the Trust, in which event distributions in excess of the taxable income will not be taxable when received by shareholders (if all current and previous income has been distributed). Each shareholder will be required to reduce the tax basis of his shares by the amount of any such tax-deferred distributions. Upon any sale of shares, gain or loss will be computed for tax purposes using the reduced tax basis. Such distributions constitute a return of invested capital until the tax basis of the shares is reduced to zero, after which such distributions will be taxable as capital gains. For information as to the Trust's distribution policy, see DISTRIBUTIONS.

If in any taxable year the taxable income of the Trust, computed before any distributions, exceeds the funds generated from operations during the year and unless the Trust has sufficient cash from other sources to enable distributions to shareholders of at least 90% of its taxable income, the Trust would cease to qualify as a real estate investment trust and would be taxable as a corporation under the Internal Revenue Code. Changes have recently been made to the Federal income tax laws which provide that, with certain limitations, to the extent that gain realized upon the sale of real property is attributable to depreciation previously deducted in excess of the amount allowable under the straight-line methods, such gain will be treated as taxable income.

Distributions of taxable income will not be eligible for the $100 dividends exclusion for individuals, or for the 85% dividends received deduction for corporations. Shareholders may not include in their individual tax returns any losses of the Trust, whether ordinary or capital losses.

The foregoing, while summarizing some of the more significant provisions of the Internal Revenue Code which will govern the tax treatment of the Trust, is of necessity general in character. Reference should be made for details to the Code sections themselves and the Regulations issued thereunder.

DISTRIBUTIONS

The Trust intends to distribute to shareholders at least 90% of its ordinary taxable income for each taxable year. Such distributions will be declared and paid on a quarterly basis. In addition, the Trust expects to distribute every three months the balance of the funds generated from the operations of the Trust, as defined above, less a reserve for contingencies. Accordingly cash generated from operations and depreciation will not ordinarily be reinvested. However, this policy is subject to change by the Trust at any time if in the opinion of the Trustees additional cash is required for the purposes of the Trust. No representation is made or intended, therefore, that the Trust will necessarily have funds available for distribution, or as to the amount or rate of any distributions which the Trust may make, since these will be determined on the basis of general economic conditions, the cash position and needs of the Trust, and other relevant factors.

Capital gains may be distributed or may be reinvested or devoted to the improvement of existing properties. The Trust will be subject to a federal tax at the rate of 25% on its undistributed capital gains. Final determination whether to reinvest or distribute any such gains will depend, among other things, on the size of the gains, net income for the year, the amount of the accumulated surplus and investment opportunities at the time. Proceeds from the sale of assets (other than proceeds included in net capital gains) and proceeds from refinancing of mortgages and from the sale of Trust shares will generally be reinvested by the Trust. Distribution to shareholders will be accompanied by reports advising of the source of funds distributed.

MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

The Declaration of Trust provides that the Trustees shall have absolute and exclusive control over the management, conduct and business affairs of the Trust. They will be assisted by a Supervisory Management Agent (the SMA) and an Advisory Committee. If the Trust should acquire any real estate interests requiring a management agent, an independent management agent may be retained. The Trustees will make final decisions as to the acquisition and disposition of Trust assets, will manage the business of the Trust and will conduct its affairs.

Trustees

The Declaration of Trust provides that there shall be not less than three nor more than seven Trustees. The Trustees named herein shall hold office until the next annual meeting of the shareholders. All Trustees shall then and thereafter be elected at the annual meetings of the shareholders to serve for a term of one year. When vacancies occur, due to resignation or otherwise, the remaining Trustees may continue to exercise the powers of the Trustees and a majority of them may select a new Trustees to fill the vacancy.

Any Trustee may resign at any time and may be removed by the vote or written consent of the holders of a majority of the shares, at a special meeting for the purpose of removal or to ratify the recommendation of at least two-thirds of the Trustees that such Trustee be removed.

The Declaration of Trust provides that the Trust may be terminated by the vote or written consent of the holders of a majority of the outstanding shares.

The Trustees will not be individually liable for the debts of the Trust. Each is indemnified against any loss, expense, or liability arising out of or in connection with the affairs of the Trust unless such arose out of his acts which constitute willful misfeasance, bad faith, gross negligence, or reckless disregard of his duties.

The Trustees and officers of the Trust and their principal occupations for the past five years and other affiliations are as follows:

Name	Position	Principal Occupation
WILLIAM W. BRILL	Trustee; Chairman, Board of Trustees	Investment in and financing of New York residential and commercial real estate properties; a licensed New York real estate broker.
THOMAS J. KLUTZNICK	Trustee; Treasurer	Partner, Klutznick Enterprises, Chicago, Illinois (real estate investment and development); formerly (1961-1963) employed by Draper & Kramer, Chicago (real estate management).
NORMAN P. MASON	Trustee	Housing Consultant; 1959-1960, Administrator, Housing & Home Finance Agency; Chelmsford, Mass.
PAUL T. O'KEEFE	Trustee; Vice-Chairman, Board of Trustees	Chairman of the Board, Charles F. Noyes Co., Inc., (real estate); Board, United Housing Foundation; Board, Franklin Society Federal Savings and Loan Association; previously Deputy Mayor, City of New York, and Director, Real Estate Department, City of New York.
JOHN H. WHEELER	Trustee	President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina; Investment Committee, N. Carolina Life Ins. Co.; President, Southern Regional Council.
Eugene G. King	Secretary	Attorney, member of the firm of Delson & Gordon, counsel to the Trust.
Herman Blumenthal	Comptroller	Accountant.

Of the Trustees, Messrs. Brill and Mason were directors of the SMA until the formation of the Trust. Messrs. King and Blumenthal have rendered and may continue to render professional services to the SMA. It is expected that each of the Trustees will devote only a small percentage of his time to Trust activities. The Trustees are not prohibited from engaging in other real estate activities nor is there any requirement that a Trustee first submit any real estate proposal to the Trust prior to engaging in such other activities.

Each of the Trustees has agreed to accept as compensation for his services as Trustee the sum of $250 quarterly plus reimbursement of travelling expenses and other expenses incurred incidental to the performance of his duties as a Trustee. The aggregate annual amount of the Trust's expenses of every character exclusive of interest, taxes, maintenance and upkeep of trust assets, payments to independent contractors, compensation to the SMA and reasonable sales commissions in the disposition of properties may not exceed the greater of $5,000 or 1% of the average net assets of the Trust as defined hereafter calculated semiannually or at more frequent intervals.

Under the Declaration of Trust, every Trustee and every affiliate, officer or employee of the Trust is prohibited from borrowing any money from the Trust, or from selling to, or buying from the Trust

any interest in any property. These prohibitions are also contained in the contract with the SMA and apply to its officers and employees as well. They also apply to any organization with which any Trustee is affiliated as a director, officer or stockholder. These prohibitions do not apply to the members of the Advisory Committee. However the Trustees have no present intention of engaging in any such transactions with any member of the Advisory Committee.

The Declaration of Trust does not prohibit the Trustees, officers or agents of the Trust from acquiring or disposing of shares. Some of the Trustees, the SMA and Mr. Milgram have subscribed for shares of the Trust (see SALE OF SHARES).

Supervisory Management Agent

Planned Communities, Inc., Suite 211, 51 East 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. 10017 (hereafter "PC") has agreed to administer and manage the Trust properties as Supervisory Management Agent. Among the principal officers and directors of PC are the following persons whose main occupation for the past five years are as follows:

Name	Position	Principal Occupation
Morris Milgram	President and Director	Executive of real estate developing and investing organizations, specializing in racially-integrated housing.
Frank Montero	Chairman of the Board of Directors	Vice President, Frederick W. Richmond Foundation; formerly U. S. Mission to the United Nations; previously assistant director, National Urban League.
Max Delson	Secretary and Director	Attorney; partner in Delson & Gordon, Counsel to the Trust.
John S. Stillman	Treasurer and Director	Attorney; Deputy to Under-Secretary and Under-Secretary of Commerce, 1961-65.

Morris Milgram, is President and a director and stockholder of PC. The SMA has agreed as a part of the services to be rendered to the Trust to make Mr. Milgram available to the Trust as the Trust's Manager. Mr. Milgram is required by the Trust's agreement with the SMA to devote at least 50% of his time to Trust activities. Mr. Milgram will be compensated for his services as Manager by the SMA. Mr. Milgram has also been designated as a salesman of the Trust for the sale of the shares being offered hereby. His compensation and reimbursement for expenses incurred as a salesman will be paid directly by the Trust until his apopintment as a salesman is terminated by the Trust. Mr. Milgram is to receive a salary for his services and no compensation by way of commission or as a percentage of sales.

PC will perform the administrative functions necessary for the operation of the Trust, including acting as custodian of the securities and other intangibles, collection and disbursement of funds, maintenance of records, and similar functions. It will also provide suitable offices in its own premises for the Trust and all necessary clerical and statistical services. The Trust will, in addition to the fee to be paid, reimburse PC for its actual and direct costs of performing and providing these services and facilities subject to the limitation on the aggregate annual expenses of the Trust mentioned above. The initial term of the contract between the Trust and PC is two years, to commence upon notice by the Trust. It is intended that such notice will be given only after the Trust has begun operations. PC may not assign the contract, nor may it act in any capacity for any other real estate investment trust during the term of the contract and for a period of one year thereafter.

PC and its affiliates have been engaged in racially-integrated real estate investment and development since 1961. PC intends to continue to be active in that field in addition to rendering services to the Trust. However, PC may not acquire any real estate interest which the Trust could acquire without offering the interest to the Trust either prior to such acquisition or at the next meeting of the Trustees immediately following such acquisition, on the same terms as the interest is available to or has been acquired by PC. The SMA also will evaluate the desirability of acquisition, retention and disposition of the Trust assets and report these evaluations to the Trustees. The SMA will also furnish reports to the Trustees and provide research, economic and statistical data in connection with the Trust's investments and investment opportunities. The SMA may also submit investment proposals to the Trust although it will not be the exclusive source of such proposals. It is under no obligation to find properties for the Trust.

The SMA is to receive compensation at the annual rate of ½ of 1% of the net assets of the Trust, computed on a semi-annual basis. "Net assets" for the purposes of determining the compensation to be paid to the SMA and the limitation on the overall amount of expense mentioned above, in the case of real property will be calculated on the basis of cost (after deduction of mortgages and other liabilities pertaining to such properties) less depreciation or, in the judgment of the Trustees, fair market value of the net assets of the Trust, whichever is less.

The Declaration of Trust and the agreement with the SMA also prohibits the payment by the Trust or any person dealing with the Trust of any commission or other remuneration directly or indirectly to any Trustee or any affiliate, officer or employee of the Trust, the SMA or any officer or employee thereof or any managing agent of any of the Trust's real estate interests, in connection with the acquisition or disposition of any of the assets of the Trust. (In the event any such funds are received, they are to be transmitted to the Trust or credited against any obligation due to the recipient from the Trust.) However, any other independent contractor is not precluded from receiving brokerage commissions from any persons selling property to the Trust nor is any member of the Advisory Committee.

Management of Properties

The SMA is authorized by its agreement with the Trust to recommend to the Trustees managing agents of the Trust's properties which require management. Each agent so employed will be the lowest bidder after competitive bidding for such employment provided said bidder shall have sufficient experience, reliability and concern for open housing. Management agreements will generally be for a period of one year, subject to modification or termination in the event any management agreement violates the applicable income tax regulations in effect from time to time. (See FEDERAL INCOME TAX.) No trustee may be a managing agent for the Trust, nor may he be a stockholder, officer, director, partner or employee of any managing agent, nor may he have any interest in any managing agent. The SMA may if it otherwise qualifies be the independent contractor managing any or all of the real estate interests of the Trust, in which event it will be separately compensated for such services above the fee to be paid for its services as SMA but in no event will it be paid more than the standard commission rates prescribed by the Real Estate Board in the particular community in which the real property interest is located.

Advisory Committee

An Advisory Committee will assist the Trustees in selecting real estate investments suitable to implement the open-occupancy purpose of the Trust. The members of the Advisory Committee are not

expected to sell shares of the Trust. The present Advisory Committee, appointed by the Trustees, consists of the following individuals (affiliations are listed for purposes of identification only):

Morris B. Abram, Pres., American Jewish Committee, New York, N. Y.
Andrew J. Bell, Jr., Pres., Associates Limited, Providence, R. I.
John B. Coleman, Investment Banker, Chicago, Ill.
Randolph P. Compton, Vice-Pres. and Director, Kidder, Peabody & Co., Inc., New York.
Nathaniel S. Colley, Attorney, Sacramento, Calif.
Albert Sprague Coolidge, Physicist, Cambridge, Mass.
John S. de Beers, Economist, Inter-American Development Bank, Washington, D. C.
Sidney B. Dexter, Banker, Chairman, Civil Service Commission, Philadelphia, Pa.
Earl B. Dickerson, Pres., Supreme Life Ins. Co. of America, Chicago, Ill.
Msgr. John Egan, Director, Archdiocesan Office of Urban Affairs, Chicago, Ill.
M. R. Emrich, Pres., Yellow Cab, Inc., Denver, Colo.
Mrs. Henry Epstein, Labor Arbitrator, New York, N. Y.
Irving Jay Fain, Chairman, Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism, Providence, R. I.
James Farmer, Executive Director, CORE, New York, N. Y.
Congressman Donald M. Fraser, Chairman, Nat'l Comm. on Tithing in Investment, Minneapolis.
Harvey Furgatch, Real Estate Developer, San Diego, Calif.
Richard Glenn Gettell, President, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
Seth Glickenhaus, Member, New York Stock Exchange, New York, N. Y.
John Glustrom, Treasurer, Georgia Commission on Human Relations, Atlanta, Ga.
Patrick E. Gorman, International Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Chicago, Ill.
Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, New York, N. Y.
Robert K. Greenfield, Attorney, Philadelphia, Pa.
Dorothy Height, President, National Council of Negro Women, New York, N. Y.
Ralph Helstein, Pres., United Packinghouse Workers, AFL-CIO, Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Sophia Yarnall Jacobs, Hon. Pres., Nat'l Council of Women of U. S., New York, N. Y.
Byron L. Johnson, Prof. of Economics, U. of Colorado, Denver
Kivie Kaplan, Chairman, NAACP Life Membership Committee, Boston, Mass.
Frank E. Karelsen, Attorney, New York, N. Y.
Philip M. Klutznick, Real Estate Developer, Chicago, Ill.
Robert R. Nathan, Consulting Economist, Washington, D. C.
Daniel A. Pattison, Treas., Commission on Ecumenical Mission, Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.
John deJ. Pemberton, Jr., Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union, New York, N. Y.
Jacob S. Potofsky, President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, New York, N. Y.
Charles A. Robinson, Vice President, Delaware Trust Company, Wilmington, Del.
W. Byron Rumford, Assemblyman, Berkeley, California.
Richard Russell, Businessman, West Hartford, Conn.

Howard J. Samuels, Vice-Pres., Socony-Mobil, Chemical Division; Chairman, Advisory Council, New York State Democratic Party, Canandaigua, N. Y.

Leon Shull, Nat'l Director, Americans for Democratic Action, Washington, D. C.

Fortney H. Stark, Jr., Banker, Calif.; Board Chmn., Starr-King School for Ministry.

John S. Stillman, Attorney, Chmn., American Veterans Committee,, New York, N. Y.

Frank Untermyer, Professor, Roosevelt University, Chicago, Ill.

Charles F. Vatterott, Jr., Builder, St. Louis, Mo.

Joseph Viertel, Author, Stamford, Conn.

William L. C. Wheaton, Director, Institute of Urban & Regional Development, University of California at Berkeley.

Mrs. Walter White, Writer, New York, N. Y.

Roy Wilkins, Executive Director, NAACP, New York, N. Y.

Rev. Gayraud S. Wilmore, Jr., Executive Director, Commission on Religion and Race, United Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., New York.

Whitney Young, Executive Director, National Urban League, New York, N. Y.

The Committee has no powers of any kind with respect to the management and operation of the Trust, and its decisions or recommendations shall not bind the Trustees, but are purely advisory. The members of the Committee are not bound by any contract with the Trust and may terminate their advisory positions at any time. The Trustees may provide for compensation to be paid to the members of the Advisory Committee; however they have no present intention to provide such compensation.

DESCRIPTION OF SHARES

Each share has equal voting, distribution, liquidation and other rights. Upon issuance, the shares offered hereby will be fully paid and nonassessable. The shareholders have the right to vote on a cumulative basis for the election of the Trustees at annual or special meetings of the shareholders. Cumulative voting means that a shareholder may cast the number of votes which is the product of the number of shares held by him times the number of Trustees to be elected, and that he may cast the total number votes for one Trustee or he may divide his vote between two or more nominees. The shares have no conversion rights and have no preemptive or other rights to subscribe to additional shares except that any transferable options, warrants or other rights to buy additional shares of the Trust shall be offered to the shareholders ratably.

No later than 60 days after the end of the Trust's fiscal year, the Trust is required to furnish shareholders with annual statements, which shall include a detailed report of the activities of the Trust during the fiscal year covered by the report and financial statements, including a balance sheet, profit and loss statement and analysis of surplus. The financial statements in the annual report will be audited and certified by independent public accountants. In addition, the Trust shall furnish interim reports, at least quarterly, containing a balance sheet (which may be unaudited) and other pertinent information regarding the Trust and its activities during the reporting period.

The Trust may be terminated by the holders of a majority of the outstanding shares. No change may be made in the Declaration of Trust without the vote of a majority of the outstanding shares. The Trust may repurchase shares of the Trust offered to it if the Trustees so desire. In addition,

the Trust has reserved the rights to prohibit transfers of shares and to compel redemption of shares of the Trust if the transfer or continued holding of such shares would or might jeopardize the Trust's status as a tax conduit.

The Declaration of Trust, which is to be recorded in all jurisdictions where the Trust owns real property, provides that the Trustees shall have no power to bind the shareholders personally and that all persons shall look solely to the Trust property for satisfaction of claims of any nature arising in connection with the affairs of the Trust. The Declaration of Trust requires that the substance of this provision be stated in all written contracts and agreements made by or on behalf of the Trust. In the opinion of counsel for the Trust, in respect to tort claims or contract claims where shareholder liability is not expressly negated and in respect to claims for taxes and certain statutory liabilities, the shareholders may in some jurisdictions be held personally liable to the extent that such claims are not satisfied by the Trust. The Trustees expect to avoid acquiring any interests in such jurisdictions. The Declaration of Trust provides that in any such contingency, however, the shareholders shall be entitled to indemnity and to reimbursement from the general assets of the Trust to the extent of any such claim or liability. The Trust proposes to maintain insurance in an amount deemed adequate by the Trustees to cover foreseeable tort claims.

In the opinion of Delson & Gordon, counsel for the Trust, the contemplated method of operation complies with the requirements of the Internal Revenue Code for qualification as a real estate investment trust.

Subsequent to the issuance of shares offered hereby, the Transfer Agent of the Trust's shares will be American Trust Company, New York, N. Y. Planned Communities, Inc. will serve as Transfer Agent for the Trust in relation to the issuance of the shares offered hereby at no additional compensation except reimbursement of expenses (see MANAGEMENT).

SALE OF SHARES

Shares of the Trust offered by this Prospectus are offered on a best efforts basis, at the public offering price of $20 per share, through the Trustees, salesmen appointed by the Trust (including Morris Milgram) and through qualified dealers selected by the Trust.

The SMA has expended $56,715.73 of preliminary sales and organizational expenses incurred up to September 30, 1965 on behalf of the Trust. The amount advanced includes the cost of printing, postage, travel and salaries paid or payable to the SMA's personnel engaged in work for the Trust. Pursuant to its contract with the Trust (see MANAGEMENT), it is entitled to reimbursement of all amounts so advanced. The Trust estimates that the sale of the shares offered hereby will require the expenditure of an additional $304,000. Of this amount, approximately $74,650 is expected to be paid to salesmen appointed by the Trust and to pay the costs of maintaining Regional Offices throughout the country to promote the sale of these shares. As a part of the estimated total sales expense, the Trust expects to expend about $155,000 for the cost of mailing the Prospectus and the offering literature to persons who may be interested in purchasing shares of the Trust. Morris Milgram is expected to be paid approximately $13,000 for his services as a salesman of the Trust for the nine months ending June 30, 1966. The Trust may pay commissions to dealers but does not expect that the total amount paid will be a significant portion of the sales expense.

Persons who desire to purchase shares of the Trust for cash may make payment as follows: 10% of the purchase price of $20 per share at the time of subscription and the balance within 45 days of the date their subscription is accepted by the Trust. Certificates for shares subscribed for will not be delivered until the shares are paid for in full. If any subscriber shall be unable, or shall fail or

refuse to pay the balance of the purchase price within the prescribed period, the Trustees may declare the shares subscribed for and all previous payments thereon forfeited after the expiration of 30 days after the expiration of 45 days from the date of acceptance of the subscription.

As of September 30, 1965, a total of twenty-two persons have subscribed for a total of $591,100 worth of the shares of beneficial interest of the Trust. Of the trustees, Messrs. Brill Wheeler and Klutznick own of record or beneficially, 500, 50 and 1,250 shares of beneficial interest, respectively. The Trust's Supervisory Management Agent, Planned Communities, Inc., has subscribed for 1,250 shares. Morris Milgram, the Trust's Manager and President of Planned Communities, Inc., has purchased 500 shares. Members of the Advisory Committee have subscribed for 10,620 shares of record or as beneficial owners. All of the other purchasers of shares are individuals who have previously had dealings with the SMA, or are directors of the SMA.

All of the shares were purchased directly from the Trust prior to and not as a part of the offering of shares made by this Prospectus. The subscription price paid for all of such shares was $20.00 per share, the same price as the shares offered hereby. Of the amounts paid for such shares approximately $268,000 was paid in the form of delivery to the Trust of negotiable securities. All securities received are listed in the New York Stock Exchange except for certain securities valued at approximately $35,000 which are traded in the over-the-counter market. Shares of the Trust, at $20 per share, equal to the market value of the securities on the date of delivery will be issued to each of the persons paying the subscription price in the manner described. (See FINANCIAL INFORMATION for data regarding the securities delivered and the valuation thereof.)

In connection with such securities, it should be noted that the Trust may not qualify as a conduit for tax purposes if it holds securities having a value in excess of 25% of its total assets. Further, the Trustees anticipate that the securities accepted in exchange for Trust shares will be sold in order to provide cash to the Trust so that it may acquire real estate interests. Should these securities be sold for any reason, substantial capital gains may be realized which will be taxable to the Trust since some of the securities exchanged for Trust shares have market values considerably above the tax basis. To the extent that such securities are sold at a gain, the Trust may be liable for the payment of Federal income tax on this gain.

LEGAL OPINIONS

Legal matters in connection with this offering will be passed upon for the Trust by Delson & Gordon, 120 East 41st Street, New York, N. Y. 10017.

REPORT OF INDEPENDENT CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

The Trustees
Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust

We have examined the Balance Sheet of MUTUAL REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT TRUST as at September 30, 1965. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion, the accompanying Balance Sheet, together with the notes relating thereto, present fairly the financial position of MUTUAL REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT TRUST as at September 30, 1965 in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

New York, N. Y.
November 29, 1965

/s/ FIELDS, FISCHGRUND AND AERENSON

MUTUAL REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT TRUST

BALANCE SHEET
As at September 30, 1965

ASSETS

Cash	$ 19,894.45
United States Treasury bills — at cost plus accrued interest	261,267.90
Marketable securities — at cost (market value — $175,225.00) — Note 1	161,871.87
Subscriptions receivable — Note 2	134,503.13
Accrued dividend receivable	140.00
	$577,677.35

LIABILITIES AND SHAREHOLDERS' EQUITY

Liabilities			
Unpaid selling and other expenses relating to issuance of shares			$ 41,678.91
Oversubscriptions payable — Note 1			275.00
Total Liabilities			$ 41,953.91
Shareholders' Equity			
Shares of beneficial interest — par value $1.00 per share — Note 2:			
Authorized — unlimited			
Issued and outstanding — None			
Subscribed — 29,555 shares		$ 29,555.00	
Capital in excess of par value — representing excess of subscription price of $20.00 per share for 29,555 shares over par value	$561,545.00		
Less: Selling and other expenses relating to issuance of shares — net (Note 3)	55,376.56	506,168.44	535,723.44
			$577,677.35

Note 1 — Shares of the Trust have been offered to investors in exchange for marketable securities. The Trust has been advised by tax counsel that such exchanges are tax free to the subscribers. Counsel has further advised that the tax basis for determining gain or loss to the Trust on the subsequent sale of securities so accepted will be the same as the tax basis to the subscribers. The Trust may therefore realize taxable capital gain on sale of these securities to the extent that their tax basis is less than the fair market value at which they were accepted by the Trust.

Securities with a market value of $161,871.87 and a tax basis of $16,171.56 on date of acceptance by the Trust were received to September 30, 1965 in payment for subscriptions of $161,596.87; the excess of $275.00 is reflected as a liability.

From October 1, 1965 to November 1, 1965 additional securities with a market value of $106,171.62 and a tax basis of $6,203.33 were received in partial payment of the subscriptions receivable at September 30, 1965.

Note 2 — Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust was organized under the laws of the State of New York, pursuant to a Declaration of Trust dated February 23, 1965, with unlimited authorized shares of beneficial interest having a par value of $1.00 per share. As at September 30, 1965, the Trust had received subscriptions to 29,555 shares of beneficial interest at $20.00 per share totalling $591,100; of this amount, $456,596.87 was received in securities and cash, leaving a balance of subscriptions receivable in the amount of $134,503.13. From October 1, 1965 to November 1, 1965, additional payments of $106,721 in securities and cash were received from subscribers leaving a balance of subscriptions receivable as at November 1, 1965 of $27,782.13.

Note 3 — All selling and other expenses relating to issuance of shares, in excess of dividends and interest income in the aggregate amount of $1,339.17, have been charged to capital in excess of par value.

No dealer, salesman or other person has been authorized to give any information or to make any representation not contained in this Prospectus and, if given or made, any such information or representation must not be relied upon as having been authorized by the Trust. This Prospectus does not constitute an offering or a solicitation in any jurisdiction to any person to whom it is unlawful to make such offer or solicitation in such jurisdiction.

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The Trust has filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission a registration statement under the Securities Act of 1933 with respect to the Securities being offered pursuant to this Prospectus. This Prospectus omits certain information contained in such registration statement. For further information reference is made to the registration statement and to the exhibits and financial statements filed therewith, which may be examined at the Office of the Commission in Washington, D. C. without charge or copies of which may be obtained from the Commission upon payment of the prescribed fees. Statements contained in this Prospectus as to the contents of any contract or other document referred to are not necessarily complete, and, where such contract or other document is an exhibit to the registration statement, each such statement is qualified in all respects by the provisions of the exhibit, to which reference is hereby made for a full statement of the provisions thereof.

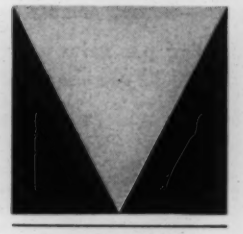
Until ninety days from the date of this Prospectus, all dealers effecting transactions in the registered securities, whether or not participating in this distribution, may be required to deliver a Prospectus.

200,000 Shares of Beneficial Interest

MUTUAL REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT TRUST

51 EAST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

M-REIT



Mutual
Real Estate
Investment Trust

PROSPECTUS

Dated February 17, 1966

Planned Communities, Inc.
Supervisory Management Agent

Printed in U.S.A.

Erratum: M-REIT PROSPECTUS. In place of the first four paragraphs on page 5, which were printed in error, the following four paragraphs should be substituted:

The Trust may also make long-term investments in securities of, or interests in, persons engaged in real estate activities but does not intend to trade in such securities to earn short-term profits. The Trust may invest up to 25% of its assets in corporate securities and still qualify for conduit tax treatment (see FEDERAL INCOME TAX). However, the Trust will not hold securities of any person or persons holding investments or engaging in activities otherwise prohibited to the Trust.

The Trust will not underwrite or distribute securities of other issuers, invest in commodities, engage in any short sale, or issue warrants, options or similar evidence of a right to buy its securities other than to all shareholders ratably. The Trust will not make loans (other than loans secured by first mortgages) or issue equity securities of more than one class. The Trust may not borrow funds without security in excess of 2% of the then net assets of the Trust.

The Trustees may change the investment policy of the Trust without a vote of the shareholders. However, it is intended that the Trust's policy will conform with the requirements of the Internal Revenue Code (see FEDERAL INCOME TAX) to qualify as a real estate investment trust.

The Declaration of Trust authorizes the Trustees, without shareholder consent, to merge or consolidate the Trust with or into any other trust or corporation engaged or to be engaged in business activities substantially similar to those engaged in by the Trust.

M-REIT

Mutual
Real Estate
Investment Trust

This letter is not an offer to sell or a solicitation of an offer to buy these securities. The offer is made only by the prospectus.

ESTABLISHED TO INVEST IN HOUSING OPEN TO ALL

51 East 42nd Street, Suite 211, New York, N.Y. 10017 • MU 7-6550 (212)

file

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

WILLIAM W. BRILL, *CHAIRMAN*
PAUL T. O'KEEFE, *VICE CHAIRMAN*
THOMAS J. KLUTZNICK, *TREASURER*
NORMAN P. MASON
JOHN H. WHEELER

MORRIS MILGRAM, *MANAGER*
BERNARD W. LEARMAN, *DIRECTOR OF DEVELOPMENT*
DELSON & GORDON, *COUNSEL*

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

MORRIS B. ABRAM
MATHEW H. AHMANN
ANDREW J. BELL, JR.
CHARLES BENTON
JOHN B. COLEMAN
NATHANIEL S. COLLEY
RANDOLPH P. COMPTON
ALBERT SPRAGUE COOLIDGE
JOHN S. deBEERS
SIDNEY B. DEXTER
EARL B. DICKERSON
MSGR. JOHN EGAN
M. R. EMRICH
IRVING JAY FAIN
JAMES FARMER
CONG. DONALD M. FRASER
HARVEY FURGATCH
RICHARD GLENN GETTELL
STANLEY GEWIRTZ
SETH M. GLICKENHAUS
JOHN GLUSTROM
PATRICK E. GORMAN
JACK GREENBERG
ROBERT K. GREENFIELD
DOROTHY I. HEIGHT
RALPH HELSTEIN
DR. H. CLAUDE HUDSON
DR. HOMER A. JACK
SOPHIA YARNALL JACOBS
BYRON L. JOHNSON
KIVIE KAPLAN
FRANK E. KARELSEN
PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK
ROBERT R. NATHAN
DANIEL M. PATTISON
JOHN de J. PEMBERTON, JR.
JACOB S. POTOFSKY
CHARLES A. ROBINSON
W. BYRON RUMFORD
RICHARD A. RUSSELL
HOWARD J. SAMUELS
LEON SHULL
MRS. GUS J. SOLOMON
FORTNEY H. STARK, JR.
JOHN S. STILLMAN
FRANK UNTERMYER
CHARLES F. VATTEROTT, JR.
JOSEPH VIERTEL
WILLIAM L. C. WHEATON
MRS. WALTER WHITE
ROY WILKINS
GAYRAUD S. WILMORE, JR.
WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.

Dear Friend:

Enclosed please find the prospectus of the Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust, (M-REIT - say M-right) which buys apartment houses and opens them to all without regard to race, creed, color or national origin. Do read the prospectus.

A subscription form and a reply envelope are enclosed to facilitate your response.

Cordially,
Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust

Morris Milgram

MM/prl
Enclosures

by: Morris Milgram, Manager

P.S. You will be glad to know that shares totaling nearly $1,500,000 have been subscribed to date.

PLANNED COMMUNITIES, INC., Supervisory Management Agent, 51 East 42nd Street, Suite 211, New York, N.Y. 10017 • MU 7-6550 (212)

Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust is a business trust organized under a declaration of trust on file and available for inspection at the office of the Trust. Any agreement, obligation, paper, action or liability made, entered into or incurred by or on behalf of the Trust binds only the Trust's property and no Shareholder, Trustee, Officer or Agent of the Trust assumes or shall be held to any liability therefor.

Member National Association of Real Estate Investment Funds

Please note:

M-REIT has purchased its first two buildings. Together they comprise 162 units and are valued at over $1,600,000. Both are located in areas closed by discriminatory practices to Negroes and other minority groups. The Trustees are now seeking buildings in Chicago and other major metropolitan areas which represent good investments and fulfill our Trust's social purpose. There is an urgent need for M-REIT to buy buildings, but we can do so only as capital will allow. Your participation now and that of religious or other institutions with which you are affiliated, will help do this and further M-REIT's growth as an investment.

M. M.

M-REIT

51 EAST 42nd STREET, SUITE 211

NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

Attn: Morris Milgram

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TO: M-REIT - Attn: Morris Milgram, Manager
Suite 211 - 51 E. 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. 10017

Thank you for the February 17th, 1966 final prospectus of the Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust which plans to invest in properties and open them to all without discrimination as to race, creed, color or national origin. I hereby subscribe for _____shares at $20 each and enclose my check for $_____ and will remit the balance due, if any, in 45 days.

Date_____Signed_____

_____
Print name or names in which stock is to be issued

Residence address_____

City_____State_____Zip Code_____

(Multiples of 10 shares, please)

PROSPECTUS

Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust

(A Business Trust organized in New York and Intending to Qualify as a "Real Estate Investment Trust" Under Sections 856-858 of the Internal Revenue Code)

200,000 Shares of Beneficial Interest
(Par Value $1)

SUPERVISORY MANAGEMENT AGENT: PLANNED COMMUNITIES, INC.

The management, investment practices and policies of the Trust are not supervised or regulated by any Federal or state authority. There is no quoted market for the Trust's shares, and the offering price has been fixed arbitrarily by the Trustees. The Trust has not commenced operations. The Trust is not a bank or trust company, and does not and will not solicit, receive or accept money or its equivalent on deposit as a business.

These shares are offered on a best efforts basis by the Trustees. There is no assurance that any or all of the shares offered hereby will be sold. All persons and broker dealers who participate in the distribution of these Shares may be deemed to be "underwriters" as this term is defined in the Securities Act of 1933. There is no assurance that there will be a future market for shareholders who may wish to sell their securities.

THESE SECURITIES HAVE NOT BEEN APPROVED OR DISAPPROVED BY THE SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION, NOR HAS THE COMMISSION PASSED UPON THE ACCURACY OR ADEQUACY OF THIS PROSPECTUS. ANY REPRESENTATION TO THE CONTRARY IS A CRIMINAL OFFENSE.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK HAS NOT PASSED ON OR ENDORSED THE MERITS OF THIS OFFERING. ANY REPRESENTATION TO THE CONTRARY IS UNLAWFUL.

	Price to Public	Underwriting Discounts and Commissions	Proceeds to the Trust(1)
Per Share	$20.00	$0.00	$20.00
Total	$4,000,000	—	$4,000,000

(1) The proceeds to the Trust shown above are based upon the assumption that all of the Shares offered will be sold. This amount does not reflect $56,715.73 of preliminary sales and organizational expenses incurred up to September 30, 1965 nor does it reflect deduction of additional sales expenses of the Trust estimated at $304,000 and other expenses estimated at $86,000 anticipated in connection with the shares offered hereby.

The Shares are offered subject to prior sale and if, as and when issued by the Trust. The Trust reserves the right to reject any offer in whole or in part.

The date of this Prospectus is February 17, 1966

MUTUAL REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT TRUST

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust (the "Trust") is a business trust created in New York pursuant to a Declaration of Trust dated February 23, 1965. The Trust will have perpetual existence unless terminated by the Shareholders or the Trustees. The principal office of the Trust is located at New York, N. Y.

The Trust was organized through the efforts of Morris Milgram, who is President of Planned Communities, Inc., the Trust's Supervisory Management Agent. Planned Communities, Inc. and Milgram may each be deemed a "promoter" of the Trust as that term is defined under the Securities Act of 1933. See MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION for information with respect to the compensation to be paid to the Supervisory Management Agent (the "SMA").

The purpose of the Trust is to provide investors with an opportunity to own, through transferable shares, an interest in properties, primarily apartment developments, to be open to all people (see INVESTMENT POLICY). The interest of investors will be represented by certificates of beneficial interest (the "Shares") which are transferable in the same manner as shares of a corporation.

The Trustees intend to operate the Trust for the business purposes set forth in this Prospectus. The Trust was also formed to develop integrated housing because residential segregation, like school segregation, is socially unjust and contrary to the democratic tenet of full equality of opportunity for all. School segregation is, in part, caused by housing that is not open to all.

The Trustees and the Supervisory Management Agent have for many years been concerned with eliminating racial segregation in housing. Substantial amounts of their time and effort have been devoted to this end. The Trust intends to follow a policy of making occupancy in the property which it has the power to control available to all without regard to race, creed, color or national origin. Although the management of properties held by the Trust must be placed in the care of independent contractors as managing agents, the Trustees intend that the independent agents shall agree to pursue the foregoing policy of the Trust in the management of the Trust's properties.

Investors in the Trust will assume the usual risks of an enterprise which has not yet begun operations and which is seeking to promote a pattern of integrated housing, supported in principle through a growing number of state and local ordinances but of limited acceptance in practice. For these reasons, it is not possible to predict when the Trust's operations will be on a profitable basis, and there is no assurance that the Trust's business will ever be operated at a profit. It is conceivable that a property bought by the Trust might not be occupied by both whites and non-whites. The Trust's policy is to take all measures it deems reasonable and lawful to achieve integrated housing.

The Trust has no operating history and at present holds no property. The purpose of this offering is to raise money in addition to the amount already contributed to the Trust's capital for the purchase of real property or mortgages as more particularly described herein. There is no limitation on the time within which the Trustees must invest the proceeds of this offering. The future of the Trust is not predictable and will depend in part upon general economic conditions and the condition of the real estate market which is highly competitive. The investor is therefore placing great reliance upon the ability of the Trustees to invest advantageously the proceeds of this offering.

This offering is made on a "best efforts" basis. There is no assurance that any or all of the shares offered hereby will be sold. None of the Trustees has been engaged in the selling of securities. The investor should bear in mind that should this offering not be successful, the Trust would have limited capital available to it consisting of the capital already subscribed for its shares prior to the date of this offering (see SALE OF SHARES) and the capital received as a result of subscriptions to the shares offered hereby. In such event, the Trust cannot reasonably expect to achieve substantial diversification of its assets. The Trust must have at least 100 shareholders to qualify as a "real estate investment trust" under the Internal Revenue Code.

The Trust is designed to qualify as a "real estate investment trust" pursuant to §§ 856-858 of the Internal Revenue Code which provide that a qualifying real estate investment trust which distributes at least 90% of its ordinary income to shareholders will not be required to pay Federal income tax on such distributed income. Such a trust also is not taxed on distributed capital gains. Undistributed ordinary taxable income and capital gains are taxed to such a trust as a corporation.

The Trustees will have full responsibility for all investment decisions and for the conduct of the business of the Trust. The Trustees may change the investment policies of the Trust at any time without a vote of the shareholders. It is expected that each of the Trustees will devote only a small percentage of his time to Trust activities. The Trustees are not prohibited from engaging in other real estate activities nor is there any requirement that a Trustee first submit any real estate proposal to the Trust prior to engaging in such other activities.

The Trustees plan to issue the shares hereby offered for cash. They reserve the right, however, to issue shares in exchange for interests in real property if in the future such an opportunity deemed advantageous by them should arise.

Since the Trust will be engaged primarily in the business of investing in real estate interests and not in the securities of other companies, it will not be required to register as an investment company under the provisions of the Investment Company Act of 1940.

Pending the acquisition of suitable investments, the proceeds will be deposited first in a special trust account maintained at the American Trust Company, New York, N. Y. They may at any time thereafter be invested by the Trustees under the aforementioned Declaration of Trust. Interest-bearing obligations issued or guaranteed by the Federal government, the states of the United States, their political subdivisions and their respective instrumentalities or bank time deposits may be held as a means of providing liquid reserves for contingencies and future investment. (See INVESTMENT POLICY).

INVESTMENT POLICY

The primary investment objective of the Trust is to acquire (for investment and not for resale) fee or leasehold interests in income-producing real estate improved with apartment buildings and other residential properties. There is no limitation on the percentage of the Trust's assets which may be invested in real estate in general or any type of improved real property. Real estate investments in non-residential properties may also be made but are not contemplated. The Trustees anticipate that the Trust's initial investments will be made in the area extending from New England through the District of Columbia and its environs. The Trustees intend eventually to acquire interests in other parts of the United States.

Properties will be purchased primarily if the net income is or is expected to be favorable to the Trust. In making such a determination, some of the factors which will be given consideration are: gross rentals, operating expenses, fixed charges, physical condition and rental history of the properties; mortgageability at favorable interest rate and for a relatively long repayment period; prospects for appreciation in value, although it will not be the policy of the Trust to hold any property primarily for sale in the ordinary course of business or with a view to making short-term profits from the sale of such assets.

At least one of these factors must be present in the opinion of the Trustees before any real estate property will be purchased by the Trust. It should be noted that real estate meeting the Trust's requirements is desired by many investors and there is a great deal of competition for the acquisition of such desirable real estate. Availability of funds of the Trust and current investment opportunities will determine whether and to what extent the Trust will depart from its present intention as to the type and location of its investment properties.

The Declaration of Trust prohibits the investment of more than 5% of the Trust's assets in unimproved real property. The Trust will not acquire or convey any interest in any property in which any trustee, independent contractor, the SMA, adviser of the trust or employee for the trust also has an interest, directly or indirectly, although such person may learn of the availability of such interests and recommend action concerning same to the Trust.

The consideration paid for real property acquired by the Trust will ordinarily be not more than the fair market value of such real property as determined by a qualified, disinterested, independent appraiser. The Trust may invest in real property subject to one mortgage, trust deed or similar encumbrance and may encumber real property and interests therein held by it provided that the holder of such encumbrance is a bank, insurance company or other institutional lender. The total amount of encumbrances to which all of the Trust's real property shall be subject shall not be more than 66⅔% of the fair market value of said property as confirmed by a competent independent appraiser. However the encumbrance against any one interest may exceed this percentage. In this connection any appraisal of a particular property made for any purpose within 15 months of the date of such determination may be adopted as the fair market value of such property. The Trust may acquire its investments for cash, for shares of the Trust, partly for cash and subject to secured obligations, or in any other manner considered suitable and desirable by the Trustees.

The Trust presently owns no real estate interests. No specific plans of acquisition have been formulated. Neither the Trust nor the Supervisory Management Agent, nor any Trustee, officer or employee of the Trust or of the Supervisory Management Agent has any understanding or agreement with respect to the acquisition of any real estate interest.

The Trustees do not have any fixed policy regarding the method to be used to reflect the depreciation of any of the Trust's real estate interests.

Interests in first mortgages and first deeds of trust on real property improved with residential, commercial or industrial buildings may be acquired by the Trust although investment opportunities in fee interests in real property will be preferred. The maximum amount of any such mortgage may not exceed 66⅔% of fair market value of the mortgaged property (as determined by a competent independent appraiser). Any mortgages guaranteed or insured by the FHA or VA shall be deemed qualified investments without any other conditions. The Trust does not intend to originate, service or warehouse mortgages but it may create liens against properties owned by it. The Declaration of Trust does not limit the percentage of the assets of the Trust that may be invested in real estate mortgages as a class or in any single real estate mortgage.

The Trust may also make long-term investments in securities of, or interests in, persons engaged in real estate activities but does not intend to trade in such securities to earn short-term profits. The Trust may invest up to 25% of its assets in corporate securities and still qualify for conduit tax treatment (see FEDERAL INCOME TAX). However, the Trust will not hold securities of any person or persons holding investments or engaging in activities otherwise prohibited to the Trust.

The Trust will not underwrite or distribute securities of other issuers, invest in commodities, engage in any short sale, or issue warrants, options or similar evidence of a right to buy its securities other than to all shareholders ratably. The Trust will not make loans (other than loans secured by first mortgages) or issue equity securities of more than one class. The Trust may not borrow funds without security in excess of 2% of the then net assets of the Trust.

The Trustees may change the investment policy of the Trust without a vote of the shareholders. However, it is intended that the Trust's policy will conform with the requirements of the Internal Revenue Code (see FEDERAL INCOME TAX) to qualify as a real estate investment trust.

The Declaration of Trust authorizes the Trustees, without shareholder consent, to merge or consolidate the Trust with or into any other trust or corporation engaged or to be engaged in business activities substantially similar to those engaged in by the Trust.

CAPITALIZATION

The capitalization of the Trust as of September 30, 1965, and as adjusted to reflect the issuance of the shares offered hereby is as follows:

Title of Class	Amount Authorized or to be Authorized	Amount Outstanding as of September 30, 1965	Amount to be Outstanding if all Securities being Registered are Sold
Shares of beneficial interest ($1 par value)	Unlimited	$591,100	$4,591,100

FEDERAL INCOME TAX

The Trust intends to qualify as a real estate investment trust under the Internal Revenue Code at such time as it has invested a sufficient amount of the proceeds of this offering so as to comply with the various investment and income requirements as set forth below. It cannot be predicted when such qualification will occur.

In order to qualify as a real estate investment trust, the Trust must satisfy a number of conditions, one of which is the distribution to its Shareholders of at least 90% of its net income. The Trust may also, but it is not required to, distribute its capital gains to its Shareholders. The Shareholders will be taxed at their normal rates on the distributed net income, and will report and pay taxes on the distributed capital gains as such. A qualified Trust is taxed as a corporation on net income and capital gains which it does not distribute to its Shareholders. The Trust will not be entitled to carry-back or carry-over any net operating losses.

If in any taxable year, the Trust does not qualify as a real estate investment trust, it would be taxed as a corporation and distributions to its Shareholders would not be deductible by the Trust in computing its taxable income.

To qualify as a real estate investment trust for purposes of the Federal income tax laws, the Trust must meet the following requirements, among others:

(1) At least 75% of the assets of the Trust must consist of real estate assets (including interests in mortgages on real property), cash items (including receivables), government securities and shares in other qualified real estate investment trusts. The Trust may invest the remaining 25% of its assets in other securities, but in connection with such investments not more than 5% of the total of all assets of the Trust may be invested in the securities of any one issuer, nor may the Trust invest in more than 10% of the voting securities of any one issuer.

(2) At least 75% of the gross income of the Trust must be derived from real property rents, interest on obligations secured by mortgages on real property, refunds of real estate taxes, gains from the sale of real estate interests or mortgages on real property and dividends on, and gains from the sale of shares of, other qualified real estate investment trusts. An additional 15% of the gross income must be derived from these same sources or from dividends, interest or gains from the sale of stock or securities.

(3) Gross income from sales of stock or securities held for less than six months or of real property held less than four years must be less than 30% of the Trust's total gross income.

(4) Beneficial ownership of the Trust must be held by 100 or more persons during at least 335 days of a taxable year of 12 months, or during a proportionate part of a taxable year of less than 12 months.

The term "funds generated from operations," as used herein, means the taxable income generated from the ownership of real estate, adjusted by adding back depreciation or amortization of property and deducting regular principal payments on mortgages and recurring capital improvements or reserves therefor not included in the determination of net income. In periods in which depreciation taken on real estate exceeds regular principal payments on mortgages, funds generated from operations may exceed the taxable income of the Trust, in which event distributions in excess of the taxable income will not be taxable when received by shareholders (if all current and previous income has been distributed). Each shareholder will be required to reduce the tax basis of his shares by the amount of any such tax-deferred distributions. Upon any sale of shares, gain or loss will be computed for tax purposes using the reduced tax basis. Such distributions constitute a return of invested capital until the tax basis of the shares is reduced to zero, after which such distributions will be taxable as capital gains. For information as to the Trust's distribution policy, see DISTRIBUTIONS.

If in any taxable year the taxable income of the Trust, computed before any distributions, exceeds the funds generated from operations during the year and unless the Trust has sufficient cash from other sources to enable distributions to shareholders of at least 90% of its taxable income, the Trust would cease to qualify as a real estate investment trust and would be taxable as a corporation under the Internal Revenue Code. Changes have recently been made to the Federal income tax laws which provide that, with certain limitations, to the extent that gain realized upon the sale of real property is attributable to depreciation previously deducted in excess of the amount allowable under the straight-line methods, such gain will be treated as taxable income.

Distributions of taxable income will not be eligible for the $100 dividends exclusion for individuals, or for the 85% dividends received deduction for corporations. Shareholders may not include in their individual tax returns any losses of the Trust, whether ordinary or capital losses.

The foregoing, while summarizing some of the more significant provisions of the Internal Revenue Code which will govern the tax treatment of the Trust, is of necessity general in character. Reference should be made for details to the Code sections themselves and the Regulations issued thereunder.

DISTRIBUTIONS

The Trust intends to distribute to shareholders at least 90% of its ordinary taxable income for each taxable year. Such distributions will be declared and paid on a quarterly basis. In addition, the Trust expects to distribute every three months the balance of the funds generated from the operations of the Trust, as defined above, less a reserve for contingencies. Accordingly cash generated from operations and depreciation will not ordinarily be reinvested. However, this policy is subject to change by the Trust at any time if in the opinion of the Trustees additional cash is required for the purposes of the Trust. No representation is made or intended, therefore, that the Trust will necessarily have funds available for distribution, or as to the amount or rate of any distributions which the Trust may make, since these will be determined on the basis of general economic conditions, the cash position and needs of the Trust, and other relevant factors.

Capital gains may be distributed or may be reinvested or devoted to the improvement of existing properties. The Trust will be subject to a federal tax at the rate of 25% on its undistributed capital gains. Final determination whether to reinvest or distribute any such gains will depend, among other things, on the size of the gains, net income for the year, the amount of the accumulated surplus and investment opportunities at the time. Proceeds from the sale of assets (other than proceeds included in net capital gains) and proceeds from refinancing of mortgages and from the sale of Trust shares will generally be reinvested by the Trust. Distribution to shareholders will be accompanied by reports advising of the source of funds distributed.

MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

The Declaration of Trust provides that the Trustees shall have absolute and exclusive control over the management, conduct and business affairs of the Trust. They will be assisted by a Supervisory Management Agent (the SMA) and an Advisory Committee. If the Trust should acquire any real estate interests requiring a management agent, an independent management agent may be retained. The Trustees will make final decisions as to the acquisition and disposition of Trust assets, will manage the business of the Trust and will conduct its affairs.

Trustees

The Declaration of Trust provides that there shall be not less than three nor more than seven Trustees. The Trustees named herein shall hold office until the next annual meeting of the shareholders. All Trustees shall then and thereafter be elected at the annual meetings of the shareholders to serve for a term of one year. When vacancies occur, due to resignation or otherwise, the remaining Trustees may continue to exercise the powers of the Trustees and a majority of them may select a new Trustees to fill the vacancy.

Any Trustee may resign at any time and may be removed by the vote or written consent of the holders of a majority of the shares, at a special meeting for the purpose of removal or to ratify the recommendation of at least two-thirds of the Trustees that such Trustee be removed.

The Declaration of Trust provides that the Trust may be terminated by the vote or written consent of the holders of a majority of the outstanding shares.

The Trustees will not be individually liable for the debts of the Trust. Each is indemnified against any loss, expense, or liability arising out of or in connection with the affairs of the Trust unless such arose out of his acts which constitute willful misfeasance, bad faith, gross negligence, or reckless disregard of his duties.

The Trustees and officers of the Trust and their principal occupations for the past five years and other affiliations are as follows:

Name	Position	Principal Occupation
WILLIAM W. BRILL	Trustee; Chairman, Board of Trustees	Investment in and financing of New York residential and commercial real estate properties; a licensed New York real estate broker.
THOMAS J. KLUTZNICK	Trustee; Treasurer	Partner, Klutznick Enterprises, Chicago, Illinois (real estate investment and development); formerly (1961-1963) employed by Draper & Kramer, Chicago (real estate management).
NORMAN P. MASON	Trustee	Housing Consultant; 1959-1960, Administrator, Housing & Home Finance Agency; Chelmsford, Mass.
PAUL T. O'KEEFE	Trustee; Vice-Chairman, Board of Trustees	Chairman of the Board, Charles F. Noyes Co., Inc., (real estate); Board, United Housing Foundation; Board, Franklin Society Federal Savings and Loan Association; previously Deputy Mayor, City of New York, and Director, Real Estate Department, City of New York.
JOHN H. WHEELER	Trustee	President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina; Investment Committee, N. Carolina Life Ins. Co.; President, Southern Regional Council.
Eugene G. King	Secretary	Attorney, member of the firm of Delson & Gordon, counsel to the Trust.
Herman Blumenthal	Comptroller	Accountant.

Of the Trustees, Messrs. Brill and Mason were directors of the SMA until the formation of the Trust. Messrs. King and Blumenthal have rendered and may continue to render professional services to the SMA. It is expected that each of the Trustees will devote only a small percentage of his time to Trust activities. The Trustees are not prohibited from engaging in other real estate activities nor is there any requirement that a Trustee first submit any real estate proposal to the Trust prior to engaging in such other activities.

Each of the Trustees has agreed to accept as compensation for his services as Trustee the sum of $250 quarterly plus reimbursement of travelling expenses and other expenses incurred incidental to the performance of his duties as a Trustee. The aggregate annual amount of the Trust's expenses of every character exclusive of interest, taxes, maintenance and upkeep of trust assets, payments to independent contractors, compensation to the SMA and reasonable sales commissions in the disposition of properties may not exceed the greater of $5,000 or 1% of the average net assets of the Trust as defined hereafter calculated semiannually or at more frequent intervals.

Under the Declaration of Trust, every Trustee and every affiliate, officer or employee of the Trust is prohibited from borrowing any money from the Trust, or from selling to, or buying from the Trust

any interest in any property. These prohibitions are also contained in the contract with the SMA and apply to its officers and employees as well. They also apply to any organization with which any Trustee is affiliated as a director, officer or stockholder. These prohibitions do not apply to the members of the Advisory Committee. However the Trustees have no present intention of engaging in any such transactions with any member of the Advisory Committee.

The Declaration of Trust does not prohibit the Trustees, officers or agents of the Trust from acquiring or disposing of shares. Some of the Trustees, the SMA and Mr. Milgram have subscribed for shares of the Trust (see SALE OF SHARES).

Supervisory Management Agent

Planned Communities, Inc., Suite 211, 51 East 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. 10017 (hereafter "PC") has agreed to administer and manage the Trust properties as Supervisory Management Agent. Among the principal officers and directors of PC are the following persons whose main occupation for the past five years are as follows:

Name	Position	Principal Occupation
Morris Milgram	President and Director	Executive of real estate developing and investing organizations, specializing in racially-integrated housing.
Frank Montero	Chairman of the Board of Directors	Vice President, Frederick W. Richmond Foundation; formerly U. S. Mission to the United Nations; previously assistant director, National Urban League.
Max Delson	Secretary and Director	Attorney; partner in Delson & Gordon, Counsel to the Trust.
John S. Stillman	Treasurer and Director	Attorney; Deputy to Under-Secretary and Under-Secretary of Commerce, 1961-65.

Morris Milgram, is President and a director and stockholder of PC. The SMA has agreed as a part of the services to be rendered to the Trust to make Mr. Milgram available to the Trust as the Trust's Manager. Mr. Milgram is required by the Trust's agreement with the SMA to devote at least 50% of his time to Trust activities. Mr. Milgram will be compensated for his services as Manager by the SMA. Mr. Milgram has also been designated as a salesman of the Trust for the sale of the shares being offered hereby. His compensation and reimbursement for expenses incurred as a salesman will be paid directly by the Trust until his apopintment as a salesman is terminated by the Trust. Mr. Milgram is to receive a salary for his services and no compensation by way of commission or as a percentage of sales.

PC will perform the administrative functions necessary for the operation of the Trust, including acting as custodian of the securities and other intangibles, collection and disbursement of funds, maintenance of records, and similar functions. It will also provide suitable offices in its own premises for the Trust and all necessary clerical and statistical services. The Trust will, in addition to the fee to be paid, reimburse PC for its actual and direct costs of performing and providing these services and facilities subject to the limitation on the aggregate annual expenses of the Trust mentioned above. The initial term of the contract between the Trust and PC is two years, to commence upon notice by the Trust. It is intended that such notice will be given only after the Trust has begun operations. PC may not assign the contract, nor may it act in any capacity for any other real estate investment trust during the term of the contract and for a period of one year thereafter.

PC and its affiliates have been engaged in racially-integrated real estate investment and development since 1961. PC intends to continue to be active in that field in addition to rendering services to the Trust. However, PC may not acquire any real estate interest which the Trust could acquire without offering the interest to the Trust either prior to such acquisition or at the next meeting of the Trustees immediately following such acquisition, on the same terms as the interest is available to or has been acquired by PC. The SMA also will evaluate the desirability of acquisition, retention and disposition of the Trust assets and report these evaluations to the Trustees. The SMA will also furnish reports to the Trustees and provide research, economic and statistical data in connection with the Trust's investments and investment opportunities. The SMA may also submit investment proposals to the Trust although it will not be the exclusive source of such proposals. It is under no obligation to find properties for the Trust.

The SMA is to receive compensation at the annual rate of ½ of 1% of the net assets of the Trust, computed on a semi-annual basis. "Net assets" for the purposes of determining the compensation to be paid to the SMA and the limitation on the overall amount of expense mentioned above, in the case of real property will be calculated on the basis of cost (after deduction of mortgages and other liabilities pertaining to such properties) less depreciation or, in the judgment of the Trustees, fair market value of the net assets of the Trust, whichever is less.

The Declaration of Trust and the agreement with the SMA also prohibits the payment by the Trust or any person dealing with the Trust of any commission or other remuneration directly or indirectly to any Trustee or any affiliate, officer or employee of the Trust, the SMA or any officer or employee thereof or any managing agent of any of the Trust's real estate interests, in connection with the acquisition or disposition of any of the assets of the Trust. (In the event any such funds are received, they are to be transmitted to the Trust or credited against any obligation due to the recipient from the Trust.) However, any other independent contractor is not precluded from receiving brokerage commissions from any persons selling property to the Trust nor is any member of the Advisory Committee.

Management of Properties

The SMA is authorized by its agreement with the Trust to recommend to the Trustees managing agents of the Trust's properties which require management. Each agent so employed will be the lowest bidder after competitive bidding for such employment provided said bidder shall have sufficient experience, reliability and concern for open housing. Management agreements will generally be for a period of one year, subject to modification or termination in the event any management agreement violates the applicable income tax regulations in effect from time to time. (See FEDERAL INCOME TAX.) No trustee may be a managing agent for the Trust, nor may he be a stockholder, officer, director, partner or employee of any managing agent, nor may he have any interest in any managing agent. The SMA may if it otherwise qualifies be the independent contractor managing any or all of the real estate interests of the Trust, in which event it will be separately compensated for such services above the fee to be paid for its services as SMA but in no event will it be paid more than the standard commission rates prescribed by the Real Estate Board in the particular community in which the real property interest is located.

Advisory Committee

An Advisory Committee will assist the Trustees in selecting real estate investments suitable to implement the open-occupancy purpose of the Trust. The members of the Advisory Committee are not

expected to sell shares of the Trust. The present Advisory Committee, appointed by the Trustees, consists of the following individuals (affiliations are listed for purposes of identification only):

Morris B. Abram, Pres., American Jewish Committee, New York, N. Y.

Andrew J. Bell, Jr., Pres., Associates Limited, Providence, R. I.

John B. Coleman, Investment Banker, Chicago, Ill.

Randolph P. Compton, Vice-Pres. and Director, Kidder, Peabody & Co., Inc., New York.

Nathaniel S. Colley, Attorney, Sacramento, Calif.

Albert Sprague Coolidge, Physicist, Cambridge, Mass.

John S. de Beers, Economist, Inter-American Development Bank, Washington, D. C.

Sidney B. Dexter, Banker, Chairman, Civil Service Commission, Philadelphia, Pa.

Earl B. Dickerson, Pres., Supreme Life Ins. Co. of America, Chicago, Ill.

Msgr. John Egan, Director, Archdiocesan Office of Urban Affairs, Chicago, Ill.

M. R. Emrich, Pres., Yellow Cab, Inc., Denver, Colo.

Mrs. Henry Epstein, Labor Arbitrator, New York, N. Y.

Irving Jay Fain, Chairman, Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism, Providence, R. I.

James Farmer, Executive Director, CORE, New York, N. Y.

Congressman Donald M. Fraser, Chairman, Nat'l Comm. on Tithing in Investment, Minneapolis.

Harvey Furgatch, Real Estate Developer, San Diego, Calif.

Richard Glenn Gettell, President, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.

Seth Glickenhaus, Member, New York Stock Exchange, New York, N. Y.

John Glustrom, Treasurer, Georgia Commission on Human Relations, Atlanta, Ga.

Patrick E. Gorman, International Secretary-Treasurer, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Chicago, Ill.

Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, New York, N. Y.

Robert K. Greenfield, Attorney, Philadelphia, Pa.

Dorothy Height, President, National Council of Negro Women, New York, N. Y.

Ralph Helstein, Pres., United Packinghouse Workers, AFL-CIO, Chicago, Ill.

Mrs. Sophia Yarnall Jacobs, Hon. Pres., Nat'l Council of Women of U. S., New York, N. Y.

Byron L. Johnson, Prof. of Economics, U. of Colorado, Denver

Kivie Kaplan, Chairman, NAACP Life Membership Committee, Boston, Mass.

Frank E. Karelsen, Attorney, New York, N. Y.

Philip M. Klutznick, Real Estate Developer, Chicago, Ill.

Robert R. Nathan, Consulting Economist, Washington, D. C.

Daniel A. Pattison, Treas., Commission on Ecumenical Mission, Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.

John deJ. Pemberton, Jr., Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union, New York, N. Y.

Jacob S. Potofsky, President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, New York, N. Y.

Charles A. Robinson, Vice President, Delaware Trust Company, Wilmington, Del.

W. Byron Rumford, Assemblyman, Berkeley, California.

Richard Russell, Businessman, West Hartford, Conn.

Howard J. Samuels, Vice-Pres., Socony-Mobil, Chemical Division; Chairman, Advisory Council, New York State Democratic Party, Canandaigua, N. Y.

Leon Shull, Nat'l Director, Americans for Democratic Action, Washington, D. C.

Fortney H. Stark, Jr., Banker, Calif.; Board Chmn., Starr-King School for Ministry.

John S. Stillman, Attorney, Chmn., American Veterans Committee,, New York, N. Y.

Frank Untermyer, Professor, Roosevelt University, Chicago, Ill.

Charles F. Vatterott, Jr., Builder, St. Louis, Mo.

Joseph Viertel, Author, Stamford, Conn.

William L. C. Wheaton, Director, Institute of Urban & Regional Development, University of California at Berkeley.

Mrs. Walter White, Writer, New York, N. Y.

Roy Wilkins, Executive Director, NAACP, New York, N. Y.

Rev. Gayraud S. Wilmore, Jr., Executive Director, Commission on Religion and Race, United Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., New York.

Whitney Young, Executive Director, National Urban League, New York, N. Y.

The Committee has no powers of any kind with respect to the management and operation of the Trust, and its decisions or recommendations shall not bind the Trustees, but are purely advisory. The members of the Committee are not bound by any contract with the Trust and may terminate their advisory positions at any time. The Trustees may provide for compensation to be paid to the members of the Advisory Committee; however they have no present intention to provide such compensation.

DESCRIPTION OF SHARES

Each share has equal voting, distribution, liquidation and other rights. Upon issuance, the shares offered hereby will be fully paid and nonassessable. The shareholders have the right to vote on a cumulative basis for the election of the Trustees at annual or special meetings of the shareholders. Cumulative voting means that a shareholder may cast the number of votes which is the product of the number of shares held by him times the number of Trustees to be elected, and that he may cast the total number votes for one Trustee or he may divide his vote between two or more nominees. The shares have no conversion rights and have no preemptive or other rights to subscribe to additional shares except that any transferable options, warrants or other rights to buy additional shares of the Trust shall be offered to the shareholders ratably.

No later than 60 days after the end of the Trust's fiscal year, the Trust is required to furnish shareholders with annual statements, which shall include a detailed report of the activities of the Trust during the fiscal year covered by the report and financial statements, including a balance sheet, profit and loss statement and analysis of surplus. The financial statements in the annual report will be audited and certified by independent public accountants. In addition, the Trust shall furnish interim reports, at least quarterly, containing a balance sheet (which may be unaudited) and other pertinent information regarding the Trust and its activities during the reporting period.

The Trust may be terminated by the holders of a majority of the outstanding shares. No change may be made in the Declaration of Trust without the vote of a majority of the outstanding shares. The Trust may repurchase shares of the Trust offered to it if the Trustees so desire. In addition,

the Trust has reserved the rights to prohibit transfers of shares and to compel redemption of shares of the Trust if the transfer or continued holding of such shares would or might jeopardize the Trust's status as a tax conduit.

The Declaration of Trust, which is to be recorded in all jurisdictions where the Trust owns real property, provides that the Trustees shall have no power to bind the shareholders personally and that all persons shall look solely to the Trust property for satisfaction of claims of any nature arising in connection with the affairs of the Trust. The Declaration of Trust requires that the substance of this provision be stated in all written contracts and agreements made by or on behalf of the Trust. In the opinion of counsel for the Trust, in respect to tort claims or contract claims where shareholder liability is not expressly negated and in respect to claims for taxes and certain statutory liabilities, the shareholders may in some jurisdictions be held personally liable to the extent that such claims are not satisfied by the Trust. The Trustees expect to avoid acquiring any interests in such jurisdictions. The Declaration of Trust provides that in any such contingency, however, the shareholders shall be entitled to indemnity and to reimbursement from the general assets of the Trust to the extent of any such claim or liability. The Trust proposes to maintain insurance in an amount deemed adequate by the Trustees to cover foreseeable tort claims.

In the opinion of Delson & Gordon, counsel for the Trust, the contemplated method of operation complies with the requirements of the Internal Revenue Code for qualification as a real estate investment trust.

Subsequent to the issuance of shares offered hereby, the Transfer Agent of the Trust's shares will be American Trust Company, New York, N. Y. Planned Communities, Inc. will serve as Transfer Agent for the Trust in relation to the issuance of the shares offered hereby at no additional compensation except reimbursement of expenses (see MANAGEMENT).

SALE OF SHARES

Shares of the Trust offered by this Prospectus are offered on a best efforts basis, at the public offering price of $20 per share, through the Trustees, salesmen appointed by the Trust (including Morris Milgram) and through qualified dealers selected by the Trust.

The SMA has expended $56,715.73 of preliminary sales and organizational expenses incurred up to September 30, 1965 on behalf of the Trust. The amount advanced includes the cost of printing, postage, travel and salaries paid or payable to the SMA's personnel engaged in work for the Trust. Pursuant to its contract with the Trust (see MANAGEMENT), it is entitled to reimbursement of all amounts so advanced. The Trust estimates that the sale of the shares offered hereby will require the expenditure of an additional $304,000. Of this amount, approximately $74,650 is expected to be paid to salesmen appointed by the Trust and to pay the costs of maintaining Regional Offices throughout the country to promote the sale of these shares. As a part of the estimated total sales expense, the Trust expects to expend about $155,000 for the cost of mailing the Prospectus and the offering literature to persons who may be interested in purchasing shares of the Trust. Morris Milgram is expected to be paid approximately $13,000 for his services as a salesman of the Trust for the nine months ending June 30, 1966. The Trust may pay commissions to dealers but does not expect that the total amount paid will be a significant portion of the sales expense.

Persons who desire to purchase shares of the Trust for cash may make payment as follows: 10% of the purchase price of $20 per share at the time of subscription and the balance within 45 days of the date their subscription is accepted by the Trust. Certificates for shares subscribed for will not be delivered until the shares are paid for in full. If any subscriber shall be unable, or shall fail or

refuse to pay the balance of the purchase price within the prescribed period, the Trustees may declare the shares subscribed for and all previous payments thereon forfeited after the expiration of 30 days after the expiration of 45 days from the date of acceptance of the subscription.

As of September 30, 1965, a total of twenty-two persons have subscribed for a total of $591,100 worth of the shares of beneficial interest of the Trust. Of the trustees, Messrs. Brill Wheeler and Klutznick own of record or beneficially, 500, 50 and 1,250 shares of beneficial interest, respectively. The Trust's Supervisory Management Agent, Planned Communities, Inc., has subscribed for 1,250 shares. Morris Milgram, the Trust's Manager and President of Planned Communities, Inc., has purchased 500 shares. Members of the Advisory Committee have subscribed for 10,620 shares of record or as beneficial owners. All of the other purchasers of shares are individuals who have previously had dealings with the SMA, or are directors of the SMA.

All of the shares were purchased directly from the Trust prior to and not as a part of the offering of shares made by this Prospectus. The subscription price paid for all of such shares was $20.00 per share, the same price as the shares offered hereby. Of the amounts paid for such shares approximately $268,000 was paid in the form of delivery to the Trust of negotiable securities. All securities received are listed in the New York Stock Exchange except for certain securities valued at approximately $35,000 which are traded in the over-the-counter market. Shares of the Trust, at $20 per share, equal to the market value of the securities on the date of delivery will be issued to each of the persons paying the subscription price in the manner described. (See FINANCIAL INFORMATION for data regarding the securities delivered and the valuation thereof.)

In connection with such securities, it should be noted that the Trust may not qualify as a conduit for tax purposes if it holds securities having a value in excess of 25% of its total assets. Further, the Trustees anticipate that the securities accepted in exchange for Trust shares will be sold in order to provide cash to the Trust so that it may acquire real estate interests. Should these securities be sold for any reason, substantial capital gains may be realized which will be taxable to the Trust since some of the securities exchanged for Trust shares have market values considerably above the tax basis. To the extent that such securities are sold at a gain, the Trust may be liable for the payment of Federal income tax on this gain.

LEGAL OPINIONS

Legal matters in connection with this offering will be passed upon for the Trust by Delson & Gordon, 120 East 41st Street, New York, N. Y. 10017.

REPORT OF INDEPENDENT CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

The Trustees
Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust

We have examined the Balance Sheet of MUTUAL REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT TRUST as at September 30, 1965. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion, the accompanying Balance Sheet, together with the notes relating thereto, present fairly the financial position of MUTUAL REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT TRUST as at September 30, 1965 in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

New York, N. Y.
November 29, 1965

/s/ FIELDS, FISCHGRUND AND AERENSON

MUTUAL REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT TRUST

BALANCE SHEET
As at September 30, 1965

ASSETS

Cash	$ 19,894.45
United States Treasury bills — at cost plus accrued interest	261,267.90
Marketable securities — at cost (market value — $175,225.00) — Note 1	161,871.87
Subscriptions receivable — Note 2	134,503.13
Accrued dividend receivable	140.00
	$577,677.35

LIABILITIES AND SHAREHOLDERS' EQUITY

Liabilities			
Unpaid selling and other expenses relating to issuance of shares			$ 41,678.91
Oversubscriptions payable — Note 1			275.00
Total Liabilities			$ 41,953.91
Shareholders' Equity			
Shares of beneficial interest — par value $1.00 per share — Note 2:			
Authorized — unlimited			
Issued and outstanding — None			
Subscribed — 29,555 shares		$ 29,555.00	
Capital in excess of par value — representing excess of subscription price of $20.00 per share for 29,555 shares over par value	$561,545.00		
Less: Selling and other expenses relating to issuance of shares — net (Note 3)	55,376.56	506,168.44	535,723.44
			$577,677.35

Note 1 — Shares of the Trust have been offered to investors in exchange for marketable securities. The Trust has been advised by tax counsel that such exchanges are tax free to the subscribers. Counsel has further advised that the tax basis for determining gain or loss to the Trust on the subsequent sale of securities so accepted will be the same as the tax basis to the subscribers. The Trust may therefore realize taxable capital gain on sale of these securities to the extent that their tax basis is less than the fair market value at which they were accepted by the Trust.

Securities with a market value of $161,871.87 and a tax basis of $16,171.56 on date of acceptance by the Trust were received to September 30, 1965 in payment for subscriptions of $161,596.87; the excess of $275.00 is reflected as a liability.

From October 1, 1965 to November 1, 1965 additional securities with a market value of $106,171.62 and a tax basis of $6,203.33 were received in partial payment of the subscriptions receivable at September 30, 1965.

Note 2 — Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust was organized under the laws of the State of New York, pursuant to a Declaration of Trust dated February 23, 1965, with unlimited authorized shares of beneficial interest having a par value of $1.00 per share. As at September 30, 1965, the Trust had received subscriptions to 29,555 shares of beneficial interest at $20.00 per share totalling $591,100; of this amount, $456,596.87 was received in securities and cash, leaving a balance of subscriptions receivable in the amount of $134,503.13. From October 1, 1965 to November 1, 1965, additional payments of $106,721 in securities and cash were received from subscribers leaving a balance of subscriptions receivable as at November 1, 1965 of $27,782.13.

Note 3 — All selling and other expenses relating to issuance of shares, in excess of dividends and interest income in the aggregate amount of $1,339.17, have been charged to capital in excess of par value.

No dealer, salesman or other person has been authorized to give any information or to make any representation not contained in this Prospectus and, if given or made, any such information or representation must not be relied upon as having been authorized by the Trust. This Prospectus does not constitute an offering or a solicitation in any jurisdiction to any person to whom it is unlawful to make such offer or solicitation in such jurisdiction.

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The Trust has filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission a registration statement under the Securities Act of 1933 with respect to the Securities being offered pursuant to this Prospectus. This Prospectus omits certain information contained in such registration statement. For further information reference is made to the registration statement and to the exhibits and financial statements filed therewith, which may be examined at the Office of the Commission in Washington, D. C. without charge or copies of which may be obtained from the Commission upon payment of the prescribed fees. Statements contained in this Prospectus as to the contents of any contract or other document referred to are not necessarily complete, and, where such contract or other document is an exhibit to the registration statement, each such statement is qualified in all respects by the provisions of the exhibit, to which reference is hereby made for a full statement of the provisions thereof.

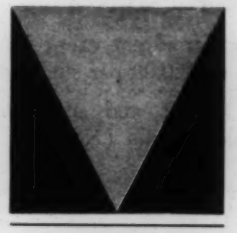
Until ninety days from the date of this Prospectus, all dealers effecting transactions in the registered securities, whether or not participating in this distribution, may be required to deliver a Prospectus.

200,000 Shares of Beneficial Interest

MUTUAL REAL ESTATE INVESTMENT TRUST

51 EAST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

M-REIT



Mutual
Real Estate
Investment Trust

PROSPECTUS

Dated February 17, 1966

Planned Communities, Inc.
Supervisory Management Agent

Printed in U.S.A.

July 30, 1962

Brother Samuel X
Muhammad's Mosque
518 East Pettigrew Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Brother Samuel X:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 25, 1962, inviting me to hear Minister Alaikum speak at the Mosque on Friday Night, July 27, 1962.

I regret that I was in Greensboro on this date and did not receive your invitation on time. Give my best regards to Minister Kenneth X and Minister Alaikum and advise them that I would like to receive future invitations from them,

Yours truly,

F. B. McKissick
Attorney at Law

FBM:ls

Muhammad's Mosque
518 E Pettigrew Street
Durham, North Carolina
July 25, 1962

Mr Floyd McKissick
1123 N. Roxboro Street
Durham, North Carolina

AS - SALAAM - ALAIKUM

In the Name of ALLAH, the Beneficent, the Most Merciful Saviour to we the lost found Nation of Islam here in the wilderness of North America. We forever thank and praise ALLAH for raising up among us a Divine Leader, Guide and Teacher in the person of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.

Dear Mr Mc Kissick,

It is with the greatest of pleasure that I take this opportunity to correspond with you. Our last meeting was very inspiring and beneficial toward gaining an understanding and the uniting of our people here in Durham. At that time, we met at the bookstore on 9th St.

Minister Isiah was pleased at the way unity was displayed between you and himself during the debate.

We are expecting Minister Isiah in Durham to speak at our MosqueFriday night July 27. On behalf of our Minister Kenneth X, we would like you to be our special guest on this occasion. Your friends and associates will be more than welcome.

AS - SALAAM - ALAIKUM

Your Brother in Truth,

Bro Samuel X
Bro. Samuel X. (Actg Lieut)

Kenneth X
383-4531

April 11, 1962

Minister Kenneth X
Muslim Temple
East Pettigrew Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Minister Kenneth X:

Re: Proposed Adult Education School to be held at the Muslim Temple on East Pettigrew Street.

Enclosed please find notes of the Proposed Adult Education Program for your Temple which we discussed on your visit to the office this past Saturday. These notes are not intended to be "all inclusive" but some may serve as a guide in the development of your program.

Notes as follows:

1. Secure a person and movie from the Social Security Office who will give instructions on the value and the rights of applicants under Social Security Program.

2. Secure the Home Demonstration Agent from Durham County to give lectures or a series of lectures regarding "Home Management, the Budget and etc."

3. Secure a lecture from the North Carolina Employment Security Commission to discuss the rights of the worker.

4. Secure someone from North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company to discuss "The Value and The Purpose of Life Insurance."

5. Secure from Mutual Savings and Loans, a representative to speak on "The Value of Owning a Home, How Homes are financed and etc."

6. Secure from the College a person for Conducting classes in Reading, and Writing.

7. Secure from the College a suitable person to Teach Sex and Health problems.

8. Secure from Lawyers or other persons in Goverment, information on "How our Country and City Government Functions," and the "Power of the Vote."

Yours very truly,

F. B. McKissick

FBM/ss

MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE

518 PETTIGREW ST.
DURHAM, N C

December 21, 1962

Mr Floyd B. McKissick
1123 N. Roxboro Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Brother McKissick,

Thank you for the lovely card. It was indeed a pleasant surpride to receive it. I think of you quite oftem and have been keeping in store for you, something that I'm sure you will enjoy.

Instead of returning your wishes for an enjoyable Holiday Season, I would like to personally present you with the authentic teaching on the birth, life and death of Jesus. This will indeed be a memorable occasion for you, your family and friends.

Be my special guest this Sunday December 23, 1962.

Please give the family my deepest greetings of Peace.

Minister Kenneth X

Always your brother,

Section C—12 Pages

Friday, April 19, 1963

Decision Muffs Durham's Chance

The 11th hour decision cancelling the reservation for a debate at the W. D. Hill Community Center between Durham NAACP attorney Floyd McKissick and Black Muslim leader "Malcolm X" seems a poor one indeed.

It gave Malcolm X the chance to charge the "white power structure" with trying to keep colored people from hearing the "truth." And we have no doubt that the Black Muslim movement would rather have this opportunity than access to the center.

But even without this awkward result, there seems no good reason for denying facilities for the debate. So long as the meeting was orderly—as it was—it was not as different from other affairs permitted in city buildings as has been suggested.

Let's not kid ourselves. This meeting was denied use of the W. D. Hill Center primarily because the Black Muslim movement promotes a line that the vast majority of us reject. The decision may also have been influenced by the fact that similar action to block an appearance by Malcolm X had been taken a few days earlier in Columbia, S.C.

We don't think either reason was a good one. Certainly Durham doesn't take its leads from Columbia, S.C. And most especially in the case of the Black Muslims restricting their chance to be heard by the public, white and colored, is a mistake.

If the Black Muslim movement is half of what it is supposed to be, it will thrive best by giving its leaders the chance to fulminate over "the white power structure" and to depict themselves as martyrs hounded into back alley meeting places.

Secrecy has always been a useful weapon of outfits like the Black Muslims. Piercing that secrecy and thereby refuting claims to martyrdom work against such movements while also upholding traditional guarantees of free speech.

Unfortunately, Durham has muffed a chance to expose the full difference between trying to work out racial problems through free discussion and the narrow black supremcy doctrine of the Black Muslims.

Second Class Postage Paid At Durham, N. C.

Durham Morning Herald

Published Every Morning by THE DURHAM HERALD CO., Inc. Durham, N. C.

Member of The Associated Press

The Associated Press and AP Features are exclusively entitled to the use of all news and features published herein.

VOL. LXIX DURHAM, N. C., SUNDAY, APRIL 21, 1963 NO. [illegible]

specific boundary, but in setting a policy to promote those children completing Crest Street School to Carr Junior High and those completing Walltown to Brogden Junior High, the board makes geographic area the basis for assignment to junior high school. In specifying which junior high schools shall send their pupil assignment out of the hands of the local board pending court approval of its plan for desegregation. Court approval of the plan submitted would restore to the board the needed authority to regulate the admission of pupils to the various schools, consistent with the provisions of the desegregation decision.

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Thursday J. Tate Foreman, James O. Holt, Frank Daddario and William Morris are candidates

This would almost assure and it wouldn't come as much of a surprise.

Black Muslim Unit Denied Center's Use

By JON PHELPS
Herald Staff Writer

A debate between the national deputy leader of the Black Muslim organization and a Durham NAACP attorney was moved Thursday night after city officials canceled the group's reservation of the W. D. Hill Community Center.

The debate was held later at Page's Auditorium on Roxboro Street.

The Black Muslim leader, "Malcolm X," and NAACP attorney Floyd B. McKissick both voiced strong criticism of the city's action.

City Manager Harding Hughes issued a statement calling the city's denial of the reservation "in order" and added, "I fully support it."

The debate attracted about 300 persons, more than 75 per cent of whom were Negroes and a large number of whom were students. The upstairs hall, where the debate was held, was filled, and some few persons in the audience stood along the sides and in the rear.

The program had been scheduled for 8 p.m. in the Fayetteville Street facility.

City officials notified McKissick's office Thursday afternoon that the reservation of the center had been canceled, saying the group was not a religious group as it had represented itself.

Malcolm X, considered second in command of the nationwide Black Muslim movement, blasted the city's action with the comment, "white power structure has thrown out its arm to keep the Negroes of this community from receiving the truth.

"The Ku Klux Klan could have it (the W. D. Hill Center); the White Citizens Council could have it, but our religious group could not."

Malcolm X said city officials in Columbia, S.C., had taken the same action there after his arrival to make a public talk Wednesday. He contended there may be some connection between the similar city actions.

City Manager Hughes issued the following statement on the matter:

"The action of the City Recreation Department in denying the use of the community recreation center by the Black Muslim organization for a debate is in order, and I fully support it.

"A community recreation center is for recreation. By no stretch of the imagination can a debate involving the Black Muslims be considered recreation.

"My information is that the Black Muslims are a violently segregationist group, promoting a goal of racial supremacy for blacks over whites. My information is that the Black Muslims are strongly opposed by the vast majority of responsible Negro leadership in America. To the extent that they stay within the law, the Black Muslims have a right to espouse their cause. But the City of Durham will not allow them to use a community recreation center as their forum."

MALCOLM X

About Malcolm X's comment that the Ku Klux Klan or White Citizens Council could have the hall, Hughes said, "That statement has no foundation in fact."

About the city's contention that Muslims are not a religious group, Malcolm X declared that Muslims are more strongly religious "than any other group in this city. . . . We believe more strongly in what Jesus preached than any other group does."

McKissick, also harshly criticizing the city's action, said the New York State Supreme Court had declared the Black Muslims to be a religion. He said the city "stomped on the first amendment" to the Constitution when it denied the use of the hall for the debate.

Lieutenant Of Muslim Head Speaks

A man who calls himself "Malcolm X," national representative of Elizah Muhammad, spoke here last night for the Black Muslim movement, a group advocating Negro racial supremacy.

Some 150 persons, including a large number of students from Duke University, attended the meeting which featured talks by "Malcolm X" and Attorney Floyd B., McKissick. McKissick serves as attorney for both the NAACP and Black Muslim Mosque units here.

The gathering was held at Page's Auditorium in the 1100 block of South Roxboro Street after city recreation officials canceled a reservation for W. D. Hill Community Center last night when it learned the purpose of the meeting.

Recreation officials said the group was not a religious group as it had represented itself. Actually it advocates overthrow of whites in government and elsewhere. Both "Malcolm X" and McKissick criticized the cancellation.

City Manager Harding Hughes then released the following statement:

"The action of the City Recreation Department in denying the use of the community recreation center by the Black Muslim organization for a debate is in order, and I fully support it.

"A community recreation center is for recreation. By no stretch of the imagination can a debate involving the Black Muslims be considered recreation.

"My information is that the Black Muslims are a violently segregationist group, promoting a goal of racial supremacy for blacks over whites. My information is that the Black Muslims are strongly opposed by the vast majority of responsible Negro leadership in America. To the extent that they stay within the law, the Black Muslims have a right to espouse their cause. But the City of Durham will not allow them to use a community recreation center as their forum."

"Malcolm X" said the city's "white power structure has thrown out its arm to keep the Negroes of this community from receiving the truth.

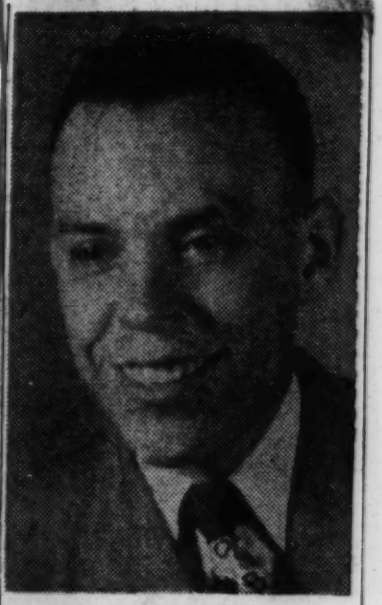
"The Ku Klux Klan could have it, the White Citizens Council could have it but our religious group could not," he said.

Hughes said Malcolm's statement about the citizens' council or KKK using the recreation center "has no foundation in fact."

Malcolm, reported to be second in command of the national Black Muslim movement, came here from similar appearances in Columbia, S.C., in connection with a recruiting drive for members.

sion ... descend to the wreck, when and if ... is located, and observe visually and photographically what it can.

Both Keach and McCain emphasized that the Trieste is not equipped to do anything more



WADE

Minister Files For City Council Post At Oxford

OXFORD — Rev. L. H. Wade, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Oxford, filed Friday for a seat on the City Council in the May elections.

The Rev. Mr. Wade, who has lived in Oxford two years, was reported to be the first Negro to run for public office in Granville County since Reconstruction days.

He said he filed at the request of citizens representing various groups in Oxford who appealed to him to seek public office. "I believe that all segments of the population should be represented on the City Council of Oxford," he said.

The Rev. Mr. Wade, a native of Cedar Grove, received his bachelor of arts and bachelor of divinity degrees at Shaw University. He has studied sociology and church history at North Carolina College and Duke University.

For the last 12 years, he has been affiliated with the Clearview Housing Corporation in Durham and managed the Mutual Heights housing project.

The Rev. Mr. Wade served as pastor of Pine Grove Baptist Church in Creedmoor and Orange Baptist Church in Durham before his call to the First Baptist Church here in 1961. He is a former vice moderator of the East Cedar Grove Association and at present is a member of the executive board of the Original Shiloh Baptist Association. He is a Democrat and a Mason.

His wife, the former Miss Alma Herndon of Durham, is advertising and public relations director of North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company.

'Too Late' For Negro Equality, Malcolm X Says

CHAPEL HILL—Malcolm Little, the No. 2 man of the Black Muslim movement who is known as Malcolm X, Friday night said it is "too late" to achieve equality for Negroes.

His claim was countered by NAACP attorney Floyd McKissick of Durham, who said changes in the nation's racial situation have to be made and made quickly.

The two Negro leaders, representing divergent movements among Negroes, "debated" before a largely student audience on the University of North Carolina campus. The debate was hastily arranged after Malcolm X appeared with McKissick in a similar event in Durham Thursday.

The Black Muslim chief said his group has "less confidence in the white liberals" than anyone else. Their aim, he said, is to "use us."

McKissick said "injustices" in society spurs any protest movement. Roy Wilkins and other NAACP officers, he added, "would be out of a job tomorrow if the Constitution of the United States was followed."

The Black Muslims movement seeks to establish an all-Negro society, completely apart from the white community. Malcolm X initially came to Durham, where there is a Black Muslim "mosque."

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2D—Durham Morning Herald, Sunday, April 21, 1963

9A—
Durham Morning Herald
Saturday, April 20, 1963

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junior high schools shall send their

Decision Muffs Durham's Chance

The 11th hour decision cancelling the reservation for a debate at the W. D. Hill Community Center between Durham NAACP attorney Floyd McKissick and Black Muslim leader "Malcolm X" seems a poor one indeed.

It gave Malcolm X the chance to charge the "white power structure" with trying to keep colored people from hearing the "truth." And we have no doubt that the Black Muslim movement would rather have this opportunity than access to the center.

But even without this awkward result, there seems no good reason for denying facilities for the debate. So long as the meeting was orderly—as it was—it was not as different from other affairs permitted in city buildings as has been suggested.

Let's not kid ourselves. This meeting was denied use of the W. D. Hill Center primarily because the Black Muslim movement promotes a line that the vast majority of us reject. The decision may also have been influenced by the fact that similar action to block an appearance by Malcolm X had been taken a few days earlier in Columbia, S.C.

We don't think either reason was a good one. Certainly Durham doesn't take its leads from Columbia, S.C. And most especially in the case of the Black Muslims restricting their chance to be heard by the public, white and colored, is a mistake.

If the Black Muslim movement is half of what it is supposed to be, it will thrive best by giving its leaders the chance to fulminate over "the white power structure" and to depict themselves as martyrs hounded into back alley meeting places.

Secrecy has always been a useful weapon of outfits like the Black Muslims. Piercing that secrecy and thereby refuting claims to martyrdom work against such movements while also upholding traditional guarantees of free speech.

Unfortunately, Durham has muffed a chance to expose the full difference between trying to work out racial problems through free discussion and the narrow black supremcy doctrine of the Black Muslims.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
200 West 135th Street, New York, New York 10030
212 281 9650

SPEECH PRESENTED BY

FLOYD B. McKISSICK-NATIONAL DIRECTOR

to the

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER

24 Rector Street
Newark, New Jersey 07102 July 21, 1967

Two eyes stare out of a Black Face. Kinky hair grows on a Black Head. Inside of that Black Head is a mind that is Black, forced to think Black in order to survive. To think white, to reason with the logic of a white man is only to speed the time for the Total Destruction of Black People. A Black Man cannot afford to think white: He must think Black if he is to survive.

Every day, Black People around the world see hunger, suffering, despair, disease and hatred. They see a world of oppression, presided over by a few white people dominating the masses of powerless colored people — on every continent.

Black Men have gained a special insight, an almost "privileged" perception. It is an insight acquired over years of oppression, years without freedom.

White men live in a totally different reality from Black Men. Their thought processes are molded by experiences foreign to Black Men.

Because white men cannot understand Black People or the way they feel and think — they are afraid. The white man knows that he has been the oppressor and, for that, he is guilty. His guilt makes him fear. White people without fear of Blacks are white people without guilt.

White supremacy reigns in such distant and exotic places as Europe and South Africa. But the true bastion of white supremacy, that country which makes it all possible, is the United States of America.

The democratic principles taught in the United States hardly apply on a world-wide basis, for clearly the white minority controls the masses of colored and Black Peoples in the world today.

They make the rules. And the rules say that world domination is not based on democratic principles but on power. There is no willingness to share that power with the colored people of the world. There is no commitment to share that power any time in the future. Yet, Black People are lost without power to bring about change.

We are given rhetoric about power sharing: "the Land of the Free. Home of the Brave." "With liberty and justice for all." I could name dozens of others that sound beautiful, but mean absolutely nothing for Black People, here or on any other continent.

They were never intended to mean anything for Black People. They were written when we were still slaves.

There are Black People starving in Mississippi, millions of colored people starving in India while white Americans bask in luxury, spending millions to go to the moon, billions on a war in Vietnam which pits yellow people against yellow people.

There are rebellions throughout the United States — Black People

demanding that they no longer be exploited, that they be free — free to live in dignity.

Farmers put acres of non-producing land into the federal land bank — which could feed the nation, and the world. In Mississippi, Black People starve.

The Black and colored masses are regarded merely as chattel — with a difference. We are mere consumers. And by our consumption of the goods and services of this nation -- this economic, political system, we furnish the margin of profit on which the system survives.

The system of white supremacy and its manipulators are dedicated to the proposition that the system must be maintained at all cost -- even at the expense of Total Destruction of Black and colored peoples in the United States and around the world — that system which exploits, denies debases and destroys — destroys humanity, values, morality and non-white cultures.

The cry of the racist white man is: "Threaten not our system, or you will be annihilated by our National Rifle Association, the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens' Councils — which we fund; by the Minute Men, Birchers and vigilantes, who we condone; and by our National Guard, which is integrated, our State Militia, our State, City and County Police Forces, which are also integrated. The system of exploitation is far more important — far more precious -- than human lives."

You ask: Would America intentionally starve Black People in Mississippi, feed Indians only if they agreed to domination by white people? Would America allow thousands of Blacks to be wasted on the streets of Newark or Buffalo, Watts or Atlanta, because they simply said: "Take your foot off our necks?"

Would America destroy the lives of millions of Blacks whose forebearers, as slaves, made and developed this economic - political system, by their blood, sweat and free labor. Is there not a word called Respect — another world called Mercy — another, Justice?

Many Jews in Germany thought so. During Hitler's regime, they discovered differently.

Would America systematically destroy 22 million Blacks? My answer is: Look at the record! More specifically, I believe they can. I believe they will.

White supremacy stems from an inferiority complex, so does fear. The kind of fear experienced by the racist white man. The Man has no logic when dealing with Blacks. For he insists that he is superior.

He is neurotic when threatened, psychotic when confronted with truth. He cannot comprehend your needs or just demands — he cannot recognize his responsibility. He will not acknowledge his guilt or the guilt of his brothers.

Has he punished his white brothers for the civil rights murders of Blacks (or even the whites who were with us), on the highways of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and throughout the south?

I regretfully advise that The Man has not, moreover, he has not even found the criminals, in many instances. But he can find, shoot and kill a sixteen year old Black Kid who loots because he doesn't have money to buy a transistor radio.

Yes — The Man has the capacity to neglect, to destroy, to shoot, to kill — if his victim is not white. He has the capacity for genocide.

Until recently, genocide was a relatively unknown word. After World War II, however, it came into pretty common usage. It means: "The use or user of deliberate, systematic measures for the extermination of a racial, political or cultural group of people." It means mass murder.

In America, we are inclined to reserve this distasteful word for the planned extermination of Jews by Hitler in Nazi Germany. This is naive.

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Hitler's program of genocide, to be sure, is the only one we know of that was blatant enough to herd millions of people into ovens all at one time -- uncouth enough to pile thousands of bodies together in one place and impolitic enough to be implicit in the statement of its goals -- the goal being the "Final Solution," the elimination of the Jewish People.

But one must be reminded that genocide exists in many forms and has existed throughout history. To understand the sinister nature of genocide, one must understand not only European history, but American history as well.

No, genocide is not a simple matter. It cannot just happen. One group of people cannot just go ahead and wipe out another group of people. They must first pass through several stages -- they must live out a peculiar and deadly pattern.

The first prerequisite for a nation capable of genocide is the belief that they are superior to their victims. They must believe that they are entitled to the control of the life and death of their victims.

During Hitler's regime, the Germans were supplied with elaborate charts and complicated thesis, supposedly proving the superiority of the German people. It is interesting to note that, at the bottom of these charts were the colored people of the world, most conspicuously, the Black People.

Until recently, in America, there were many respected scientists and anthropoligists who advanced the theory that caucasians were genetically superior to colored peoples. Although in some parts of the United States, particularly in the south, the belief in genetic superiority still prevails, in the more "enlightened" areas of the North, the popular theory is that colored people, particularly Black People are not genetically inferior. They are just inferior.

If they were not inferior, they would be better educated, live in better homes and on cleaner streets. If they were really equal, they would improve their own conditions.

In America, as we have seen, the belief in white superiority runs deep. It was a dominant factor in the slave trade. The Black African wasn't recognized as a human being.

A belief ferocious enough to allow human slavery cannot be dissipated by a mere century and, in America, it has been quietly reinforced.

Although slavery as a recognized legal institution has been abolished, economic slavery, economic exploitation, has not. Black People in this country have never been allowed to share in the economic riches of America. A few get in -- here and there -- a few get rich, but their success has no effect on the masses of Black People.

White landlords, white storekeepers, white corporate managers and a white, Anglo-Saxon Wall Street, conspire to keep the Black Man in his place.

As whites quietly exit to the comfortable suburbs, they do not relinquish the economic control of the ghetto; they maintain control of the city agencies and the political scene. They determine what opportunities will be available and what will be reserved for whites only -- and, occasionally, one or two good "Negroes."

With the climate existing in the United States, we would be foolish, as leaders, to think that Black People are not being politically oppressed. If Black People got political power, they might be able to merge their values with the values of the dominant culture. And the white man wants to protect his values -- particularly his economic values. The materialism which has distorted his dealings with the entire world.

Their laws are used as the tools of racism. Ethics are adopted and discarded at the whim of a racist Congress. Adam Clayton Powell loses his seat in the House of Representatives for alleged offenses far less serious than those of Senator Dodd, who was merely censored for his crimes.

The offenses of which Powell was accused were less than Dodd's -- but his punishment was far greater. Congress was not satisfied merely to

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punish Adam; they punished all the Black People of Harlem. They stripped Harlem of representation.

They made the decision to throw Adam out in less than a day of debate. It took the Senate weeks to even vote to censure Dodd.

One thing they couldn't do — they couldn't get Adam to beg. They couldn't get our man to come whimpering — the way they did with Thomas Dodd.

But they will keep on trying. They will organize special investigations to determine if Adam is guilty of civil offenses — while Senator Eastland, of Mississippi, is immune to even the inconvenience of defending himself against the civil charge of "conspiracy to violate civil rights in Louisiana."

These attacks upon Black Men are not restricted to economic and political means. In Newark, of 26 dead, in the recent rebellion, 24 were Black People. The ratio was similar in Watts. Not one white man died in Harlem's rebellion.

And who is to blame for the rebellions? This point we need not argue. The white man is the judge, jury and the executioner in his system and he first made the law so as to control us. We are called the violators of his "Law and Order" — "Criminals."

Yet he knows that the white racist society is to blame for all of the conditions which force a man to rebel. His concept of "Law and Order" means the legal methods of exploiting Blacks. We object and we resist.

Some so-called Negro leaders even have the audacity to join The Man — by calling a Liberation Struggle a riot — his brothers hoodlums and criminals — and damning his brothers who seek to overthrow the yoke of oppression.

And when these rebellions temporarily subside -- what happens? Black People are stranded without food, medical supplies and other essentials: Old People, babies, pregnant women must stand in line for hours to get one quart of ransid milk and a box of cereal.

No National Agencies come to their aid: They are left to their own devices.

We sent an urgent telegram to the President of the United States -- requesting that sections of Newark be declared a National Disaster Area — so that the Red Cross and government agencies could move in with food and supplies. In response, from the Office of Emergency Planning, we received a terse message.

I quote: "Your request for the designation of the area of Newark, New Jersey as National Disaster Area has been referred to this office for response. Disasters are defined by this office to include only natural disasters. Therefore do not cover the circumstances of the disaster of riots in Newark."

As history unfolds, it becomes more and more apparent that questions must be raised -- the same questions which were raised by the events in Nazi Germany. This time, answers must be found.

Why didn't the Jews organize to oppose Hitler? Why weren't they a solid enough political force to prevent his ascent to power? Why did so many people march so slowly to their deaths? Why didn't they resist? What techniques did the Germans apply? What methods did they use? Were not the Jews psychologically prepared for genocide?

Before the mass extermination began, Jews were degraded systematically. They were confined to ghettos. They were kept apart. They were forced to wear a special badge of dishonor -- the Star of David.

In America, the special badge does not need to be sewn on a man's jacket. He is always Black.

In this country, the ghetto is not defined by barbed wire: The ghetto follows the Black Man wherever he goes.

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Hitler was faced with the task of destroying Jewish economic power. In America, the task is easier. The Black Man has no economic power. At this late date, there is little need to escalate economic oppression. The Black Man is at the bottom of the ladder.

Black People have always lived under fear of torture and death by this racist system -- fear of being beaten by whips or chains in slavery, fear of expressing themselves at the cost of death, fear of life itself. Fear of exercising the basic rights supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

But we paid our dues for being a man -- a slave -- for seeking to express ourselves, for telling the truth about this wretched system. In slavery, they cut our heel strings to stop us from running and joining the underground railroad. Yes, we've paid our dues. It is estimated that sixty million of us died as a direct result of the slave trade. They lynched us by the hundreds and thousands for simply saying what we saw.

We pay our dues today -- the death penalty is primarily reserved for Blacks when a crime is committed -- or alleged. "Equal Justice Under Law" is a farce when an all-white jury convicts Muhammad Ali in less than twenty minutes, when Black Men are shot in religious worship in Los Angeles because they are Muslims -- when Black Leaders are afraid to speak out because, if they do, it means economic isolation.

Yes, Black People know fear and live with it each and every day of their lives -- in deadly fear of the white man's potential. We know he can kill, we know he will -- because of his hurt pride -- we know that his personality demands that he control whatever he sees, we know that normal dissent is treason in his blue eyes.

In fact, we know The Man better than he know himself. We know him for what he is. We know he will kill us if he can -- one by one or all at once.

Yet, in spite of all this, there are those of us who have been defeated by his tactics, misled by his propoganda machine.

It is evident that too many American Black People are psychologically prepared for genocide. Too many Black People believe that they are really inferior. Too many Black People want to look like the white man and be like the white man.

Hitler's propoganda techniques have been refined and expanded. The propoganda of white supremacy is advanced through advertising, entertainment and through education and folklore that ignores the contributions of Black People to World Civilization; through the acceptance of the European standard of beauty and culture, while disparaging and disregarding the values of three quarters of the world -- while ignoring the beauty that is Black.

How else could you explain the failure of some Black People to understand and accept Black Power? Any rational person or group of people understand the need for self-preservation.

Could it be that some Black People have been so misled, so confused by white America that they don't understand they need power of their own to protect themselves? Could it be that some middle-class Negroes have become so enamored with the death-wish of integration -- the dream of absorption and disappearance into the white man's culture -- that he fears his Blackness?

Maybe it's that too few Black People are aware of the machinery already set up for their possible destruction. Maybe they don't know about the McCarran Act.

Title II of the McCarran Act provides the Attorney General with the power, in the event of an "Internal Security Emergency," to apprehend and detain "...all persons as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such person probably will engage in or probably will conspire with others to engage in espionage or sabotage."

Maybe Black People don't think that the American government, that an American Attorney General, would ever utilize such a power. But, remember

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during World War II, those concentration camps were used for the interment of Japanese-Americans. The property of many innocent yellow people was confiscated. To this day, fair reparations have never been paid.

Maybe Black People feel that it is more important to be American than to be Black. Many Jews in Nazi Germany mistakenly felt it was more important to be a German than to be a Jew. Those who survived know better now.

The government could, and would, use almost any excuse to declare an Internal Security Emergency.

Opposition to the War in Vietnam, the constitutional exercise of the right to dissent has already been equated with disloyalty and treason. General Westmoreland was brought all the way back from the battlefields of Vietnam to merge dissent with disloyalty in the minds of the American people. Such pronouncements by the Commander of the American Armed Forces can only feed an atmosphere of hysteria about the war which could be used to justify the use of Title II.

We are experiencing another Long, Hot Summer. We are faced with violence in our cities and on our campuses. These rebellions against an oppressive system, these outbursts of frustration and hopelessness, could also be used to justify the use of Title II.

The white man has never pulled any stops in his drive for advancement. When he decided that he wanted land — rich American land — not one thought was given to the systematic slaughter of American Indians. In 1600, there were about 589,000 Indians on this continent. Over 200,000 of those people belonged to tribal groups which are now extinct.

Extinct. That means that whole tribes, whole groups of people, were wiped out. More than 60% of the entire Indian population was exterminated. Those who lived, were herded onto reservations.

Those Indians were victims of the white man's drive for the control of land. Land has always been the tap root of the capitalist system: Land is wealth and the use of land controls the people — both physically and mentally.

An example of this, in 1967, is the Urban Renewal Act. This act, which was supposed to be designed to provide low cost housing has never been used for that purpose. Urban Renewal has helped eliminate Black Ownership of property. It has been used to destroy the potential for the development of Black Political Power by the scattering of Black Citizens. In fact, it has been "Negro Removal."

When the Black People are removed, the land is transferred over to businessmen for redevelopment purposes, re-zoned and given an increased value. It is almost always used for middle income housing. In any event, the Black People are not able to return.

Genocide is a political decision. It can be made by a town, city, state, nation or group of nations. It was a political decision, for example, to exterminate the Communists in Indonesia. It was a political decision for the CIA to engineer the coup.

The London Times estimated the dead at nearly one million in the period of four months -- five times as many people died in Indonesia as in Vietnam in twelve years.

The techniques and tactics of genocide vary. The prevalent pattern has been, in recent years — to engineer coups where it is rumored that the Communists might take over.

In these cases, they have been successful in getting right wing Indonesians to fight left wing Indonesians, South Vietnamese to fight North Vietnamese, South Koreans to fight North Koreans and, in the Congo, Ghana, and other parts of Africa -- to deliberately raise issues which result in tribal warfare.

In this way, the white man keeps his hands clean and he is able to obtain the spoils of bloody civil wars. For he is, in fact, the only beneficiary.

It will be interesting to watch what will happen in the near future in

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such places as Thailand, Cambodia and Laos.

We cannot let those patterns which have already been applied so successfully around the world and which are already in motion in this country — be carried to their logical, ultimate conclusion. These patterns must be halted now.

And we must be the ones to do it. We cannot expect help from anyone but ourselves.

Even our friends in the peace movement find it too easy to look thousands of miles away from home and, with much indignation, see the extermination of the Vietnamese.

On the other hand, they cannot see ten blocks away, where many Black People are the Walking Dead — dead in mind and spirit, because of lack of hope and lack of chance.

We cannot look elsewhere for help. We cannot lean on the crutch of religion. We cannot depend on phony "coalitions." We must work out our own methods. We must draw our own conclusions.

To those queasy individuals who are afraid of the resolutions presented here, let me state my unequivocal opinion: The right of revolution is a constitutional right, condoned by the creation of the American Constitution itself. When we assert the right of revolution, we are asserting a constitutional right.

Revolution in America is justified by all standards of morality — religious and ethical: It is required to fulfill the basic, natural rights of man.

Even white men recognized the need for revolution when, in 1776, they revolted because they were oppressed. And today — 1967 — Black People are more oppressed than any white man has ever been — in the history of the world.

This is the time when we must unite — Brothers and Sisters. We must join in making plans.

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) has some ideas for programs in this regard — some short range and some long range. We are a common front into which all Black People can unite.

There is a need for a Black Brain Trust. Black People with the best minds in the country must come together to help organize and plan strategy for our future, to plan for every aspect of our existence — political, economic, cultural — international.

This is not a problem of Civil Rights — it is a problem of Black Survival. The concept of civil rights is pitifully insignificant when our very lives are at stake.

A Black Fund-Raising Base must be established. As long as the white man controls the purse strings, he will hold them tightly around our necks.

We must develop second line leadership in all-Black organizations. We must develop training programs throughout this country.

We must develop effective, sophisticated security systems — a national system of communication.

We must oppose the War in Vietnam but, more important, we must educate Black Youth not to participate in that war — now.

We must develop ways and means of dealing with those "Negroes" who sell us out — who betray their people.

We see the need to develop a Black Political Base. When an incompetent like Hugh Addonizio runs a city like Newark — where over 60% of the population is Black — we need our own political base.

Addonizio had advance warning of what would happen in his community. But Hughie insisted that race relations in Newark were good. According to the U.S. News and World Report of May 23, 1966, Addonizio said;

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"We haven't had any racial difficulties in Newark so far, and we don't anticipate any in the future. I think it's wrong for people to go around making statements like that. They could stir up the trouble we're trying so hard to avoid."

Those don't sound like the words of a man who understands the Black Community.

Then, to further illustrate his contempt for the Black Community, Hughie goes to appoint a white political hack with a High School education for the important and responsible job of Secretary of the Board of Education.

The Black Community demanded that Wilbur Parker, City Budget Director, a Certified Public Accountant with a Master's degree, be appointed. And to avoid doing that -- to avoid his responsibility to Black People -- Hughie convinced the present Secretary to remain.

But that is only one incident, only a tiny phase of a career of contempt, of disrespect.

In Newark, and in all cities where Black People are in the majority, the administration must be responsive to the needs of the people — must respect the demands of the Black Community. In any community where more than 60% of the people are Black — we need a Black Mayor.

In fact, the question of a white man's competency becomes irrelevant when a city is more than 60% Black. If he's white, he shouldn't be Mayor.

There comes a time in the relations between a people and an elected official that the people must say: "Enough!"

That time has arrived in Newark. The people must exercise their undeniable right to clean house. Too long, white elected officials have in these United States .. been immune from the wrath of the Black Population. They have translated this immunity into an utter disregard for the rights and prerogatives of Black People.

Black People must eliminate these evils: There is no better place to start than Newark.

We have consulted with the progressive Black Leaders of this community. It is agreed that there must be a Recall Election to get rid of Hugh Addonizio and replace him with a Black Mayor.

This conference should go on record at this time in support of the citizens of Newark in a recall election.

CORE is appointing Bob Curvin and James Hooper of the Congress of Racial Equality in Newark to spearhead and join in with other groups and individuals, to organize and coordinate this effort. Your assistance will be desperately needed.

People will be needed -- volunteers who are willing to work — willing to get thousands of signatures on petitions to recall Addonizio.

The recall effort must be followed up with a Black Conference for the purpose of selecting one Black Candidate, who will be Newark's next mayor; for the purpose of organizing a Black Voter Registration Campaign Committee; for the purpose of organizing a Newark Black Candidates Fund Committee — for the purpose of making Black Political Power in Newark a reality.

As men, — , we must now stand up. If we are truly men and believe what we say, and live by our convictions — we must be steadfast. Men are known not by words, but by deeds — and men we must be.

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER
P. O. Box 396
Orange, New Jersey 07050

October 30, 1967

To: Participants in the July 20-23 National Conference on Black Power

From: Nathan Wright, Jr. and other Members of the Continuation Committee

Subject: Manifesto, Resolutions and Clippings

It is an honor to write to you who have played so substantial a role in helping black people come together in the historic way that we did for our own good and the good of the nation at the Black Power Conference on July 20-23.

1 - We are pleased that at long last we can send along to you the enclosed Black Power Manifesto and Resolutions. They are indicative both of our common will and mood and of the diverse and mutually reinforcing approaches of black people in the present phase of the movement for black liberation.

Throughout our lively debates there was the clear sense that we must stand up with and for each other. We may disagree among ourselves but should not disavow those who seek black liberation. "Any and all means necessary" has been the characteristic will and experience of all groups both here and abroad, who have sought and won their freedom from oppression. Our clear and expressed intentions are to use the best means necessary to achieve the fulfillment of human rights, liberties, duties and opportunities to which all men who love freedom subscribe.

2 -Problems have been inevitable. Totally unexpected problems prevented the dispatch of the resolutions during the week following the conference. For this we offer our sincere apologies, recognizing the tremendous inconvenience involved to all. Members of the Committee on Continuation have been successfully at work clearing up a deficit of some $7,000, some of which was expected. (The registration fee of $25.00 was figured on a partial subsidy basis for all. In addition, our firm intention to turn no one away for financial reasons resulted in more than 200 persons being admitted at practically no cost.)

3 -We should hear shortly from the Committee on Public Relations and Finance regarding our Newsletter. The Committee on Continuation will both report on the important continuing work of its members

and committees and announce preliminary plans for our convening during 1968. Our efforts mark simply the beginning of a new day where black people have begun to realize that power and peace must rest with our common initiative locally, nationally, and throughout the world.

Members of the Committee on Continuation:

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202-726-4230 20012

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BLACK POWER MANIFESTO and RESOLUTIONS

A BETTER WAY

Ethnic groups in America have developed their own solidarity as a basic approach toward entry into the American mainstream.

Black Power seeks to create for Black Americans leverages for the kind of coalescence which will change the current patterns of Black defeat in employment, education and civic life into new patterns of power and fulfillment. Philadelphia, for example, with 33% of the population Black, has 9% Negroes in its employment force.

Clearly new approaches to the betterment of our worsening common life must be made. The July 20-23 National Conference on Black Power - through serious study and discussion recommends these Resolutions as a first step toward a better way.

This represent the first major national dialouge by Black Americans on the creative possibilities inherent in the concept of Black Power.

There were a great number of resolutions from each of the 17 Workshops - (representing 39 states and Bermuda and 190 organizations). many of which overlapped the resolutions of other workshops. Therefore, it was necessary to delete and/or combine like resolutions in order to reduce repetition and redundancy.

These Resolutions represent the distillation of the first major national dialogue by 1,300 Black Americans on the creative possibilities inherent in the concept of Black Power.

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RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED

CONTINUATIONS COMMITTEE

Dr. Nathan Wright, Chairman, Newark, N. J.

Omar Ahmed, Bronx, N. Y. Isaiah Robinson, N. Y. C.

Ron Karenga, L. A., Calif. Charles S. Stone, Wash., D. C.

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BLACK POWER MANIFESTO

FROM

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER

Black people who live under imperialist governments in America, Asia, Africa and Latin America stand at the crossroads of either an expanding revolution or ruthless extermination. It is incumbent for us to get our own house in order to fully utilize the potentialities of the revolution or to resist our own execution.

Black people have consistently expended a large part of our energy and resources reacting to white definition. It is imperative that we begin to develop the organizational and technical competence to initiate and enact our own programs.

Black people in America and in Black nationalist groups across the world have allowed ourselves to become the tool of policies of white supremacy. It is evident that it is in our own interest to develop and propagate a philosophy of Blackness as a social, psychologial, political, cultural and economic directive.

The objective conditions for reversing the plight of the Black peoples reside within the Black communities of the world. It is of importance that efforts be undertaken to develop a communications system among the larger Black communities in America and the Black nations of the world.

The masses of Black people in America, after 400 years of oppression and deprivation under the white supremacist government of the United States, and the great number of Black people across the world, still remain disfranchised, colonized and enslaved.

The democratic process has failed to bring justice to Black people within the framework of the imperialist government of the United States, and within the imperialist framework of white nations throughout the world.

Control of African communities in America and other Black communities and nations throughout the world still remains in the hands of white supremacist oppressors.

BLACK POWER MANIFESTO
FROM THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON BLACK POWER

The colonialist and neo-colonialist control of Black communities in America and many Black nations across the world by white supremacists necessarily is detrimental and destructive to the attainment of Black Power.

It is therefore resolved, that The National Conference on Black Power sponsor the creation of an International Black Congress, to be organized out of the soulful roots of our peoples and to reflect the new sense of power and revolution now blossoming in Black communities in America and Black nations throughout the world.

The implementation of this Manifesto shall come through the convening of Regional Black Power Conferences in America and in Black nations of the world.

It is recommended that these International and Regional Black Power Conferences be held before the end of this year, in the spirit of unity exhibited during this National Conference on Black Power. The Regional Conferences shall be convened by the coordinated efforts of delegates to this National Conference on Black Power in each region, working in conjunction with the Committee on Continuation of the National Conference on Black Power.

These Regional Conferences shall begin to structure methods of attaining operational unity in their regions in preparation for the convening of a Second Annual International Conference on Black Power in a year's time, to be held in a Black setting.

The International Black Congress shall act in concert with the Committee on Continuation, which shall convene the Second Annual National Conference on Black Power to establish a method of electing delegates to The National Black Congress.

The International Black Congress shall be inaugurated within the next year and a half, at which time it shall replace the Committee on Continuation in the convening of future International Black Power Conferences and in the implementation of programs for the realization of Black Power.

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THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BLACK POWER

JULY 20 - 23, 1967

R E S O L U T I O N S

WHEREAS, the Black people stand at the crossroads of either an expanding revolution or ruthless extermination, it is in-incumbent upon us to set our house in order; and,

WHEREAS, Black people have consistently expended too much energy and resources reacting to white definitions, it is imperative that organizational and technical competence develop to initiate and enact new insights, new definitions and new programs; and,

WHEREAS, the objective conditions for reversing the plight of all Black people demand that united efforts be undertaken to develop a communications system throughout the nation in order to forge a national apparatus for social, economic and political empowerment; and,

WHEREAS, The National Conference on Black Power is dedicated to the propagation of self-determination, self-sufficiency, self-respect and self-defense;

BE IT RESOLVED that systematic planned effort be made to organize and mobilize Black People for;

more...

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

1. That the secretariat of The National Conference on Black Power call upon our best minds to formulate and work out the mechanics for a national underwriting group, agency, corporation or authority for Black Economic Development to encourage and facilitate businesses, industries, Business Training and "Buy Black" programs in local communities;

2. That local community groups form economic development apparatuses to initiate cooperatives in various areas of consumer goods, housing, goods and services, residential and commercial real estate and other economic endeavors;

3. That the sale of "Black Bonds" be instituted to establish a national financial capability to provide a source of venture capital;

4. That the concept of "BLACK SUNDAY" be promulgated to raise funds for economic ventures. Churches and other institutions would set aside that Sunday in each month for collections to be sent to the National Economic Development Authority. Each person would contribute $1.00 per month to the Development Fund.

more...

5. IN THE INTERIM:

a) That selective buying committees be formed to facilitate the upgrading of Black workers on all levels and in all industries.

b) That local communities engage in extensive consumer education programs with consumer fraud and grievance committees to prevent the exploitation of the Black community.

c) That local credit unions be encouraged as an alternative to installment exploitation while building local Lending Institutions. Emphasis should be placed on savings.

d) That pressure be exerted against the Federal Government for the marked ineffectiveness and discrimination of present programs, i.e. Small Business Investment Corporation, Small Business Administration - Article 22103.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

1. That a Mobile Political Task Force be established to determine priority areas for immediate short-range political goals and then assign Black workers from around the country to work in these specific Target Areas. The most immediate

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areas are Mississippi, Gary, Indiana and Newark, New Jersey. This Task Force would be devoted to the election of Black candidates for public office.

a) the make-up of this National Task Force should fulfill the following criteria:

Experience in political organization; balanced geographical representation; the ability to raise funds.

b) That Task Force would bring strong pressure on elected Black Officials and aspiring Black candidates to fulfill their responsibilities to the Black communities and to guarantee tenure as long as they are responsive to the community.

c) This Task Force would develop working relationships with other ongoing structures growing out of the Conference.

2. That we work toward and encourage the formation of Black coalitions in the Target areas by functioning as a pressure group to increase Black political awareness.

3. That a Black Political Lobby be established in Washington, D.C.

4. That schools for Black political organization, strategy

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and tactics be established in Black communities.

5. That a Political Handbook be developed with "nitty-gritty" ideas, slogans and action plans, for the New Black Politics.

6. IN THE INTERIM:

a) That this Conference condemn the Cellar Bill, H.R. 2508, which would continue the gerrymandering of Black communities until 1972 and which has the net effect of preventing the election of any more Black Congressmen.

b) That this Conference demand the seat and chairmanship of Adam Clayton Powell be restored before there can be any meaningful political dialogue with the Black People, and that the principals in the Congressional action, Rep. Frank Thompson of Trenton, New Jersey, Rep. Sam Gibbons of Tampa, Florida and Rep. Lionel Van Deerlin of San Diego, California,who lead the fight against the greatest of all Black Politicians,be condemned and officially censured. Furthermore, that Black voters of Trenton, Tampa and San Diego are called upon to unite in political opposition to each of these men and defeat them in 1968 as enemies of Black Political progress.

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c) That this Conference goes on record as censuring the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, which is completely dominated, controlled and manipulated by white money and the racist AFL-CIO, for failing to support Congressman Adam Clayton Powell following the loss of his seat.

d) That this Conference observe the Constitutional Conventions and be prepared to counter racist promoted resolutions with our own resolutions in order to protect the 1st, 5th, 15th and 14th amendments to the United States Constitution.

e) That this Conference call for the election of 12 Black Congressmen, in 1968, to triple the present representation from 6 to 18 and that these new Congressmen be elected from the following cities and congressional districts: Atlanta, Baltimore, Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant, Cleveland, Gary, Newark, Richmond, St. Louis; a second Black Congressman from Chicago's West Side (6th C.D.), two from Mississippi's 2nd C.D. and 3rd C.D. and one from South Carolina's 1st or 2nd C.D.

f) That this Conference begin plans now to hold a National Black Grass Roots Political Convention following the conventions of the two major parties.

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h) That the Conference strongly condemns the United States Congress for passage of the so-called "Riot Bill". This bill is unconstitutional; it infringes upon the rights of free speech and assembly and is proposed to stifle Black Power and Black Liberation.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

1. That a Black Resource Directory be developed, containing all the names, addresses and phone numbers of community people who have skills that can be used to solve our problems. This directory should be a profit-making vehicle, involving commercial advertisement.

2. That a Black Hospitality Committee be organized to welcome newcomers to Black neighborhoods and orientate them to the organizations and services of the community, as well as the role they should play in the new community.

a) This committee would develop positive Black relationships between professional and other residents of the community, thus creating a Volunteer Professional Service Corp. (A speakers bureau is suggested to achieve this purpose). It would establish direct and permanent contacts

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with governments of Africa and the Third World, for social, political and economic development relationships.

3. Promulgate, establish and support efforts for economic and political development, by, of and for Black people.

4. That Black Protective Associations be developed for Black communities with Defense and Protection Units similar to the Deacons and the Los Angeles Community Alert Patrol. Provide physical education and para-military training, including the use of arms.

And that Black Police Captains should be appointed to Black communities and neighborhoods.

5. That Executive Boards of Welfare Administrations be composed of a substantial number of eligible welfare recipients to help formulate policies and regulations affecting welfare agency performance.

6. That programs be developed for the rehabilitation of individuals released from penal institutions.

7. That all poverty programs be coordinated and controlled by the Black community for the interest, priorities and empowerment of the total community.

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8. That National Black Holidays be established to honor Black Heroes. Example: May 19th - in honor of our beloved brother Malcolm X or similarly appropriate heroes.

9. That a Flag and/or other emblems be designed to symbolize Black Solidarity and African Heritage.

10. That every Black Church, Religion, Institution, Minister, Leader and Laymen not involved in the process for Black Power, be boycotted, ostracized, criticized, publicized and rejected by the Black community.

11. That all churches open every door and every facility for projects and programs designed for the development of the Black community.

12. That there be developed a Religious Philosophy for Black people (that would include all religions, cults and sects) to create a New Positive Value System for the Black community; and,

a) The formation of ATARO (African Trans-African Religious Order and Secret Orders) which stresses the unification system of Black Value continuity.

13. That a Black University system be established, programmed to the needs of the Black communities, and that the customary

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admission requirements associated with traditional institutions be dispensed with; the criteria should be commitment and seriousness of purpose, a willingness to want to learn in relation to one's experiences.

a) Such a university would offer Liberal Arts and Science.

b) College of African-American Studies.

c) College of Community Life.

d) That all residents, skills and services of a particular community, both professional and layman, be involved as students and/or teachers, collectively constructing the program and curriculum to overcome the damage and alienation wrought by existing institutions and programs.

e) That new professional categories be created to give legitimate professional status to special and unique skills and talents found in and needed by the community.

f) The formation of new Black professional organizations, with a re-definition of professionality peculiar to and essential to the Black community in which there is an organizational vacuum.

more...

14. That a National Board of Education be established to determine the structure and content of education in the Black communities, having jurisdiction over the following areas:

1) Teacher preparation and certification

2) Curriculum and program

3) School Administration

a) That the National Board of Education would be made up of representatives of local Black communities organized by regions, with board members elected as regional representatives.

15. That a National African-American Teachers Organization be formed to work for cultural and academic growth, development, change and empowerment.

16. That all schools in Black communities be controlled by Black Boards of Education.

a) Work to establish a community college in every community, controlled and oriented to the local political, economic and social needs of Black people.

17. That African Languages be taught in all Black schools to enable greater communication and rapport with the people of our ancestral heritage.

a) Publish a crafts manual that describes basic skills which might be used by Black youth.

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18. That experimental communities be developed and constructed out of what are now called "Ghettoes". That the Philosophy of these communities be based on self-determination, self-respect and self-defense, having control of all educational, social, political and other services of the community.

BLACK WOMEN AND THE HOME

1. That intensified efforts and programs be evolved to stabilize the Black family Unit by emphasizing emotional security, protection, love and respect for each family member.

2. That Black homes be encouraged to become centers of learning and growth, by helping adults assume responsibility for learning more about our heritage so as to promote new attitudes and feelings of pride.

3. That as sisters, mothers, teachers and nation builders, Black women be committed to learning, understanding and perpetuating our Black Heritage.

1) Through dialogue and discussion, research and reading, to promote the true image and role of Black womanhood through our culture, which is proud, black, natural and aware.

more...

2) That Black women commit themselves to:

a) self-preservation and continuity through educating and exposing our people to the genocidal practices by racist societies.

b) no longer allow the white system to rule our families, but take upon ourselves the full responsibility for the emotional and physical well-being of our families.

4. That war be declared against narcotics in the Black Communities, by seeking out and exposing pushers and obtaining medical assistance for their helpless victims.

BLACK YOUTH

1. That a Total Education Program be created for black youth consisting of:

a) an Action Institute and Summer Camps to promote self-liberation, self-respect and self-government;

b) Liberation Schools and Independent Student Guilds;

c) the creation of Student Action Groups.

2. That there be established a Black Youth Exchange Program with youth from Africa, in at least the following three countries: Guinea, Tanzania and Zambia;

more...

3. That a National Convention of Black Youth be called during the week of December 25th, preceded by Regional Conferences during the period of November 23 - 25th.

4. That there be established a group or groups to resist the negative system of the draft and implement a positive system of development for the Black Community.

5. Establish a permanent National Organization of Black Youth, both student and non-student, to;

a) establish a network for communication and dissemination of information between student groups across the nation, both at the secondary and college levels.

b) Convene a National Black Youth Congress

c) Establish a Black Ideological Institute to help define Black Values and perform socially relevant research and evaluation programs.

d) Form defense and protection units in the black communities.

e) Establish educational and vocational training programs.

f) Set up political action units to involve students in election campaigns and year-round political activites.

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RESOLUTIONS
FROM THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON BLACK POWER

ARTISTS, CRAFTSMEN AND COMMUNICATIONS

Be it further resolved that the Black artists, craftsman and communication personnel create a Black consciousness in the minds of Black people. Define, research, develop, project and transmit Black culture to the Black community and become the executor of a Black legacy.

That the Black communicator, be he artists, craftsman, musician, actor, writer, or whatever, initiate now in his own community:

1. Set up a Black Arts Foundation:

a) Commission the works of Black writers, poets, playwrights, painters, sculptors, craftsmen, composers, etc.;

b) Coordinate the use of Black artists and musicians in the Black community;

c) Organize a quarterly Black Arts Festival to be held simultaneously in Black communities across the nation on specified days each year;

d) Organize a Black theater circuit incorporating every Black community which would ensure the Black artists of an outlet and provide audiences with the opportunity to see talented Black actors;

more...

e) Organize writing, acting, art and music clinics for the instruction of Black youth.

2) Explore the creation of cooperatives in the following fields:

a) Recording studios owned by and using the Black musicians;

b) Radio and/or television stations using Black talent;

c) Film unit, possibly using home TV (Sony-type) equipment;

d) A publishing company to issue a Black arts quarterly;

e) A printing company;

f) Possibility of the necessity of public relations and advertising.

3) Organize a Black Travel Club to provide low-cost group travel, travel and accommodation information, rate reductions.

4) Encourage the use of Black writers now employed by white media to propagandize the Black community in its own interests.

more...

5) Set up a system of "ham" radio communication which would link up with similar outfits in other Black communities to furnish a nation-wide system of information and security.

6) Set up a national speakers bureau, with a link in each Black community to provide important Black speakers to every community.

7) Erect statues of Black heroes in each community, statues created by Black sculptors.

8) Create a national Afro-American Archive into which the writing, art, films and other creations of Black men may be kept, and circulated to Black communities on loan.

9) Demand that Black-oriented programs be scheduled by "white" TV and radio stations serving Black areas.

10) Installation of a telephone answering service with a dictated message in each community to service that community with crucial news and information.

11) Establish a directory of Black craftsmen and servicemen in each community to provide the Black consumer with names and addresses of people from whom he may buy goods and services.

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12) We propose that the conference adopt the following:

"We, the National Conference on Black Power, deplore the totally unnecessary brutality to Brother Leroi Jones and other Black people of Newark. We also demand that they be compensated for their injustices by the City of Newark."

13) We strongly urge that any future Black Power Conference be held in the Black community itself so that the psychological and financial thrust generated is directed there.

14) A newsletter should be created to be circulated to all those taking part in this conference and to concerned Black people providing continuing information on the efforts in all Black communities to fulfill these goals.

15) The establishment of a Black Press Commission to deal with inaccuracy, unfairness, distortion and lies in the white and Negro media, as well as to push the employment of Black newsmen.

more...

16) Noting the lack of identification and support for the Black revolution on the part of many Black artists and entertainers, we demand their support - morally, physically and financially for the Black revolution.

a) We should apply pressure to those agents and institutions representing Black artists without the interests of the Black community.

b) We further recommend that the Black community favor those artists represented by Black agents.

c) Black artists must be made aware of how the American power structure exploits their talents against the interests of Black people throughout the world.

18) The workshop of Black artists, craftsmen and communications personnel propose that members of its workshop be incorporated on the National Black Power Conference staff.

GENERAL WELFARE

1. That a Senior Citizen Organization be promoted to assume responsibility for the physical and emotional well-being of the aged, using all available local, state and federal funds

more...

allocated for that purpose.

2. Establish a United Black Appeal Fund for emergency assistance programs.

3. Promote the idea and program of reparations for the African-American people.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

1. Confer with the appropriate representatives of the Organization for African Unity to cement mutual ties and understanding and to offer needed services, skills and cooperation for mutual economic, social and political progress and alliance.

2. Establish an International Employment Service on an exchange basis between African and African-American brothers.

3. Establish a Student-Teacher Exchange Program.

4. Institute a program of "Travel to Africa".

5. Promote African-American Home Hospitality programs in all communities for African visitors.

6. Promote and establish an Institute of African Studies in each state, and every community, where possible.

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7. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT:

this conference endorses the revolutionary struggles against South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and all other colonized African territories, as just and proper, and pledge our unrelenting support for their liberation.

8. That we ally ourselves with all nations and peoples of Africa that are fighting and working to restore their national resources to their respective countries; that these resources are the properties of the people and should be used in their behalf and nor for the benefit of foreign investors, who are supporting the reactionary forces against the best interest of thepeople.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY OF BERMUDA

Be it resolved that the Bermuda Progressive Labor Party wishes to express the encouragement of a continual support to the International Conference on Black Power;

That the Black American people in their aspirations for freedom and self-determination will remain a strong ever-growing force and inspiration to the people of Bermuda;

That the extreme pleasure and opportunity for the delegates

more...

from the Bermuda Progressive Labor Party will in the future mark with respect the supreme sacrifice of all those Black people who have died in the struggle for freedom from oppression throughout history.

We therefore take note that henceforth the ties which bind us as Black people everywhere in the world will forever bring about new dimensions to bridge our future development as one of responsibility.

RESOLUTIONS FROM FLOOR BY INDIVIDUALS

1) WHEREAS, the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam is planning a massive action in Washington, D.C. on October the 21st, 1967;

WHEREAS, the main thrust will be to "Bring Our Boys Back Home". The need for the Black masses to unite under such a banner is paramount in order to demonstrate to the world our recognition of the Double Genocide of the Yellow and Black people, for the benefit of White Power;

WHEREAS, a disproportionate number of Black brothers are fighting in Vietnam for White Power and should be here in the U.S.A. fighting for Black Power and against racism and all its manifestations;

more...

BE IT RESOLVED THAT the National Conference on Black Power encourage all Black people to attend and participate in the October 21st mass action in united force to demand that;

1) all of our Black brothers be returned home.

2) an end to the racist draft system.

3) support be given the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and the Government of North Vietnam in their fight for self-determination, as well as all other liberation movements throughout the world.

2) WHEREAS, the National Conference on Black Power is dedicated to the propagation of pride and a sense of the natural beauty of Blackness; and is convinced of the unreliability of the racist white press, yet recognizing that pride in Blackness tends to be undermined and destroyed by certain of the news media within our Black communities;

BE IT RESOLVED THAT the National Conference on Black Power initiate discussions and negotiations with all the Black News Media, that carry advertisements that glorify whiteness (skin lighteners, hair straighteners, etc.) and trend to disparage and destroy the natural beauty of blackness; that a national boycott be instituted if such negotiations prove fruitless;

more...

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT a complete investigation be made to determine the total impact of the Black Media in perpetuating the negative image in the Black community.

3. That the National Conference on Black Power encourage all Black people to boycott all prize-fights until Muhammed Ali is restored to his original status as Heavy Weight Champion of the World, and that all products and companies that sponsor fights on radio and television suffer a total Black economic boycott as long as they condone the acts perpetrated against the World Boxing King, Muhammed Ali.

a) That all Black athletes boycott the Olympics to demonstrate their support of Muhammed Ali and this resolution.

4. WHEREAS, the masses of Black peopel, after 400 years of oppression and deprivation under the white supremacist governments of the United States of America, still remain disfranchised and colonized; and,

WHEREAS, the democratic process has failed to protect Liberty and Justice for Black people; and,

WHEREAS, the Black communities in the North, South, East and West, in housing, businesses, schools, political structures and

more...

all other elements of the private and public sectors, still remain in the control of non-Black exploiters and oppressors; and,

WHEREAS, rampant racism called "white backlash" overtly and covertly erects obstacles against our enjoyment of the fruits of our inheritance as citizens, paid for with blood, sweat and tears; and,

WHEREAS, there is no desire or commitment by local, state and national governments to defend full citizenship rights for Black people;

BE IT RESOLVED THAT a national dialogue be initiated on the feasibility of establishing a separate homeland in the United States for Black People.

5. That the National Conference on Black Power seek out Black veterans returning from Vietnam and recruit them to form an organization that will become the vanguard of a defense force to train and build protective units in the Black communities.

more...

6. BE IT RESOLVED THAT, while this Conference will formally adjourn its present sessions, in accordance with established rules of conferences; that a Continuations Committee for Black Power is in continuous session and will remain so until all Black people in America have won their freedom; and,

That all Black people adhering to the principles of this Conference stand in session readiness to be assembled for action and program implementation, whenever called.

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9B—
Durham Morning Herald
Saturday Sept. 2, 1967

McKissick Stirs Mostly White Crowd At New Politics Meet

CHICAGO (AP) — Floyd McKissick, his voice breaking with emotion, brought a mostly white crowd to a standing ovation Friday as he warned that the problem of the black man in America is "a problem of survival."

"We know that this country is capable of genocide," said the fiery leader of the Congress of Racial Equality. "We know what this country did to the Indians. We know that concentration camps are already set up in this country."

The concentration camps comment was met with loud applause, but McKissick made no further reference to it.

"We know white people have supported us, and we appreciate their support," McKissick continued, making choppy jestures to accompany his carefully worded speech. "But no longer can black people be a plank is in someone else's platform. We must be our own platform."

McKissick of Durham, N.C., spoke in the grand ballroom of the Palmer House. His audience consisted of most of the 1,900 delegates and observers to the National Conference for New Politics, a five-day convention providing a forum for activists of the left, peace and civil rights advocates.

Two tall Negro body guards flanked McKissick during the speech. Both stared impassively as he spoke. One wore a pillbox hat and striped African-style smock.

McKissick told the convention that a third party ticket in 1968, such as has been proposed with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. as its head, was not the solution to the black man's problem. He carefully avoided the use of the word "Negro," a word which is now in disfavor among activists.

"Organization is what we must have," he said. "Organization from the bottom. Organization in the house. Organization of your sons and your daughters, telling them that black men are equal.

"We must start organizing in the precincts, we must organize to gain local political power," McKissick asserted.

McKissick said 300 years of slavery created the country's current social problems and that the white power structure is responsible.

"When they tell me, 'You are a leader, go into the streets and take away that gasoline,' I tell them, Hell, man, you made that problem, you clean it up."

"This nation has taught black people a redefinition of the word 'violence'," McKissick said. "It has taught us that he who causes violence controls political power and economic power. It is a tragic lesson, but a lesson we must learn."

Before McKissick spoke, Ted Weiss, a city councilman from New York City, called for a 1968 reununcation of President Johnson at the polls. His speech, which emphasized reform from within the system, rather than revoluntary tactics from without, was greeted with boos from a large fraction of the audience.

Earlier in the day, Dr. Benjamin Spock, the noted baby doctor, asked that the conference's delegates play down their differences.

He argued that the first job of the convention should be "to organize ourselves as a movement—not necessarily as a party."

Spock, who has been mentioned as a possible new party nominee for vice president, said, "We have a wide range of political views here. If we choose to emphasize the differences we can easily paralyze the convention and the movement."

(AP Wirephoto)

New Politics In Action

Mr. and Mrs. Howard Lipson of Chicago make a bed on the convention floor for their 5-month-old son, Mark, during a session Friday of the National Conference on New Politics meeting in Chicago.

FEB 6 1967

43-10 Kissena Boulevard
Flushing, New York 11355
February 4, 1967

Floyd B. McKissick, Esq.
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. McKissick:

As expected, the NLRB's (Respondent) Hearing Officer issued a "whitewash" report on January 30, 1967, recommending that our Complaint of racial discrimination against the National Labor Relations Board be dismissed. Exceptions to his Findings and Recommendation must be filed with the NLRB by ~~January~~ February 15th, after which the NLRB will issue a final decision. The NLRB's decision can be appealed to the U.S. Civil Service Commission (protector of Respondent Federal agencies). Thereafter, we want to take the matter into the courts on the basis of lack of due process and that the decision is arbitrary and capricious, ect.

Our Complaint raises novel issues (it relates to promotional discrimination after the Negro is hired rather than the failure to hire him) including the lack of due process in the entire procedure for processing complaints of racial discrimination under the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Regulations which will affect the future promotional opportunities and livelihood (green power) of the black people in this country.

This matter could be the vehicle for pressing for the change of jurisdiction to hear complaints of racial discrimination in Federal employment from the agencies and the Civil Service Commission to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission as it is my understanding has already been suggested. I am convinced that there will be no justice for the Negro with complaints of racial discrimination in Federal employment until such change of jurisdiction has been brought about.

We will appreciate any help (including direct action projects) which might contribute to solving the problem of economic equality for the Negro in Federal employment.

Very truly yours,

R.E. Harding, Jr.

REH/iw

EXHIBITS A - J

N.Y. Times
10/19/66
96 L+

3 NEGROES CHARGE N.L.R.B. WITH BIAS

They Say at Hearing Negro Denied Them Promotions

By DAMON STETSON

A hearing opened here yesterday on the complaint of three Negro employes of the National Labor Relations Board that the agency had discriminated against them and denied them promotions because of their race.

The hearing is before George Bott, a trial examiner and former general counsel of the board, at its Second Regional Office, 745 Fifth Avenue.

The charges were aimed at Ivan C. McLeod, director of the Second Regional Office, and officials working under him. Mr. McLeod, who is a Negro, denied allegations that he had used a double standard in dealing with Negro and white members of his staff.

Officials of the labor relation's board in Washington described the case as the "first of this type." H. Stephan Gordon, associate general counsel of the board, said that the agency was "terribly concerned" about the charges.

The three complainants are Robert E. Harding Jr., a lawyer with a Grade-12 rating; Thomas H. Weddington, a field examiner with a Grade-11 rating, and Mrs. Celestine Bailey, a clerical employe with a Grade-4 rating.

Base Salaries Listed

The basic salary in Grade 12 is $10,927, which would be $12,800 in Grade 13. The Grade 11 basic salary is $9,000. For Grade 4, the basic salary is $4,776. It would go to $5,331 in Grade 5. There are also steps within each grade.

In testimony yesterday, Mr. Harding described his unsuccessful efforts to obtain a promotion to a higher rating. He said there had been no complaints about the quality of his work by his supervisors and that they had on several occasions commended him for his work.

Nevertheless, he said, he was not promoted to a higher job classification and was told by Mr. McLeod and at least one of his associates that "higher" standards of performance were required of Negroes than of whites before they could be advanced.

Mr. Harding quoted Mr. McLeod as having said that if a Negro made a mistake, it would make him look bad and that he wouldn't put up with it.

"I told him," Mr. Harding said, "that I wanted to be evaluated the same way as others. Then Mr. McLeod said, 'I will not do a favor for a Negro. I'm not going to give you any special consideration'."

After the charges were filed with Clarence S. Wright, Equal Employment Opportunity Officer for the labor relations board in Washington, Russell R. Miller, a former employe of the board, was ordered to investigate the complaint. He made a written report, but Mr McLeod, his attorney, Sidney Danielson, and William J. Davis, representing the general counsel of the board, decline to make the findings public, saying that it was an intra-agency document.

Ouster of Press Sought

Mr. Danielson also asked, when a reporter appeared, that the hearing be closed to the public and that all "strangers" be removed. W. Eugene Sharpe, attorney for the complainants, opposed the exclusion of the press, saying the question of discrimination was of "burning importance to the entire nation" and that the hearing ought to be open. Mr. Bott ruled that no one could be excluded "at this time."

The complainants are seeking retroactive promotions with back pay and interest. They contended in a statement that the investigation by Mr. Miller was a "whitewash."

They also contended that the procedure established by the President's executive order for handling complaints of racial discrimination by Federal employes failed to accord due process because Federal agencies were permitted to process and decide the merits of any complaints filed against them, with the right of appeal only to the United States Civil Service Commission.

EXHIBIT A

LONG ISLAND PRESS, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1966

Negro Director Accused of Bias

Three Negro employes of the regional office of the National Labor Relations Board claimed yesterday that they were discriminated against by the office director—himself a Negro.

Ivan McLeod, the regional office director, said, "I'm a Negro myself and I don't practice discrimination against Negroes."

The charges were made in a complaint read at the opening of a department hearing.

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THE THREE who filed the charges contended they were denied promotions by McLeod because they were Negroes and that the office director used more stringent performance standards to judge non-whites.

W. Eugene Sharpe, president of the Jamaica branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, appeared on behalf of the two men and a woman who issued the complaint.

They were identified as Robert E. Harding Jr., an attorney for the board; Thomas H. Weddington, a field examiner, and Miss Celestine Bailey, a clerical worker.

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SHARPE contended that in the nine years that McLeod has been head of the regional office, only one Negro has been elevated to a high grade. That promotion, he said, was made five years ago.

Sharpe claimed that McLeod "continuously refused to promote Harding and Weddington . . . violation of the President's equal employment opportunity order."

EXHIBIT B

N. L. R. B. OFFICE CLEARED OF BIAS

N.Y. Times 2/3/67

Ruling Denies 3 Negro Aides Were Bypassed on Jobs

p.10

By DAMON STETSON

A trial examiner of the National Labor Relations Board found yesterday that the Second Regional Office of the board here had not discriminated against three Negro employes, as they had charged.

In a decision disclosed here, George J. Bott, the trial examiner, said the testimony and evidence presented at hearings last October and November did not support charges by the three employes. They had charged that Ivan C. McLeod, director of the office, and officials working under him had discriminated against them and denied them promotions because of their race.

Mr. McLeod, who also is a Negro, and other executives of the agency's office here had denied the allegations in testimony at the hearing.

"With respect to hirings and promotions generally," Mr. Bott said in part, "McLeod has hired or been instrumental in hiring Negro employes in the past and there are Negroes presently working in his office in clerical and professional capacities. I find and conclude that there is no evidence of any weight relating to members of any race on the employment roles indicating that respondent [Mr. McLeod] has discriminated against members of any race."

Complainants Listed

The complaint was filed last July by Robert E. Harding Jr., a lawyer with a Grade-12 rating; Thomas H. Weddington, a field examiner with a Grade-11 rating, and Mrs. Celestine Bailey, a clerical employe with a Grade-4 rating.

Mr. Harding had contended that his promotion from Grade 11 to Grade 12 had been delayed for a substantial period and that Mr. McLeod refused to recommend him for promotion to Grade 13 because he was a Negro.

Mr. Weddington charged Mr. McLeod refused to recommend him for promotion to Grade 12 for the same reason. Mrs. Bailey charged Mr. McLeod had refused to promote her to positions for which she applied because she was a Negro.

During the hearing Mr. Harding testified that Samuel Kaynard, then regional attorney, had told him in Mr. McLeod's office that he was not being promoted because "we require more work out of you and expect more drive from you, because you are a Negro." Mr. Harding testified that Mr. McLeod spoke up and agreed with Mr. Kaynard.

In subsequent testimony both Mr. McLeod and Mr. Kaynard denied any such statement had been made or any such policy existed.

Other officials of the regional office testified that they knew of no dual policy applying to Negroes and whites.

Mr. McLeod, in his testimony, said that in his opinion, and on the basis of his knowledge of Mr. Harding's work, the lawyer was not qualified for Grade 13. None of Mr. Harding's supervisors has recommended him for it, Mr. McLeod said.

Mr. Weddington's supervisor, Meyer Reines, testified he could not recommend him for promotion because of certain weaknesses in his performance, Mr. Bott said.

In the case of Mrs. Bailey, Mr. Bott noted that another Negro was appointed to the position she had wanted, and that it paid no more than what Mrs. Bailey was earning.

EXHIBIT C

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APPEAL: There Long Islanders are appealing a trial examiner's findings that National Labor Relations Board Regional Director Ivan C. McLeod was not guilty of racial discrimination.

Examiner George J. Bott ruled Jan. 30 that there was no merit to the charges brought by Robert E. Harding Jr. of Flushing, NLRB attorney; Thomas Weddington of Flushing, field examiner, and Mrs. Celestine Bailey of St. Albans, a clerical worker, that they had been discriminated against in regard to job and promotional opportunities because they are Negroes.

Their attorney, W. Eugene Sharpe, who is president of the Jamaica NAACP, filed exceptions with the NLRB's Equal Employment Opportunity officer citing 79 errors in Bott's report.

Sharpe filed a 38-page list of exceptions and an 80-page brief on behalf of the three NLRB employes.

McLeod, who is a Negro, denied the charges during the hearings held before Bott late in 1966.

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L.I. Press, 3/12/67 p. 48

EXHIBIT D

POINT V

THE HEARING OFFICER'S DECISION IS FURTHER PROOF THAT THE PROCEDURE FOR PROCESSING COMPLAINTS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT PURSUANT TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY PROGRAM IS COMPLETELY LACKING IN DUE PROCESS AND A DEVICE TO PROTECT THE AGENCIES

Despite the "show" put on by the Hearing Officer to make it appear on the record that he was "fair and impartial" his decision reveals beyond a shadow of doubt that the procedure for processing complaints of racial discrimination by Federal employees whereby the oppressor or discriminator sits in judgment on the oppressed is completely lacking of any semblance of due process. The Hearing Officer went to great pains and in fact just about based his entire decision on the fact that he could not believe that General Counsel Ordman's supervisors and representatives would have been stupid enough to have made such discriminatory remarks to the complainants. Well, perhaps, they were not stupid because if knowing full well that the machinery for enforcing the Equal Employment Opportunity Regulations will be by one hand-picked by General Counsel Ordman and is nothing but a device for allowing an Agency to operate with respect to racial discrimination as arrogantly, ignorantly, illogically, irrationally and as stupidly as it pleases they were free to make any remarks they desired.

Although the Hearing Officer found that Weddington did apprise DeSio of McLeod's "pass the bar" requirement (Fr p. 29, l. 57-58) he later stated that when Weddington protested to "the Washington office of the General Counsel" and sought assistance he did not say anything about the extra hurdle McLeod had raised to block his advance (Fr p. 31, l. 38-40). If the Hearing Officer by the use ofthis somewhat ambiguous language was concluding that Weddington did not tell DeSio about McLeod's "pass the bar" requirement it shows to what length the Hearing Officer apparently would go in order to distort the record in that such a conclusion would have to be based on testimony not a part of the record.

If the Hearing Officer has knowledge Weddington did not tell DeSio about McLeod's "pass the bar" requirement he heard it from DeSio outside the record which is a denial of due process as Complainants were not afforded an opportunity to cross exam DeSio. It would be obvious that the Hearing Officer took testimony outside the record without knowledge of the Complainants as there is no other way to justify this conclusion.

Because of the nature of the issue of racial discrimination the President and the courts in their good wisdom have seen fit to set a standard for finding a violation as a "fair preponderance of evidence" rather than "beyond a reasonable doubt." In order to establish a violation of the Equal Employment Opportunity Regulations it is therefore not necessary to negate all other reasons and prove beyond a shadow of doubt as required by the Hearing Officer in the instant case. The Hearing Officer in his understandable zeal to "serve his master well" changed the burden of proof necessary for Complainants to establish the allegations in their Complaint and thereby committed reversible error.

Despite this procedure having been hailed by the U.S. Civil Service Commission as a "streamlined process" for an aggrieved Federal employee to get complaints before responsible officials quickly and to receive fair consideration, the Hearing Officer's decision shows vividly that it provides for the same old "whitewash" and thereby forces the issue on the "conscience of President Johnson." Just a cursory reading of the decision reflects that the Hearing Officer was unable to tear himself away from his employer (Respondent) and give an honest, objective and impartial appraisal of the evidence. It would be almost impossible for any employee of the National Labor Relations Board to sit as Hearing Officer in a matter like this and conclude impartially and objectively on the basis of the evidence that his employer, the NLRB, was guilty of such a horrible thing as racial discrimination. No NLRB employee should be requested to accept such an assignment.

If the Civil Service Commission and the President still sincerely believe that such "Gestapo like" procedure is, in fact, effective instead of just providing for a "whitewash" of the grievance, it appears that somebody is remiss in not advocating the same procedure for employees in private industry subject to the jurisdiction of the National Labor Relations Board and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Theoretically, should this "streamlined procedure" be adopted by the National Labor Relations Board and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the complaint process for an employee in private industry subject to their jurisdiction would then, as we understand it, work something like this. An aggrieved employee in private industry would file his complaint alleging discrimination by his employer because of union activities or race with his employer. The aggrieved employee would then submit his evidence in support of his complaint against his employer to his employer. The employer charged by the aggrieved employee with discriminating against him because of his union activities or race would, after reviewing the evidence submitted by the aggrieved employee, issue a report as to whether he himself was guilty as charged by the aggrieved employee. If the aggrieved employee should be dissatisfied with his employer's report on his complaint of union or racial discrimination he would then be entitled to a hearing before a hearing officer designated and employed by his employer with the right of appeal to the National Labor Relations Board or the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, respectively.

However, it should be noted that the present procedure for processing complaints of racial discrimination in Federal employment (including the instant complaint) smacks more of Gestapo and Star Chamber tactics than the above described theoretical procedure for employees in private industry because the Complainants immediate appeal is not to an independent agency or to the courts, but instead, to the U.S. Civil Service Commission which for decades has discriminated unmercifully against Negro Federal employees by denying them job and promotional opportunities.

Any justice loving person will readily see that the procedure for processing complaints of racial discrimination in Federal employment is void of any semblance of due process. Consequently, it is our position that the Civil Service Commission, the Federal agencies and President Johnson should be enjoined from using the word "justice" as long as this patently unfair procedure is allowed to exist in this so-called democratic country.

The Hearing Officer went to great pains to get General Counsel Ordman "off the hook" by pointing out and stating that the Complaint is clearly aimed at McLeod and the Second Region, not the Agency, and that is the way the case was litigated from the beginning (Fr p. 36, l. 58-59). The charge in the final analysis is against the General Counsel as he is the top administrative official who exercises general supervision over all attorneys employed by the Board and all the officers and employees in the regional offices. He therefore is responsible for the "mess" in the Second Regional Office.

The General Counsel nas known about the original discriminatory remarks by Kaynard and McLeod for almost four years but has failed to take any corrective action. Perhaps, he has been afraid to move against McLeod because he, as a member of the Urban League, might holler race. However, in view of the Hearing Officer's remarks, since the instant Complaint was filed by apparently Negroes, that defense would no longer be available. And since it was necessary for McLeod to go all the way to Washington to import Trial Examiner Christopher to tell about his work as a civil right's advocate, it appears that Whitney Young of the local National Urban League Office was not available as he does not condone McLeod's conduct in deliberately crippling the Government careers of, not one, but three Negro employees.

We submit that the Hearing Officer's findings and recommendations are not supported by the weight of the credible evidence and applicable rules, regulations, policy, laws and decisions. We respectfully submit that the evidence supports the Complaint and that a finding is warranted that Respondent violated the Equal Employment Opportunity Regulations including all aspects as alleged in the Complaint, as amended, and that an appropriate remedial

order should issue requiring Respondent make the reclassification of Robert E. Harding, Jr. to grade GS-12 effective from April 1, 1963, rather than November 24, 1963 and to grade GS-13 effective October 1, 1964, with back-pay in an amount not less than $10,000.00 plus six percent interest; reclassify Thomas H. Weddington to grade GS-12 effective May 1, 1960 and to grade GS-13 effective January 18, 1965, with back-pay in an amount not less than $16,000.00 plus six percent interest; and reclassify Celestine B. Bailey to grade GS-5 effective July 13, 1965 with back-pay in the amount of not less than $3,000.00 plus six percent interest; and further requiring Respondent to cease and desist from its unlawful conduct and to post a notice for a sixty-day period. It is further requested that the order require Respondent to pay the Complainants reasonable attorney's fees in the amount of $6,000.00 and take whatever steps are necessary to make them whole for losses suffered by reason of Respondent's unlawful conduct.

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ W. Eugene Sharpe
W. Eugene Sharpe
COUNSEL FOR THE COMPLAINANTS
209 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dated at New York, New York

this 25th day of February 1967.

Copies of the Complainants' Brief in support of [illegible] Exceptions to the Hearing Officer's Findings and Recommendation were this date duly served by certified mail upon the following parties:

Sidney Danielson, Esq.
National Labor Relations Board
745 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

William Davis, Esq.
National Labor Relations Board
1700 Bankers Security Building
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Clarence S. Wright,
Equal Employment Opportunity Officer
National Labor Relations Board
1717 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Ivan C. McLeod, Esq.
National Labor Relations Board
745 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Adverse Action Procedure by Sidney A. Goodman, President
National Postal Union

National Postal Union has responded in detail to proposals advanced by the Civil Service Commission for major changes in adverse action appeals procedure. We have spelled out in detail our objections, advising that "we are flatly and unalterably opposed to the proposed changes because we believe they are geared primarily to 'efficiency' with justice a poor second," etc.

While the activity of the Civil Service Commission is admirable in many respects, they too face major political "limitations" in many areas. We have pointed out that while the proposed revisions would ostensibly provide third-party intervention, "the U.S. Civil Service Commission cannot be considered as a disinterested party in the final analysis because they provide procedural guidance to all Agencies in the first place and must necessarily be considered a 'party of management' from our point of view."

The Progressive (published monthly by N.P.U.)
Vol 10, March 1967, P. 3.

EXHIBIT F

Bias Charged to Air Base

DAYTON, Ohio, March 15 (UPI)—Six civil rights groups filed suit in United States District Court here today, charging racial discrimination in job promotions at Wright-Patterson Air oFrce base. They asked a freeze on further promotions. The suit charged that the base was violating the President's equal employment opportunity Executive order.

p. 53

N.Y.Times, 3/16/67

EXHIBIT G

Delaware Post Office Hit With Bias Charge

PHILADELPHIA — An official of the National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees is charging racial discrimination in the Wilmington, Del., post office. John B. Lee, the union's district five president, says he will present Congress with details to back up his charges.

Rep. Robert N. C. Nix (D-Pa.), chairman of the postal operations subcommittee which heard the charges, promised Lee that the matter will receive major attention.

Nix assured Lee that the accusations are "of more concern to us than all the rest of the whole inquiry we have initiated." The chairman had led a three-member panel to his home city for the purpose of hearings on the postal promotions system.

Lee there made his charges of "flagrant abuse of Negro employee rights" at the Wilmington post office, and at the request of Nix, and Reps. William J. Green (D-Pa.) and Arnold Olsen (D-Mont.), promised to send the committee descriptions of specific instances of discrimination.

Lee had also complained that the Philadelphia regional office "has shown no inclination to effectively integrate its staff with qualified and career employees of minority groups."

Two Negro employees, at salary levels PFS-14 and 16 respectively, have left the regional office since 1965, and the staff now stands at 203 white employees and 13 nonwhite, Lee said.

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APPEARING WITH Lee, to seek a better position for the minority group employee in the promotions system, was James P. Baker, president of the Philadelphia Mutual Branch of the Alliance.

Baker told the Nix committee that there has been progress toward the goal of merit promotions, but he said that more needs to be done, even to the extent of "preferred treatment" in some cases.

"Yes," Baker replied. He said that too few minority group members are in policy-making positions at pay levels 12 or 13 and higher.

"We are a product of the old system which kept us out," he said. "We will never catch up."

Then, Nix said, "You agree with everyone that the old system was lousy." There was a general titter among spectators at Nix's term.

But Baker agreed with the sentiment, and he told the committee that the current promotions system is a step in the right direction, an attempt to offer equal access to the supervisory levels.

"I'm sure that the department is aware of the situation," Baker said. He credited "Mr. Murphy (assistant postmaster general for personnel)" with "seeing to it personally" that something is done.

But Baker said that postal employees should have more work training opportunities in which to broaden skills and so improve an individual's chances for promotion.

Federal Times March 22, 1967, p.3

EXHIBIT H

Federal Times 3/22/67, p. 15

Discrimination Charges Investigated at Hill AFB

WASHINGTON—While there are virtually no supervisors from minority groups at Hill Air Force Base, Utah, the Civil Service Commission "didn't find a single case of proved discrimination" during a periodic inspection last year.

"It's true" that Negroes and other minority groups "are not represented in large numbers" among supervisors, a CSC official declared. It is apparently difficult to determine the percentage of Negroes, Indians, Spanish-Americans, and Orientals at the base.

An Air Force spokesman reported that Hill AFB had 6.51 percent minority group employees, but there is no detailed breakdown. The State of Utah has 5 percent minority group citizens, the spokesman said, including 0.47 percent Negroes.

Not only racial but religious discrimination has been charged against Hill and the Ogden Air Material Area commanded by Maj. Gen. T. Alan Bennett. Among Utah's 890,627 population in 1960, some 72 percent were Mormons or Latter-Day Saints. But it is charged that 98 percent of the Hill AFB supervisors are Mormons and are questioning employees about their religious beliefs.

"We did find in a few cases," a Commission official said in regard to the June 1966 inspection, "that supervisors allegedly asked workers, what ward (a Mormon organizational term) do you belong to ?"

This was confirmed by Gen. Bennett in a recent massage to employees in the Hill Top Times newspaper.

"I was informed that in a few cases supervisors, in talking with employees in the work situation, have commented on matters of religion. For example, employees have been asked if they were members of a certain religious group and in some isolated cases, efforts were made to suggest to employees the desirability of conversion" Gen. Bennett stated.

". . . All supervisors are cautioned to be particularly sensitive to the need to refrain from discussions or questions relating to individual employee's religious affiliation."

The general stated that in his review of the Civil Service Commission report, "I am very gratified that their report to me found no evidence of discrimination." But he later warned that "It is necessary that we avoid discrimination or any appearance of discrimination."

While a Hill AFB employee told Federal Times that in 20 years at the base she had never found any evidence of discrimination, such charges have been made for some time. In a recent letter to this newspaper, Bonniford E. Boudreaux stated that Gen. Bennett's message to employees "is a malicious error and a stinging insult to the intelligence of all ethnic groups employed at this depot . . .

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"AREAS of discrimination are: When a supervisor consults the 201 folder of a prospective candidate for promotion submitted by personnel, a 3 x 5 card greets his eyesight reflecting " He or she is a good Mormon, good standing in the church, etc.

"Grades are tampered with. When a profile is made up at the personnel office, seldom does a non-Mormon name appear; if a non-Mormon name does appear, it is well down the list. Ninety-eight percent of supervisors are Mormons, irrespective of their qualifications. Negroes and non-Mormon whites suffer in this vise of discrimination. . . . The above was found by the above named commission" from Civil Service.

But Pentagon officials believe that Gen. Bennett is taking action to abolish discrimination at Hill. "Naturally the Mormons were there first and they have advanced to supervisory grades," one official said.

EXHIBIT I

Federal Times 4/12/67 P. 16

NAACP Suit Charges Discrimination in Ohio

WASHINGTON—A one million dollar law suit has been filed in federal court by Dayton, Ohio, civil rights groups against leading Defense Dept., Air Force and Civil Service Commission officials.

Civil action suit 3399, filed March 13 in the United States district court for the Southern District of Ohio, Western Division, is the first such court action of this type, according to a spokesman for the Civil Service Commission.

The Justice Department's Civil Rights Section will consider what action to take in this suit by various units of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, other groups and by various individuals.

The plaintiffs are seeking a court injunction "enjoining Defendants from making any further promotions under any established promotion plan or otherwise during the pendency of this action."

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PENTAGON officials have refused to make any comment to press inquiries as to whether an injunction has been issued.

The plaintiffs asked the court to grant "compensatory wages for loss of earnings due to denial of equal opportunity of promotion."

The lawsuit follows four months after the Civil Service Commission's Chicago regional office reported on a survey made last summer. Noting that federal agencies in the Dayton, Ohio, area "have made progress" toward providing equal employment opportunity, the CSC declared "more needs to be done . . ."

During the period of June 1963 to August 1966, "minority group employment increased by 689 or 14% in the major establishments, while total employment increased by 1,248 or 4.9%," the report stated.

"During the same period Negro employment has increased from 19.3% to 21% (5,577) of the workforce (26,598) in major installations in the Dayton area. Negroes comprise about 99% of the Federal minority workforce," stated the November CSC report.

Joseph A. Connor, director of the Chicago regional office of CSC, pointed out that review was made of five federal establishments employing about 95% of the federal workforce in the Dayton area. However, the lawsuit has been filed only against Air Force officials at Wright-Patterson AFB and various Washington officials.

Mr. Connor noted in his report that while progress has been made, much more needs to be done to assure equality of opportunity in the area of recruiting, training and promotion. Minority employees are represented in the middle and upper grades and in supervisory and foreman jobs, but generally are found in lower paid, lower skilled occupations.

The March 13 suit filed by the civil rights groups asserts that the "defendants have failed and refused to establish an effective administrative procedure through which plaintiff grievances and complaints can be heard and appropriate relief granted."

Among the defendants are Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara; Dr. Harold Brown, Secretary of the Air Force; John H. Macy Jr., Chairman of the Civil Service Commission; J. A. Connor, director of the CSC's Chicago Region; Gen. James Ferguson, commander of the Air Force Systems Command headquarters at Andrews AFB, Md.;

Gen. Kenneth D. Hobson, commander of the AFLC at Wright-Patterson AFB; Col. J. C. Wise, commander of 20/2750 Air Base Wing at Wright-Patterson; J. P. Goode, equal employment opportunity officer at Air Force headquarters in Washington; and William Ray Beard, also of Air Force headquarters.

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THE PLAINTIFFS include Sidney O. Davis, president of the Greene County, Ohio, Chapter of the NAACP; the Springfield, Dayton and Greene County branches of NAACP; Ohio Freedom Movement; Dayton Council for Human Rights; Dayton Alliance for Racial Equality; and Non-Violent Direct Action Committee at Dayton.

The numerous plaintiffs are present or former civilian employees of the Air Force at Wright Patterson AFB. They **charged they** "have received **numerous complaints of** racial discrimination, **deprivation** of rights, and **intimidation against** the Defendants **and their agents**" but have been **unable to negotiate** with the defendants.

These federal defendants are charged with carrying out provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the President's Executive Order 11246. But the "defendants knowingly and wilfully acting in concert have unlawfully refused to discharge their assigned obligations," the suit charges.

Moreover, the plaintiffs declare they have suffered "solely and only **because of the racial origin of said plaintiffs and all other similarly** situated employees of the Department of the Air Force."

Furthermore, the suit charges, even when the plaintiffs have received favorable findings and instructions are made to carry out the action "the defendants knowingly and wilfully and in utter disregard of the complainant's rights, refuse to take such action."

—DICK RITTER

EXHIBIT J

DRAFT FOR DISCUSSION

IN RE: THE NORTH CAROLINA LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
TO: PLANNING COMMITTEE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
FROM: F. B. MCKISSICK

Ford Foundation -

I. The Planning Committee of the North Carolina Leadership Conference on Economic Development has made plans for a conference to be held on the campus of Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, on November 13, 1965, commencing at 9:30 a.m. The N. C. Fund is assisting with our plans and is also co-sponsoring the conference. Invitees to the conference include representatives of the North Carolina Teachers Association, the NAACP, CORE, SCLC, SNCC, local organizations, representatives from the North Carolina Ushers Association, the North Carolina Publishers of North Carolina, Indians, labor organizations, attorneys, representatives from the Old North State Medical Association and Nurses as well as other organizations of influence. An invitational list is being made up inviting persons from each of the counties particularly in the Black Belt and from other counties where there is known Negro leadership. While this conference is geared toward the advancement of the Negro, it is by no means to be interpreted to be solely and exclusively for Negroes in as much as Indians and liberal whites as well as the labor unions are expected to play a vital part in the functioning of the conference from start to finish. We will be seeking federal financial assistance and assistance from private foundations and for these reasons the plans must be totally integrated. Our philosophical position is of course "Black and white together".

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN

The Economic Development Plan is designed to enable the Negro to help himself. It is contemplated that this plan will be experimental at first and will function basically on a local and state level, then hopefully nationally. It is a plan to work co-operatively with voter education and the civil rights movements, to save money on the purchase of food and other necessities of life, and to establish more than five hundred immediate jobs within a two-year period. It is a plan to make money and to help us help ourselves. It is also a plan to test our sincerity of commitment, our honesty of purpose and the belief in ourselves and in the belief that oppressed black people can unite in a common cause. The cooperative plan in dictated out of necessity and the experience of those working in the Eastern Black Belt.

PART I.

Part I of this plan calls for a designated county to secure one thousand Negro families, Indian families or interested citizens to contribute $10.00 annually for a period of five years as an investment in freedom. We anticipate fifty counties working simultaneously toward this goal. This would mean that a county would raise $10,000, which would be placed in the hands of trustees to hold as an investment in economic freedom. The trustees are to be elected at the conference. We anticipate that the trustees to be bonded and that they would hold the money subject to a trust indenture. We would also anticipate that those people experienced in financing and the handling of funds would be the ones who would be in control of the money subject to the conference decision. Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Mutual Savings and Loans and the American Federal Savings and Loan in Greensboro would be the depositories. The Trust Indenture under which the trustees would act is a legal matter and the Trust Indenture will have to be prepared in accordance with our anticipatory plans.

PART II

We anticipate at the Shaw Conference that we will ask for persons in each of the fifty counties to donate three-acre tracts of lands on which the trading post would be erected. We would create a business corporation who will own this land. Those donating the land will be issued stock for the amount of their ownership. We would prefer that the land be centrally located, be level and assessible. The creation of the business corporation is another legal problem to be worked out. Under the trust indenture as previously mentioned the trustees will have power to enter into contract with the business corporation for the development of the land as the trustees so desire.

A. THE PURPOSE OF THE LAND

The purpose of the land is to erect what we call a Trading Post or a general store in each county. It would enable the citizens to establish an independent line of credit free from economic reprisals which could possibly occur from civil

rights activities. The store would sell commodities which people in the community need: groceries, the seed, fertilizer, farm products, and some furniture. It will sell and lease tractors and farm implements. It will also have a service station component incorporated in its design which will sell automotive supplies, tires, chains, tools and other such supplies on a limited basis. Contacts are now being made with the Esso Company for the purpose of establishing Esso Stations at the various trading posts. The stores will also serve as a meeting place and space could possibly be rented to other Negro businesses. This of course, would depend upon the local character of the community. It is also contemplated that the various commodities produced in the respective counties would be sold at the stores. It is also thought that the stores could operate independently and establish warehouses somewhere near the main rail routes which traverse the state of North Carolina and that by so doing this, additional jobs would be created and an additional business corporations could be created.

B. WHO WILL OWN THE STORES

The stores or trading posts will be owned by the citizens of the county who contributed and make up the $10,000 by "cooperative devise". The Trustees who have the cash will enter into a contract with the business corporation who own the land to construct the building. The land-owning corporation will seek financing with the Small Business Administration, or the Department of Agriculture, or OEO (provided such proposals can be drawn) and the business corporation will construct the building in accordance with the plans which we will discuss a little later. The trustee will use the $10,000 for the purpose of stocking the stores. The question arises how will personnel be trained to operate the grocery stores. Here we contemplate the employing of local people to operate the stores. At the outset it might be necessary to bring in trained experienced people who will later turn the operation of the store over to the local people. Local people would be trained through the Community Colleges Program of the State of North Carolina and through the Adult Education Plan of the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction which has received a million-dollar grant from HEW.

III. THE TRADING POST PLANS AND SPECIFICATIONS

The planning committee has seen many store plans with architects and believes that the open-space plan which employed by the major super markets, A & P, Colonial, Krogers, etc to be the most feasible. The architect is presently getting a cost estimate on the construction of the building as the plans presently exist and the cost estimate for the same building to be built on a smaller basis. Erected on a three-acre tract of land, the post would provide more than one hundred parking spaces and a service station component. Cost estimate is $8.00 per square foot.

IV. OVERALL SCOPE AND FUNCTION

It is contemplated that all of the organizations who are invited can serve a very useful purpose in making the proposed plan a reality. Some of the postulates which have not been explained will be explained below:

1. It is contemplated that the Trust Indenture being prepared by attorneys will include a provision that none of the $10,000 can be spent for promotional purposes or expense. The trust funds must be invested in accordance with the terms of the trust agreement only.

2. It is contemplated that each year, each county would raise $10,000, it is also anticipated these funds will be used to create a housing corporation, a food processing plant, a cannery, and to be used for the overall operation of the trading post or improving its facilities. In other words the trading post would represent phase one of the economic development plan.

3. We anticipate by the second or third year of operation that we will have created lending institutions in the Black Belt area. All of the civil rights organizations will have been able to place Negroes on the various farm committees and FHA Committees to have the say-so on who gets a loan. We still see the need for the creation of lending institutions at this is the main method of control in the East. It may well be that finance companies might have to be started, second mortgage companies, credit unions or even banks which we will hopefully move up to.

4. The plan intends to create farm cooperatives. The trading post while being owned by the citizens will function as cooperatives. Once again we are concerned with a legal problem and the attorneys will work out the establishing of cooperatives.

5. It is contemplated that there will be a local unit of the Economic Development Plan in each interested county and funds will be solicited by the local citizens until they receive $10,000 which will be turned over to the trustees, and, of course, it is anticipated that accurate record keeping will be maintained by the trustees.

6. On the question of housing, the FHA 221 Plan on Housing is adaptable to this area. We are hopeful that by providing housing that an additional function will be served whereas many trademen can be developed over a period of three or four years who will maintain and construct housing either on the cooperative basis or through a normal business construction company.

7. Funds can be raised each Sunday in the local churches under a Planned System of Fund Raising.

8. The Plan permits us to receive large donations but would prefer having participation by as many citizens as possible.

9. Organizational contributions could also be made under our present set-up.

10. How will this plan be financed, since none of the funds collected can be used for actual expense? Here we anticipate private foundations and/or Federal Funds to provide for the employment of key persons who can direct these activities, coordinate the activities of all of the various groups in the state, bring them together and then systematically execute the plan. You must realize that this is merely a draft intended for discussion here this evening and is by no means complete in any aspect. Many questions will have to be asked and the plan will have to be discussed and changes and improvements depending upon Federal or State Law, local laws. It is a vision that we seek to translate into reality.

CORE
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
200 WEST 135 ST., NEW YORK, N. Y. 10030
CORE NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10038

Thought Control
Social Control
Economic Control
Political Control
Educational Control

The Afro American is a product of the American Society, With anger, his revolutionary ideas, his underdogs, his fighters, his middle class, his poverty, his love, his hate with all of their frustrations and confusions - he still seeks his independence.

The white man will not accept his responsibility for our plight. He does not want to be told of his responsibility. He refuses to listen when we tell him of his responsibility. He believes that - they are not perfect but - he and he alone must decide upon how this problem should be solved

11 Frankly you were not forced to choose your religion.

■ The Black Problem is the first Order of Business for USA - #1 Problem by basis of seniority alone - Problem since 1600 - and we slaved a Million Whereon 1 Million in The Viet Nam War now. What analogies about our dead.

① Vietnams are fighting for same as black people	NOT a separate issue
	Independence ①
Black people have been victims ever since one came here ②	Unique capacity ② to blow wrong side.
③ All Slave Owner -	Black Power

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

CORE

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

Floyd B. McKissick
national director

Joy + A. Records + Book to NAC
2. Legal Forms - George
A. Complaints
B. Power of Attorneys
C. Employment "K"

3. Lafter Mitchell Ticket or Placards

[redacted]

Regular - Radio TV
5. P.R. Program
6. Training Aids - Corrine
7. SKETCH Programs "
8. CORE Reading List "
9. Traveling Kits - Booklets Callis Brown
10. African Trip
11. Office Procedure
1. Cleaning of office - Sec
2. Covering all Machines Dept Heads - making Inventory of Equipt they use.
3. Reporting when leaving office.
4. Needed materials to function properly
5.

P.R. NY TIMES

Staff Brochure

Joy - Barbara - Callis

11. A. Accountants Conf. - Atty's.
13. Adam Power Conf.

12. Rockland palace for 12 months a years rental.
13. Fair for Building Hq.
14. Next mailing - Ruth
15. Staff Brochure - including Pictures of all staff N.A.C. members w/ bibs. for Printing all about CORE.

16. CORE Bill to Sponsor Holidays
A. Get OK Congressmen to Sponsor Bill
B. Hold Hearings - Congressional
C. Arrange PR - Press Conf.
D. Mail to Chapters - Groups
E. Mailing for Funds

17. Leroy Jones to Columbus & Cleveland

Coast Convention

1. Xerox Fog
2. Mailing Log Orders
3. Daily Contributory file
4. Black Power Week

Tape/Transcribe all Public Appearances

1 How does CORE seek to bring about these changes?

HOW DOES CORE SEEK ~~SEEK~~ TO BRING ABOUT ~~ABOUT~~ THESE CHANGES

2 Through the aquiring of
BLACK
POWER

3. Putting Power in the hands of BLACK PEOPLE so that they can bring about changes - whereby BLACK PEOPLE CAN CONTROL THEIR OWN DESTINIES.

4 This is called SELF DETERMINATION
(the quality or state of ~~being~~ one's own choice or will)

5 UNITY — (1) the state of being one; ONENESS (2) a condition of being united (3) that which is a complex whole

6 NATION — (birth, race, religion) (1) a community of people composed of one or more groups of people possessing a more or less defined territory & govt

7. NATIONALITY —

8 NON-VIOLENCE —
NON VIOLENCE MUST BE MUTUAL IS TO BE EFFECTIVE - NOT UNILITERAL
CORE DOES NOT Teach NON VIOLENCE
/OR NON-VIOLENCE
1. It imposes a dual standard of conduct based upon race
2. It is discriminatory against Blacks
3. It encourages bigoted whites to attack us
4. It is contrary mans natural and inherent right of self defense.
5. It it demoralizing to human dignity
6. It psychologically debases the Black man

① Fulton - Booking in N.Y. Theatres - On Campuses - Public Service Features
right to take up a collection

② Movie of my teaching Black Power w/ Kids
Inside CORE - McCleish on The Teacher

3. Everytime I speak certain conditions must be met. 1. Must have tape written permission to use tapes must be granted by me. 2. Advance Air Travel provided

4. Factual Charts on Racism & Discriminations, Kelso statistics, Training Aids to be made - 70/90% - CORE's address.

5. ~~Movie~~ T.V. COMMERCIAL - Everywhite person in this country be intrested in seeing Black people get Black Power. It is to the white man self interest - Add in NY Times - To make a commercial for TV use at NBC CBS ABC - others.

6. CORE Skills List - Use old Cards now in stock.

7. New Breed - as a CORE Project

8. Take a collection team w/me on speeches. containers Brown paper bags - They can be folded. Call to make up Kits. Use of Harlem CORE - LENNY to train young Black Power ministers.

9. Mike Washmore on lecture for Fulton
John Kjelens
WNEW T.V. - Black Power Series. Teaching aids introduction.

10. Flatlow - Don Elliott should be invited to corp.

11 Call the Dr for an appointment - Brace & exercises.

1. Emancipation Proc
   Possible DATES
2. Christopher ~~Adams~~
3. Richard Allen
4. John Brown
5. Fredrick Douglass
6. George White
7. Levi Coffin
8. Henry H. Garnet
9. David Walker
10. Denmark Vesey
11. Nat Turner
12. Harriet Tubman
13. Malcolm X

Olympics Statutes

Letter to Fulton

1. Tape
2. Press Conf upon Arrival
3. Dec Admin area
   Pictures & Placards on
   Campuses
   Open to local people
4. Bio + Picture →

~~Boy + Kent~~
~~Boy Conf~~
~~Drama - transp~~
~~Cheer from Fulton~~
~~Grateful Dunbar~~

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

POSITION PAPER

ON

NEW YORK STATE'S PROPOSED CONSTITUTION

THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE), AFTER THOROUGH STUDY AND MANY DISCUSSIONS WITH ITS NEW YORK STATE CHAPTERS, COMMUNITY GROUPS AND GRASS-ROOTS BLACK PEOPLE AND STAFF RESEARCHERS, SUBMITS THE FOLLOWING POSITION PAPER IN STRONG OPPOSITION TO THE ADOPTION OF THE PROPOSED NEW YORK STATE CONSTITUTION.

LAST SPRING, THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY SENT EVERY DELEGATE TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION A COPY OF CORE'S POSITION ON THE MOST CRUCIAL ISSUES FACING THE CONVENTION. IN THE INTRODUCTION OF THAT PAPER, CORE STATED ITS FIRM BELIEF THAT "THE 1967 CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION REPRESENTS THE MOST SIGNIFICANT OPPORTUNITY FOR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGE IN NEW YORK STATE'S HISTORY."

THE DELEGATES IGNORED THEIR OPPORTUNITY AND THEIR RESPONSIBILITY. THEY WROTE A DOCUMENT CONTAINING SUCH GLARING DEFECTS AS THE REPEAL OF THE BLAINE AMENDMENT AND THEN THEY HAD THE SHAMELESS AUDACITY TO INSIST ON A PACKAGE DEAL.

CORE WILL WORK TO ACHIEVE THROUGH AMENDING THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION AND THROUGH LEGISLATIVE ACTION, THOSE PROVISIONS WHICH CORE SUPPORTS; STRENGTHENING FAIR REPRESENTATION AND ENCOURAGING URBAN DEVELOPMENT. THESE FEW IMPROVEMENTS ARE FAR OUTWEIGHED BY NUMEROUS OTHER PROVISIONS WHICH CORE FINDS OBJECTIONABLE FOR THE STATE AS A WHOLE AND OPPRESSIVE TO BLACK PEOPLE IN PARTICULAR.

ONCE AGAIN, THE GHETTOS AND BLACK PEOPLE HAVE BEEN SACRIFICED ON THE ALTAR OF POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY. $10,000,000. AND SIX MONTHS HAVE GONE DOWN THE DRAIN BECAUSE SOME CYNICAL POLITICIANS DECIDED TO COMPOUND THEIR IRRESPONSIBILITY BY DICTATING A "YES" OR "NO" VOTE ON THE WHOLE CONSTITUTION.

CORE VOTES "NO" AND CORE CHAPTERS THROUGHOUT THE STATE WILL CAMPAIGN ACTIVELY TO DEFEAT THIS PIECE OF POLITICAL CHICANERY.

THE CORE POSITION ON KEY ISSUES FOLLOWS:

HOME RULE AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

THE CONDITIONS WHICH FOSTERED REBELLIONS THIS SUMMER--AT THE VERY TIME THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION WAS IN SESSION--RECEIVE SCANT NOTICE IN THE DOCUMENT THE DELEGATES PRODUCED.

MORE THAN 85 PERCENT OF NEW YORK STATE'S 18,075,000 RESIDENTS LIVE IN URBAN AREAS. MOST OF NEW YORK'S 2,000,000 BLACK RESIDENTS LIVE IN URBAN GHETTOS. YET, THE DELEGATES ON THE WHOLE IGNORED THE PRESSING CRISES OF THE CITIES. NEW YORK CITY ESPECIALLY IS IGNORED. WITHOUT FISCAL HOME RULE, NEW YORK CITY MUST CONTINUE TO BEG, HAT IN HAND, FOR WHATEVER CRUMBS THE STATE LEGISLATURE MAY TOSS IN HER DIRECTION.

THE REVISED CONSTITUTION OFFERS LITTLE OR NOTHING TO THE BLACK PEOPLE IN BEDFORD-STUYVESANT, HARLEM, SOUTH JAMAICA, THE BRONX, IN ALBANY, BUFFALO, MOUNT VERNON, NEW ROCHELLE, ROCHESTER AND SYRACUSE. ALTHOUGH ARTICLE X, SECTION 12 SETS NEW GUIDELINES FOR FUNDING COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, THE NECESSARY MEANS AND CHANNELS FOR THESE FUNDS TO REACH THE URBAN GHETTOS HAVE BEEN NEGLECTED. CORE IS CONVINCED THAT NOTHING LESS THAN HOME RULE OVER FISCAL AFFAIRS BY THE MAJOR CITIES OF NEW YORK STATE WILL STEM THE TIDE OF UNREST IN THE URBAN GHETTOS. CORE FIRMLY BELIEVES THAT ALL GHETTO COMMUNITIES SHOULD HAVE THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION WITHOUT UNDUE INTERFERENCE FROM THE STATE LEGISLATURE. PROVISIONS SHOULD BE MADE FOR AREAS SUCH AS HARLEM TO BECOME INDEPENDENT CITIES.

EDUCATION

THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTION DOES NOT MEET THE SEVERE EDUCATIONAL

PROBLEMS FACING THE STATE, PARTICULARLY IN URBAN AREAS, AND THE REPEAL OF THE BLAINE AMENDMENT (ARTICLE XI, SECTION 3) WILL INEVITABLY LEAD TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM.

IN PROPOSING TO DISPERSE FUNDS TO NON-PUBLIC EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, CORE CHARGES THAT THE CONVENTION DELEGATES HAVE DELIBERATELY VIOLATED THE CONSTITUTIONAL SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE AND HAVE ONCE AGAIN IGNORED THE NEEDS OF BLACK CHILDREN. UNLESS THE LEGISLATURE RAISES THE EDUCATION BUDGET ONE/THIRD MORE IN THE COMING FISCAL YEAR, THE VAST MAJORITY OF PUBLIC SCHOOL STUDENTS WILL LOSE ESSENTIAL STATE FUNDS PREVIOUSLY PROVIDED ONLY TO PUBLIC EDUCATION.

A PANDORA'S BOX HAS BEEN OPENED FOR PRIVATE COMPETITION FOR THE PUBLIC FUNDS WHICH ARE SO URGENTLY NEEDED TO UP-GRADE AND EQUALIZE THE GROSSLY INFERIOR SCHOOLS IN NEW YORK'S BLACK GHETTOS.

IN 1965 THERE WERE 950,000 NON-PUBLIC SCHOOL STUDENTS AS OPPOSED TO 3,191,000 PUBLIC SCHOOL STUDENTS.(1) AN EQUAL STATE SUBSIDY TO PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS WOULD DELETE PUBLIC EDUCATION FUNDS BY $790,000,000.(2) THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION INDICATES THAT LESS THAN 10 PERCENT OF NON-PUBLIC SCHOOL STUDENTS ARE PUERTO RICAN AND NEGRO BUT THAT ALMOST 50 PERCENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOL STUDENTS ARE PUERTO RICAN AND NEGRO.(3)

THESE STATISTICS SUPPORT CORE'S CONVICTION THAT THE REPEAL OF THE BLAINE AMENDMENT MUST LEAD TO INCREASINGLY INFERIOR PUBLIC

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1. NEW YORK CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION PAMPHLET-QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ABOUT PUBLIC AID TO PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.
2. IBID.
3. IBID.

SCHOOLS FOR THOSE VERY CHILDREN WHOSE ONLY ESCAPE FROM DISCRIMINATION AND POVERTY, SLUMS AND JOBLESSNESS IS THROUGH QUALITY EDUCATION.

CORE AGAIN EMPHASIZES THE STATE'S PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY TO PROVIDE QUALITY EDUCATION TO ITS PUBLIC SCHOOL PUPILS. IN VOTING TO REPEAL ARTICLE XI, SECTION 3, THE CONVENTION TURNED ITS BACK ON THE UNITED STATES BILL OF RIGHTS, VIOLATED THE HISTORIC PRINCIPLE OF SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE, IGNORED THE NEEDS OF THOSE CHILDREN WHO HAVE BEEN TRADITIONALLY AND SYSTEMATICALLY DEPRIVED OF A DECENT EDUCATION AND CAPITULATED TO THE AVOWED AND EXPRESSED ENEMIES OF PUBLIC EDUCATION.

HIGHER EDUCATION

THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTION HAS A PROVISION CALLING FOR "PROGRAMS WHICH MAY INCLUDE FREE TUITION GRANTS...ETC." THIS DOES NOT ADEQUATELY MEET THE NEEDS OF THE POOR. CORE INSISTS THAT NEW YORK MUST FULFILL ITS OBLIGATION TO PROVIDE THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY TO ALL ITS RESIDENTS IN EVERY LOCALITY OF THE STATE. IN ORDER TO DO SO, THE STATE MUST PROVIDE FREE HIGHER EDUCATION TO THE LEVEL EVERY STUDENT IS CAPABLE OF ATTAINING.

SCHOOL DISTRICTS

THE PROVISION TO DEFINE SCHOOL AID IN TERMS OF REGISTRATION RATHER THAN ATTENDANCE IS MORE EQUITABLE FOR URBAN DISTRICTS. HOWEVER, THE CONVENTION TOTALLY NEGLECTED THE ISSUES OF LOCAL ADMINISTRATION OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS, THEIR STRUCTURE, THE COMMUNITY ROLE IN THESE DISTRICTS, AND THE OVER-ALL EFFECT THESE PROBLEMS HAVE ON DETERMINING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR GHETTO CHILDREN.

CORE MADE A NUMBER OF PROPOSALS ON THESE SUBJECTS TO THE CONVENTION; ALL OF WHICH WERE TURNED DOWN. IT IS NOW UP TO THE STATE LEGISLATURE TO TAKE PROMPT AFFIRMATIVE ACTION ON THE PROPOSALS TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY AID, DECENTRALIZATION AND RESTRUCTURING WHICH WILL RESULT IN BETTER EDUCATION IN GHETTO AREAS. CORE WILL AGAIN PROPOSE THAT STATE AID BE HIGHER IN THOSE DISTRICTS WHERE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE READING LEVEL IS SHOWN TO BE LOWER THAN THE STATE AVERAGE. WE WILL AGAIN RECOMMEND THAT NO SCHOOL DISTRICT HAVE LESS THAN 25,000 PUPILS NOR MORE THAN 250,000 AND THAT EACH DISTRICT SHOULD BE SEPARATE AND AUTONOMOUS AND SHOULD ELECT ITS OWN SCHOOL BOARD. THESE PROVISIONS WILL ENABLE GHETTO RESIDENTS TO EXERT THE APPROPRIATE AND NECESSARY CONTROL IN THEIR OWN SCHOOL DISTRICTS.

AN EXAMPLE OF CORE'S PROPOSALS WAS PROPOSITION 1226A SUBMITTED TO THE CONVENTION BY HARLEM CORE. THIS PROVIDED FOR A MAJOR EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN DEPRESSED URBAN AREAS. IT CALLED FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AUTONOMOUS SCHOOL SYSTEMS BY THE STATE EDUCATION COMMISSIONER IN A MUNICIPALITY OF OVER 600,000, FOR A COMMUNITY OF OVER 100,000, ON PETITION BY RESIDENTS OF THAT COMMUNITY. THIS INNOVATION WILL HELP SOLVE THE PLIGHT OF THE NEGLECTED CHILDREN IN AREAS LIKE HARLEM, THROUGHOUT THE STATE.

RIGHT TO LIFE

CORE DEPLORES THE LACK OF A CLEAR STATEMENT IN THE PROPOSED CONSTITUTION DEFINING AND PROTECTING THE BASIC RIGHTS OF ANY PERSON RECEIVING PUBLIC ASSISTANCE. AT PRESENT, THE PUBLIC ASSISTANCE CLIENT IS ROUTINELY DENIED CERTAIN CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS SUCH AS SECURITY AGAINST UNLAWFUL SEARCH AND SEIZURE, THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY

AND THE PRIVILEGE AGAINST SELF-INCRIMINATION. CORE DECRIES THE FACT THAT CLIENTS ARE DENIED SUCH CONSTITUTIONAL CONSIDERATION.

CORE CONDEMNS THE CONVENTION FOR HAVING DELETED ANY REFERENCE TO PUBLIC ASSISTANCE OTHER THAN ITS FINANCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE REMOVAL TO ALBANY AND AN INADEQUATE STATEMENT IN THE BILL OF RIGHTS ABOUT FOSTERING AND PROMOTING THE GENERAL WELFARE.

CORE APPROVES OF REMOVING THE FINANCIAL BURDEN OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE TO THE STATE LEVEL BUT STRONGLY OPPOSES GIVING THE STATE SIMILAR RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TOTAL SYSTEM. WE INTERPRET THIS AS A DIRECT STEP BACKWARDS IN TERMS OF THE PURSUIT OF HUMAN DIGNITY IN WELFARE SERVICES.

THE BLACK COMMUNITY HAS BEEN DEGRADED AND OPPRESSED FOR DECADES BY THE BLATANT RACIST TACTICS OF THE WELFARE ADMINISTRATION. SOME SMALL IMPROVEMENTS HAVE RESULTED FROM CLIENT PRESSURE IN NEW YORK CITY AND THESE IMPROVEMENTS WILL BE SCRAPPED IN ORDER TO CONFORM WITH THE OPPRESSIVE AND OUTMODED STANDARDS OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE. THE INCREASED INABILITY OF A MOTHER, FOR EXAMPLE, TO GET A WINTER COAT FOR HER CHILD WILL IN TURN INCREASE THE CHILD'S INABILITY TO ATTEND SCHOOL, CONTRIBUTING FURTHER TO HIS GENERAL LACK OF OPPORTUNITY.

CORE VIEWS THE CONVENTION'S ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISION AS AN OBVIOUS HYPOCRISY OF CONCERN AND WE STRENUOUSLY OBJECT TO THE FURTHER CENTRALIZATION OF POWER OVER THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN THE HANDS OF THE STATE INSTEAD OF PROVIDING FOR THE NECESSARY DECENTRALIZATION OF POWER INTO THE CITY AND LOCAL COMMUNITY.

SUFFRAGE

THE LEGISLATIVE AND SUFFRAGE PROVISIONS IN THE REVISED DOCUMENT CONTAIN SOME IMPROVEMENTS, BUT CORE IS TOTALLY DISSATISFIED WITH THE FIVE-MAN COMMISSION, A PURELY POLITICAL SOLUTION TO A PROBLEM THE CONVENTION HAD PROMISED TO REMOVE FROM THE POLITICAL ARENA.

CORE APPLAUDS THE PROVISION FORBIDDING GERRYMANDERING FOR ANY PURPOSE AND COMMENDS THE DELEGATES FOR ABOLISHING THE LITERACY QUALIFICATION, A CHANGE WHICH FINALLY ENFRANCHISES NEW YORK'S SPANISH-SPEAKING CITIZENS. HOWEVER, WE STRONGLY OBJECT TO THE PROPERTY QUALIFICATIONS FOR "IMPROVEMENT AND SPECIAL ELECTIONS." THIS PROVISION IS CLEARLY UNCONSTITUTIONAL AND IN VIOLATION OF THE RIGHTS OF GHETTO RESIDENTS IN PARTICULAR, AND POOR PEOPLE IN GENERAL.

THE CONVENTION FAILED TO RECTIFY ANOTHER IMPORTANT AREA UNDER SUFFRAGE: THE ISSUE OF REGISTRATION REMAINS AN UNADDRESSED ONE IN THE ELECTORAL FRAMEWORK. CORE BELIEVES THAT THE STATE CANNOT PROPERLY FULFILL ITS OBLIGATION TO REGISTER VOTERS UNTIL IT BRINGS THE REGISTRATION APPARATUS INTO CITIZENS' PLACES OF WORK AND EVEN INTO THEIR HOMES.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
200 West 135th Street
New York, N.Y. 10030
212-281-9650

The below is a copy of the letter written by Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of CORE to the New York Times in reply to an editorial which appeared in the July 11th edition, criticizing CORE for the elimination of the word "multiracial" from its Constitution.

July 11, 1967

Editor
The New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

Your editorial of July 11 entitled "Multiracial" requires reply.

The CORE Constitution is a good many years old now and its drafting leaves much to be desired. In fact, a Constitutional Convention is being called later this year for this purpose.

One provision, as heretofore interpreted, <u>required</u> chapters to have a multi-racial membership. New chapters are now being organized in ghetto areas where it is unlikely that they will be able to attract any white membership or indeed membership of any other race except the membership of the race of the people in that ghetto. So that we would not be forced to deny affiliation to such chapters, we removed the requirement. It seemed to us ridiculous to require a ghetto chapter to find a token white man in order to quality for affiliation.

So much for the highly publicized and totally misunderstood elimination of "multiracial."

There are some basic issues which I would like to take this occasion to meet as clearly as I can.

The Civil Rights Movement as it existed ten years ago and eight years ago and five years ago no longer exists today. Black People have recognized that the right to eat at lunch counters is not the consummation but the barest beginning of their aims. In order to enjoy full citizenship, Black People are going to have to participate actively in the economic and political life of the nation. To achieve that full participation they will have to organize, and that organization will have to be their own.

In the last years, there has been pressure from Black people, demanding their rights as citizens -- with occasional, and grudging accomodation by whites. Misguided attempts were made by well-meaning people, both black and white, to moderate even this minimal pressure, in order to disrupt the system as little as possible. There has been virtually no initiative on the part of whites.

Where have been the whites who recognized the injustice of the situation of the American Black Man in more than general and theoretical terms? Where have been the white parents organized to provide equal educational opportunity for Black People? Where have been the white unions organized to wipe out employment discrimination and the lingering impact of past discrimination? Where have been the white housing experts and the white home owners' associations organized to create quality integrated housing for Black People and to terminate housing discrimination and to end the illegal slums? Where have been the white organizations organized to create a welfare system consonant with the high flown principles which are so frequently addressed to us?

The answer is obvious. With excruciatingly rare exceptions, none of these white organizations have existed and where they have existed, they have been tiny and largely ineffective minorities in the white power structure.

It is time to ask the white community to take the initiative and to wipe out the injustices of the present system. That is what white men of good will ought to be doing. It is well and good that white men come to us to help carry the burden of initiative, and we are grateful. But membership in CORE, or the NAACP, or the Urban League, or any other so-called civil rights organization, is not substitute for white people to move their own community.

Since the initiative necessarily rests with the Black Community, the aims of the present movement and its policy direction must be in the hands of that community. Too often in the past well meaning white people have attempted to exercise policy functions in the movement. Through lack of understanding and divergence of aims, much of their well meaning effort has been misplaced.

The Irish developed their own movement and their own leaders. The Jews developed their own movement and their own leaders. The Italians developed their own movement and their own leaders. The Puritans developed their own movement and their own leaders. The Black People of America are developing their own movement and their own leaders.

No person whom we admit to membership or who works with us in any capacity, is a second class citizen.

Editor, New York Times July 11, 1967

But the days when the movement was in the hands of the white college boys, great as they were, are gone. We need white support and we want white support just as every other racial and ethnic group to come to America has needed and wanted the support of the surrounding community. We are simply not prepared to rest any longer as an organized minority hoping for outside help. We are going to organize, we are organizing, and we are going to change the system as much as is necessary to assure the Black Community of Total Equality in America.

Very truly yours,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

FBMcK:bek

We hope that this will clarify our position and you are free to publish any part of this letter that you may desire; since this letter is more than 500 words, the limitation which is set by the New York Times, we are giving you the benefit of our full text.

January 2, 1968

The New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York, New York

Attention: Letters to the Editor

Gentlemen:

The New York Times of December 30, 1967 carried the article "Paul Whiteman -- the Jazz King of the Jazz Age is Dead at 67." This article is misleading. It is disturbing to many Black People, in spite of the well-written article "Pioneer Misunderstood" by John S. Wilson, which appeared on Page 24 of the Times. Although that article explained that Paul Whiteman was not, in fact, the "King of Jazz," the first and lasting impression was that Paul Whiteman was, in fact, the "King of Zazz."

Paul Whiteman was a very gifted person. He deserves credit for his contributions to world music. However, in these times, when Black Men are seeking their identity and culture, it is miseducating and dishonest to call Paul Whiteman the "King of Jazz." He was not the "King of Jazz" and could never be. Jazz is a creation of Black People and will always be a part of Black Culture.

Even the very word "jazz" has its roots in Black Culture. Originally, the word meant to "Mess around," to "jazz up".

The front page article states that Paul Whiteman made "Jazz respectable." In this contest, what does respectable mean? It means accepted and recognized by the white majority. As a Black Leader, I can never accept such terminology.

An article of this type can do harm to the minds of Black Children, who believe what they read in the New York Times. It

also tends to ignore the vast contributions of Black People and leaves white people ignorant of these contributions and more likely to accept the racist mores of this society.

If anyone deserves the title "King of Jazz" it would be one of these: King Oliver, Louis Armstrong, Duke Ellington, Jimmy Lunceford.

As a Black Leader, I cannot stand silently by, even in an hour of bereavement, and once again see Black Culture misappropriated by whites.

Sincerely,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

FBMcK:p

File
Let Will see
Same

141 E. 61, NYC
July 2, 1966

Chairman, National Convention
Congress of Racial Equality
Baltimore, Maryland

Gentleman:

It is my pleasure to be The Emancipator of your race and humanity - and to give evidence of this by presenting your National Convention with the 'Preamble' or Declaration of Independance, excerpted from The Miracle Plan SOLUTION for ALL World Problems.

Assuming that the newly merged World Journal Tribune of New York City will publish The Miracle Plan in its first edition on next Sunday, July 10 - the greatest service to World Peace with special emphasis on your race - is to demand its World Publication and immediate 'Inception into Law' in the USA and The World.

Thereafter 'Racial Inequality' will cease to exist and World Peace will descend upon mankind. This letter authorizes your publication of this 'Preamble'.

Sincerely yours,
Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor of BVM

BY:
Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor instrumentality of:
The Blessed Virgin Mary

'VOCATIONALISM'

The Miracle Plan

'SOLUTION'
For ALL World Problems

'Preamble'

We, in order to form a more perfect Union and World Society, based on the new-found knowledge of the true Nature and Rights of Man as clearly set forth in this thesis: 'The Miracle Plan of Vocationalism' which defines God's Magna Carta and Bill of Rights for mankind, do herewith publish and take the several steps, within our power, to compel 'ALL Rulers, Governments and Legislatures throughout the World - to change and abolish the collective Chattelistic FORMS and/or political philosophies of law, order and authority which today enslaves, conscripts and deprives Humanity of their inalienable Rights of Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.

When, as NOW, the trials and tribulations of mankind are clearly beyond the puny-scope, might and powers of agnostic men, Governments, Politicians and Political Parties, everywhere, to prevent, control and rectify the imminent danger of the nuclear annihilation of the MASSES, then does it become necessary that WE compel them:- either to vacate their respective offices, positions, power and/or authority - OR - to cease, desist and demise their autocratic, socialistic and totalitarian FORMS of decree and anarchy - LEST WE PERISH by their hand and command.

The Future has arrived! The 11th Hour WAS here and has passed away. Now, TO BE or NOT to be is the 'sole' remaining question!

WE choose TO BE! .... TO LIVE ...in World Peace, Equity, Security and SUPER-Abundance - and Harmonious Coordination with God and Man.

Prudence does dictate that the FORMS to which we have become accustomed be not changed for light and transient causes, hence, Nations and Peoples suffer evils to exist...but, when in the course of Human Events, as NOW, these FORMS have become genocidal, oppressive and insufferable even to stifling our very existence in the midst of Bountiful Plenty, then does it become necessary that WE abolish, uproot and change the Chattelistic FORMS which enslave US - OR PERISH by the hand and command of godless men.

Because this is ZERO HOUR of an ever worsening Domestic, Racial and World Crises, it is now past time to acquaint Humanity with God's 'NEW' Magna Carta and Bill of Rights for mankind - the advent of The Golden Age of Humanity - a new Pentecost in OUR time:

'Our Lady of Fatima's Miracle Plan of VOCATIONALISM'

Which 'unconditionally' guarantees the rehabilitation of mankind, the solution of ALL world problems by Natural Systemic Adjustment - and an 'autonomic' United Nations Authority - for the BENEFIT of ALL at the EXPENSE of NONE - 'NO' Taxes, Debt, deficits or Money Problems ANYwhere, ANYtime - at 'NO' Cost to ANYone!

What is VOCATIONALISM? .... It is a 'scientific' BUYING POWER Formula for the MASSES - 'YOU' - worldwide!

As you know, Man has the capability of producing SUPER-Abundance but <u>lacks</u> a scientific method and system for achieving a BALANCED production, EQUITABLE distribution and FULL consumption BUYING POWER of a LIMITLESS World Product - to EVERY Individual - 'YOU' - his 'equitable' Fair Share of Abundance and BUYING POWER! .....

Because ALL MEN of our Age are ideological WORSHIPPERS of THE GOLDEN CALF!

To: EVERY Individual - YOU - according to your 'non-competitive' True Worth of Vocational attainments, accomplishments and achievements; a 'guaranteed' scientific method, procedure and system which makes 'full and complete' PROVISIONS for ALL of mankind; for EACH and EVERY Individual of every race, color or creed including our Avocationalist personnel and present-day indigents and illiterates; at 'NO' Cost to ANYone!

'YOU' have 'NO' BUYING POWER - to buy your 'equitable' Fair Share of SUPER-Abundance....because, 'ALL' world problems are 'rooted' in the 'MONETARY DESTITUTION' of Nations and Peoples - therefore, the 'PRIMARY NEED' of mankind IS a 'One-World' System of Money, Equity and Uniformity for the EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION of SUPER-Abundance to the MASSES - and thereby forever eradicate the lethal paradox of MASS-starvation in the midst of Bountiful plenty.

The Miracle Plan of VOCATIONALISM scientifically employs: TIME 'IS' MONEY - of EQUAL EVALUATION EVERYwhere - as the Universal Monetary Medium of Exchange - 'ONE' Modus Operandi throughout the world - by establishing Society as the 'PRIME SOURCE of MONEY ISSUE' TO: - EVERY Individual, without exception, regardless of numbers - his or her 'equitable' Fair Share of BUYING POWER - according to his 'ever increasing' Vocational attainments, accomplishments and achievements; as he/she , the Individual, 'climbs' the rungs of his Vocational Ladder to the ultimate Levels of Attainments to which he/she aspires; at 'NO' Cost to ANYone!

Man, the intellectual, is the only nitwit on earth who mortgages his future to live today at the expense of his progeny's tomorrows:- shrinking the heads of the unborn by an astronomical mortgage on their future; thereby forcing our 'Thalidomide' offspring to covet, steal and kill as the price of survival in our man-made Jungle-land.

Mr. Money-mad has defined Money as WEALTH - thereby Man owns NOTHING - Money OWNS 'IT' ALL - thus creating the lethal man-made paradox of MASS-starvation in the midst of Bountiful plenty; because the Elite of Chattelism operate a 'Stock Market' Economy of Scarcity for profit to garner, maintain and control imperialistic-totalitarian power over the hand-to-mouth majority who are enslaved by freedoms status-ideology:- 'Chattel-renters of ALL things they possess for use; called 'PROSPERITY'??!!

Sucker - YOU - are a Chattel-renter of everything you use!

The NO-gold nations and peoples of great vocational potential are literally forced to live in a vacuum of poverty, hunger and destitution; actually forbidden to work, to eat, to sleep; because they have NO 'fools gold' hidden in a hole in the ground; therefore, 'NO' medium of Trade acceptable to the Money Syndicates of pseudo-freedom Chattel-land unless they willingly 'sell their souls' for a Foreign-Aid handout.

Even God Almighty could NOT effect a balanced production, distribution and consumption of Super-Abundance by 'employing' today's Money, marketing and wage-multiple philosophies and pseudo-laws of Supply and Demand - therefore, an absolute impossibility for Man - 'YOU'!

Let there be a 'population explosion'. The collective needs of Society are NOT greater than that of one man's Family of four.

God is THE Corporation - the earth His project - and Society the Custodian Organ of Equity for God and Man - His Heir and Vocational Steward - 'YOU'.

In the sight of Almighty God, the 'singular' difference in our concept and His, is a difference of 9 Ciphers...000,000,000...from four (4) in the Family to 4 billions, 4,000,000,000 - the 'ONE' large Family of God The Patriarch!

Oliver H. Perreault,
Coauthor of BVM

Our Lady's Miracle Plan provides 'ALL' mothers with an income as an Individual, according to her Vocational True Worth and the numbers of her children.

'WE' are 'unalterably' opposed to contraception or birth control in any manner, shape or form including the Rhythm dispensation.

Man has the capability of producing SUPER-Abundance but has 'NO' BUYING POWER! The Auto Industry could easily produce three new cars per year per family. No sooner done, the DEMAND would be for 'four' new cars per year; EXCEPT that today's MASSES have 'NO' Buying Power for even one USED car; unless purchased by Chattel Mortgage.

Were ALL men of earth capable of working 24 hours per day with the 'ultimate' in automation machinery and processes - the day would NEVER come when even this mythical SUPER-Abundant SUPPLY would EVER meet and satisfy Man's voracious DEMAND and appetites to use and consume - providing only that the MASSES had full consumption BUYING POWER equitably distributed by Society's Organ of Equity:- The Community Vocational Exchange and Finance Center in 'EVERY' Town - the Vocational Paymaster and 'PRIME SOURCE' of TIME 'IS' MONEY '<u>ISSUE</u>'.

A BALANCED production, distribution and consumption of SUPER-Abundance is achievable providing that the DOLLAR AMOUNT of Buying Power equitably distributed to the MASSES by Society the 'Prime Source' of Money issue (4th Amendment) - IS at all times EQUAL in DOLLAR AMOUNT to the total Retail Sales Price of the World Product on ALL markets....an 'impossibility' under today's Method of Enterprise which attempts to 'EXTORT' Wage-multiple Equity from its 'inanimate' Products and Services. For the past century, men of Darwinian persuasion and protoplasm origin have unionized themselves to browbeat the inanimate into achieving privileged minority equity.

Vocationalism IS, therefore, a new SYSTEM of EQUITY operated by Society, the Custodian of earth for God and man; wherein Society IS the Vocational Paymaster - for EVERY Individual, without exception;

Thereby RELIEVING the Economy of the World of its present-day Systems of WAGE-multiple Equity - thru Buyer 'EXTORTION'; wherein the over-head-profit 'compounding' of Labor Wage-multiples into 'inanimate' Product and Services Unit Cost and Sales Prices - literally FORCES Labor to 'kickback' to Enterprise - three-fourths (3/4ths) of his 'earnings' as the EXTORTED Price of Hand-to-mouth survival - and the 'remainder' for TAXES!

WE declare that the Congress of 1912, in concurrence with the Power Trust Syndicates of the world - abrogated - and EVERY Session of Congress, including the Year 1965, have abrogated the 4th Amendment of The Constitution: "The Congress has the 'SOLE' power to coin and regulate money" - thereby selling our Nation and Peoples and of The World into 'Money-bondage' by enacting and perpetuating Rule of Gold Political, Economic and Financial TAXATION SYSTEMS by which to exploit, dominate, control and enslave the MASSES - forcing them to become Chattel-renters of everything we/they possess for use; wherein Man OWNS NOTHING - MONEY OWNS IT ALL.

Our Nation and Peoples, and of The World, are NOW in the death-throes of Money-strangulation and Chattelism!

As a result, our Nation, States, Cities, Communities and the great majority of the Body Politic, and throughout the World, are 'BANKRUPT'; therefore, WE avow our humane intent and purpose to arrest this lethal insolvenvy and the ?Chattelistic FORMS which enslave and oppress US by declaring that a National and World status of INVOLUNTARY BANKRUPTCy exists, thus requiring the immediate establishment of a National and World Vocational Receivership to resolve our bankruptcy

by Natural Systemic Adjustment; as clearly set forth in this thesis: Our Lady of Fatima's Miracle Plan of Vocationalism; by adopting:- TIME 'IS' MONEY in Vocational Economics - of EQUAL EVALUATION EVERYwhere!

Therefore, WE, for the specific reasons herein set forth do: disavow the lethal, unconstitutional webs and fabrications of ALL attributable Social, Civic, Civil and Economic Laws, order and authority extant on the Statute Books of our Nation, States, Cities and Communities, and of The World - and emphasize OUR disavowal by 'STOPPING' ANY and ALL payment of levies and MONIES for the TAX-support of our Government Projects, Plans, Fiscal needs and policies...and if necessary We, in America, 'will' institute 'Suit' against the Government of The United States for recovery and/or refund of ALL Tax-monies unconstitutionally EXTORTED FROM OUR Constituency.

Therefore, WE demand that The President, The Congress, The Governors and State Legislatures 'immediately' abolish and/or eradicate ALL legislated FORMS of TAX-servitude and Chattelism extant on The Statute Books of The Nation, States, Cities and Communities, and of The World, and concurrently 'Incept into Law' God's Magna Carta and Bill of Rights for mankind as documented in this thesis: The Miracle Plan of Vocationalism.

WE, in order to form a more perfect Union and World Society have clearly set forth our peaceful intent, purpose and program for the 'immediate' alleviation of today's Great Crises and Distress with malice towards 'NO' man.

The World Installation of The Miracle Plan of Vocationalism is 'unconditionally' guaranteed by Natural Systemic Adjustment; namely, by a natural, normal and painless 'transition' from present-day to future-day concept, methods, systems and procedures natural and true to God and man for the BENEFIT of ALL at the EXPENSE of NONE!

141 E. 61, NYC 10021
July 19, 1966

Mr. Floyd B. McKrisick
Director of CORE
New York, N. Y.

Dear Floyd:

As our Airmen stand trial as War Criminals they are actuality 'Stand-ins' for our Powers-that-be.

As you know, the Powers have already fed the public a lethal dose of LSD - so they will mass-justify the annihilation of the innocent North Vietnamese people. Russia will in turn 'reap' vengeance on us as per the attached letter.

To date Matt Meyer of W-J-T and the Powers-that-be have been totally 'silent' as to intent to publish and /or endorse The Miracle Plan - so it is obvious they will continue to ignore me and equally obvious that they would 'demilitarize' you and CORE if they dared.

Itts time for us to unify our races and prove to the world that RIGHT is might - that there is NO animosity between our races and that we are dedicated to the 'Emancipation' of humanity.

The Pen is mightier than the sword. The attached is the 'balance' of the manuscript from which the 'Preamble' received by you at Baltimore, was taken.

As Mr. Randolph suggested, please immediately convene a Racial inter-Council meeting of CORE, NAACP, et al - to 'jointly' publish The Miracle Plan Preface and Preamble in pamphlet form - with a cover page caption: 'We want The Miracle Plan' - plus a footnote: FREE right of publication to everyone.

This is ZERO HOUR. The Fate of Humanity is now in your hands.

Sincerely,

Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor of BVM

Encl: Letter to Matt
and manuscript

C O P Y

Pentecost Sunday 11 PM

Dear Matt:

Just heard the radio-cast of Tom Murphy's hold-out and prattle about job security. Another delay.

I was given the visualization on Sunday night 11-7-65, dramatized for me on Blackout Tuesday, that Russia will on October 13 launch a Space Ship to the Moon - and make a successful landing on the 14th - then to 'intimidate' and conquer the world - or nuclear annihilation - in the event Our Lady's Miracle Plan has failed recognition, acceptance and installation.

I witnessed the incidence of the blackout from my former 64th floor office in the Chrysler Building which the visualization had indicated would not be standing a year later unless?

Tell Tom his personal job security is 'on the line'. I was provisionally 'fired' by the man who occupies Suite 6400 (well known) unless I stopped promotion of The Miracle Plan. My actual termination occurred on May 5 at 3PM - 2-years to the day and hour I arrived in New York.

Maybe Tom will give me a job so we can sweat it out 'till doomsday.

Sincerely

Oliver H. Perreault

Note 7-19: I've been awaiting settlement, without a job, income or insurance benefit since May 5.

The following 'SILENT' men have received the above and many other letters dating from 12-1-65. Draw your own conclusions.

CC: Dir. of Secret Service
James Rowley for:
Lyndon B. Johnson
Hubert H. Humphrey
Arthur Goldberg
Sen. Jacob Javits
Sen Robert F. Kennedy
Sen. J. Wm. Fulbright
Sen. Wayne Morse
Sen. Mike Mansfield
Sen. Everett Dirkson
Gov. Geo Romney, Mich
Barry Goldwater
Ronald Reagan
Richard Cardinal Cushing
Drew Pearson
Secy-Gen U Thant

Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor of BVM

VOCATIONALISM

The Miracle Plan 'SOLUTION' For ALL World Problems

Preface

"What advantage has the worker from his toil?

"I have considered the task which God appointed for man to be busied about. He made everything 'appropriate' to its TIME and has put the timeless into their hearts, without man's ever discovering, from beginning to end, the work which God has done.

"I recognized that there is nothing better than to be glad and to do well during life. For every man, moreover, to eat and drink and enjoy the fruit of all his labor is a gift of God." Ecclus. 3:9,15

I have considered the task which God appointed for man to be busied about;.....because He has decreed the Year of 1966 A. D. as the 'appropriate' TIME for this revelation:

To satisfy His great yearning for a 'SECOND' Era of Mankind to be as it WAS in the beginning of Time for Man....as it was 'intended' to have been NOW - and from the beginning of Eternity and TIME.....Paradise on earth....a 'SECOND' Era of Peace, Equity Security and SUPER-Abundance - for 'ALL' of mankind.

That time has come to pass....Thanks be to God and Our Lady of Fatima.

It is our great privilege, NOW to witness the manifestations of God's love and to participate in the wondrous elements of rehabilitation for The Golden Age of Humanity - Universality, existence everywhere - TO BE....as it was in the beginning of TIME.

AND; to fulfill the promises of Christ - Jesus said to His disciples: "There is nothing concealed which will not be disclosed and nothing hidded which will not be made known; for what you have said in the darkness will be said in the light and what you have whispered in the inner chambers will be 'preached' on the housetops." (via Radio and TV). Luke 12:2

That time is NOW; God'reveals' to man the hidden things and the things which must shortly come to pass in His own Time - in His own way and by His own 'device and instrumentality'. This treatise is the 'device' coauthored by His instrumentality.

God created the earth for Man, the Individual - countless billions of US - and He blessed them and said: Increase and multiply and fill the earth - RULE over ALL things in it" - Have Individual Dominion, Community and Economic 'autonomy' - Provide a scientifically 'balanced' production, 'equitable' distribution and full consumption BUYING POWER of SUPER-Abundance by Society's Individuals - 'YOU' - to enable EVERYman the Individual and Enterpriser to freely employ his every capability and mass-production know-how to produce SUPER-Abundance at a profit.

He created 'ALL' men EQUAL - for ALL have a Body, mind, heart, Soul, intellect, free-will strength....and a 'VOCATION' of graces, gifts, talents, knowledge-performance-abilities and skills which singularly identifies an Individual from ALL others; therefore the 'literal' thousands of VOCATIONS which endows the 'whole' Society of Man are EQUAL and GROW in TIME - in fixed, orderly sequence and natural, comparable Stages of Development in EACH Vocational and Occupational category;

Therefore, Man's PRIMARY FUNCTION of Enterprise IS the comparison, measurement and EVALUATION to 'equality' of Society's Vocational endowments to provide a System of Equity for the 'equitable' distribution of SUPER-Abundance - to EVERY Individual his True Worth Fair Share according to his/her 'ever' increasing Vocational attainments, accomplishments and achievements, recorded from the cradle to the grave in terms of TIME - in Credit Hours of TIME 'IS' MONEY.

Everything that ANYman will ever do will be done in TIME from the cradle to the grave because TIME is the common denominator of mankind, the prime factor in ALL reckoning even to reading these words. It is the 'PRIME FACTOR' of WAGE-multiples, henceforth to be PAID by Society's Paymaster, the Prime source of TIME 'IS' Money issue in TIME DOLLAR CERTIFICATES at 'NO' Cost to ANYone.

Thereby RELIEVING the Economy of WAGE-multiple Equity in LIEU of a Basic-Wage-Hour of $1.00 per hour earned by the Individual in Enterprise hence the 'SOLE' Cost of Labor entering Unit Cost.....'NO' Taxes, debt, deficits or Money Problems anywhere anytime in the future....at 'NO' Cost to ANYone!

"Whatever God does will endure forever; there is no adding to it, or taking from it. Thus has God done that he may be revered. What NOW IS has already been; what is to be ALREADY IS; and God restores what would otherwise be displaced." Eccles. 3:13,15....There is NOTHING new under the sun!

Vocationalism was conceived and developed by Adam in the garden of Eden and was the Economic System of the 'WEST' for the first 1000 years. After Adam's death, Cain's progeny infiltrated his Rule of Gold Economy to the eventual destruction of Vocationalism.

When Noe, the only Just man, of the 'MOST ADVANCED' civilization in the history of mankind began hewing The Ark from wood, the entire doomed civilization 'derided and scorned' the back woodsman.

God unleashed The Great Flood which He promised never again to do, but He did not promise to restrain the man-beast from the 'imminent' nuclear annihilation of the MASSES. One Couple and one Bishop chosen by God to survive US is adequate to perpetuate the Human Race and Holy Mother Church until the end of Time when the numbers of men born to earth will have equalled the numbers of stars in the heavens of heavenly mansions.

We, unconditionally guarantee the World installation of The Miracle Plan by Natural Systemic Adjustment from ANY beginning:- AS IS TODAY - or tomorrow after a major collapse of the World Economy's - OR - for The Remnant of US following global nuclear war!.....whichever YOU choose!

-----O-----

Every man has a destiny. Mine, by the grace of God, IS the 'complete' rehabilitation of mankind and to impart my 'visual' knowledge of God to YOU. To accomplish this task Our Lady of Fatima saw fit to 'endow' me with Her great gift of Original Vision as possessed by Adam in the garden of Eden before the second Fall of Man; received by me on Her Feast of The Purification February 2, 1960 - accompanied by the Gift of Telepathic Coauthorship as possessed by the Prophets.

This thesis and its Master Theorem are 'complete originals' - a project and work 'beyond the capability' of ANY man - except as the Coauthor of The Blessed Virgin Mary - which I am privileged to be.

Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor instrumentality of:
The Blessed Virgin Mary.

Insert "Preamble"

Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor instrumentality of:-
The Blessed Virgin Mary

The Miracle Plan of 'VOCATIONALISM'

BY:

'OUR LADY of FATIMA'

'Development Premises'

What is VOCATIONALISM? .... It is a 'scientific' BUYING POWER Formula for the MASSES - 'YOU' - worldwide...a new SYSTEM of EQUITY operated by Society, the Custodian of earth for God and man; wherein Society IS the Vocational Paymaster for EVERY Individual - 'YOU'.

Who are 'YOU'?

The Law of ALL Life on earth IS:- 'Increase and multiply and fill the earth - and to Man, God's steward - 'YOU' - the added mandate:- 'Have Vocational Dominion' ...therefore ALL men are EQUAL in His sight for ALL have a Body, mind-heart, Soul, intellect and Free-will strength; and 'YOU' have 'specific' Vocational abilities and skills which singularly identifies 'YOU', the Individual from ALL OTHERS!

Whatever IT is - IT Grows in 'TIME' - in fixed, orderly sequence and natural, comparable stages of development and growth in EACH category of IT.

Likewise, ALL Vocations of the literal thousands which endows the whole Society of Man, EVERYwhere, are EQUAL. ALL develop and Grow in 'TIME';....in fixed, orderly sequence and natural 'comparable' Stages of Development and growth in EVERY Vocational category; therefore, ALL of God's Vocational stewards - YOU - are EQUAL! ... What are 'YOU' doing with the 'specific' Talents 'He' gave to you??

'TIME' is therefore Universality itself, existence everywhere, the common denominator of mankind and the prime factor in ALL reckoning even to reading these words. It is the 'prime factor' of Wage-multiples.

Therefore, TIME 'IS' MONEY - of EQUAL EVALUATION EVERYwhere - the only Universal Medium of Exchange for the EQUITABLE evaluation of ALL Vocations of the literal thousands of categories which 'endows' mankind; and the ONLY medium for the EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION of the total World Product and Services which Man collectively produces.

Since TIME 'IS' our 'entire' Life on earth and God's evaluator of man's thoughts, words, deeds, actions, progress and events TIME 'IS' the Universal Medium of MONEY and Exchange, everywhere, when Society the Custodian of earth for God and Man is established as the 'prime source' of TIME 'IS' MONEY issue (4th Amendment) - to EVERY Individual his 'equitable' Fair Share according to his Vocational attainments.

Since ALL Vocations which endows mankind are equal by 'comparable' Stages of Development in EACH category - The Universal WAGE Classification Manual lists, measures, compares and evaluates EVERY Vocational, Academic and Occupational skill and ability which collectively endows mankind.

EACH and EVERY skill and ability is 'compared' by Stages of Development in EACH category and 'equally evaluated' at each 'Stage' in terms of TIME 'IS' MONEY - as True Worth 'Credit Hours' which the Individual will receive - 'cumulative and permanent' - as he progresses 'non-competitively' up his Vocational Ladder by Stages of Development - to reach the inherent Levels of Attainment to which he/she individually aspires.

Oliver H. Perreault,
Coauthor of BVM.

V-2D 2nd.
V-1B V-2b

P-1

The Book of Life

God's Book of Life is a 'record' of EVERY thought, word, deed and action of Man, the Steward of earth!

Likewise, This Plan provides a 'permanent record' of EVERY meritorious attainment, accomplishment and achievements of Man the Vocationalist:-

1. For recording, every attainment, accomplishment and achievement, of the individual, at work, at school, at home and at play.
2. For which he receives a 'permanent' increase in his 'hourly rate of pay'.
3. This increase is also called a 'merit-payment or wage-multiple'.
4. This permanent record system is maintained and housed at the Community Vocational Exchange in YOUR TOWN - Its Finance Center.
5. The Individuals Record Card 'begins at birth', and is used throughout his lifetime; - from the cradle to the grave.
6. This Record is a 'cumulative' Diary of his True Worth - a record of the merit-payment wage-multiples, or pay increases, which he has received according too, as derived from the Universal Wage Classification Manual, for his:-
   a. Every meritorious performance and demonstration - in his every avenue of business, education, occupation and vocational gifts, talents, skills and abilities.
   b. Every meritorious participation or service in Religious, Social, Civic and Recreational activity.
   c. Every meritorious application, feat and workmanship, as a student and/or worker, in any of all Educational, Academic and Occupational Endeavors and Enterprises.
7. This Record of merit-payment, wage-multiples is recorded on the Individuals Diary Record Card - in terms of Credit Hour Time Dollars, Upon receipt of his Basic-Wage-Hours earned in Economic Enterprise the Exchange issues his Income in Time Dollar Certificates. Credit Hours (X) Basic-Wage-Hours equals Income.

Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor of BVM

TIME 'IS' MONEY
in
VOCATIONAL ECONOMICS

'FORMULA'

Unlike today's Economy - 'ALL' Free Enterprise Systems will be completely free of 'ALL' Burdens of Wage-multiple Equity and/or taxes. This is accomplished by a simple standard procedure, wherein:

1. The Enterprise employer certifies an Individuals Job Classification 'Rate of Pay' to The Vocational Exchange where it is 'added' to his cumulative True Worth Credit Hour Record.
2. Then, 'ALL' Individuals, NO exceptions, regardless of Job-Classification are PAID Basic-Hour-Wages ONLY of $1.00 per Hour of work, hence the 'SOLE' Cost of Labor in Unit Cost.
3. The Bi-monthly check of Basic-Wage-Hours ($1.00 per hour of work) earned by an Individual in Economic or Public Enterprise is 'forwarded' for him to The Vocational Exchange in His Town - there to 'meet up' with his cumulative pre-posted True Worth Credit Hours - his Wage-multiple, (X) Basic-Wage-Hours equals his true and equitable INCOME in TIME Dollar Certificates issued by The Exchange-Paymaster....at 'NO' Cost to ANYone!
4. To his Corporate group-self, Man the Economic Product-Service Enterpriser an 'autonomous' TAX-FREE Overhead-Profit-multiple; wherein Product or Service Unit Cost is calculated as:-Basic-WAGE-Hours Cost of Labor (NO WAGE-multiple) plus materials (X) Overhead, Reserves and Profit - divided by total Units produced EQUALS Unit Cost.
5. This separation of the WAGE-multiple from Product-Service Unit Cost accomplishes the 'autonomic' separation of Man the Individual Vocationalist (and his ever increasing Wage-multiple) from his 'autonomic' Corporate-group-self - EACH completely independand from ANY domination or disfranchisements at the hands of ANYother Vocationalist or Enterpriser.

Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor of BVM

Vocational Economics

'Summary'

1. YOU are in Business for YOURSELF. The Community Vocational Exchange in EVERY TOWN is YOUR Home Office PAYMASTER and Record Keeper.
2. YOUR 'specific' Vocational & Occupational skills and abilities are 'listed and evaluated' in The WAGE-Manual - in 'Credit Hours'.
3. As YOU advance in knowledge, ability and skill at school, at work, The Exchange receives a certification slip of these advances from your school or employer - in terms of Credit Hours; therefore YOUR WAGE-multiple or hourly 'rate of pay' has increased.
4. Hereafter, under The Vocational System, ALL employers will PAY 'YOU' Basic-Hour-Wages ONLY of $1.00 per hour of work, the 'SOLE' Cost of your Labor (NO Wage-multiple) in determining Product Unit Cost.
5. YOUR Bi-monthly check of Basic-Hour-Wages, like 40 hours per week, is then forwarded to YOUR Home Office, there to 'meet up' with your Credit Hour Wage-multiple (X) Basic-Wage-Hours EQUALS your PAYCHECK ISSUED BY The Exchange-Paymaster in TIME Dollar Certificates - YOUR 'equitable' Fair Share of BUYING POWER - at 'NO' Cost to ANYone.

Therefore, an 'absolute' World System of Vocational Uniformity - at 'NO' Cost to ANYone - based on TIME 'IS' MONEY - certified and accredited by Society's Organ of EQUITY - which guarantees to EVERY Individual, the 'non-competitive' opportunity of an IDENTICAL WAGE-multiple for Vocational attainment in the Society of Man - wherever he may be - everywhere he may choose to go - ANYwhere in the World - for 'ALL' of mankind - use the one and only Instrument of Equity - The Universal WAGE Classification Manual - which scientifically lists, measures, compares and equally evaluates EACH and EVERY one of the literal thous ands of Academic, Occupational and Economic Endeavors, Enterprises, ?Services and Activities which 'endows' the whole' Society of Man.

1. An IDENTICAL ever increasing WAGE-multiple or hourly rate of pay for 'cumulative' attainment...for what he knows...for what he does...AND...for 'ALL' past, present and future Vocational, Civic and Economic attainments, accomplishments and achievements...at work, at school, at home and at play; at 'NO' Cost to ANYone!

Man has yearned to fulfill his destiny, but only a mere handful of the billions who have inhabited the earth, after Noe, have succeeded in bequeathing to mankind the faculties of light which endows them. Ever since The Great Flood....Man has his 'CART' before the horse!

He is laboriously climbing the Mountain of God, on its narrow pathway, over-looking the Pit of Hell. He Labors by the sweat of his brow, his intellect, in an endless effort to 'FRONT' his horse....or hitch his wagon to a star.

We are indeed fortunate, for a 'new' WAGON of EQUITY', The Miracle Plan, has been following US, and OUR HORSE -- up the narrow Mountain pathway. Thanks be to God and Our Lady of Fatima, OUR HORSE....'IS' 'now hitched up'....to 'PULL OUR NEW WAGON'!

Climb aboard!...and ride the rest of the way up the glorious trail of Endeavors attainments and Enterprises accomplishments - and 'achieve' to your hearts content!

We will use Time Dollars and payroll Time Dollar Certificates throughout the world. When we have a job to do, a project to be developed or built, we will allocate Time Dollars and authorize the contractor to SPEND 'some future TIME' to get the job done.

When the job is done, the Time of Attainment has been spent - and only the future remains to be taken care of - the FREE opportunity of our posterity to take over where we left off.

Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor of BVM.

V-12
P-16

The Community Vocational Exchange
in
EVERY TOWN

The entire text on Vocational Economics details the scope, authority and functions of The Vocational Exchange as a Treasury Organ of Equity and the prime source of MONEY....It is NOT a Bank of Commerce!

The 4th Amendment of the Constitution states:- "Congress has the 'sole' power to coin and regulate money."

The Congress will therefore 'REPLACE' The Federal Reserve Act by a new Public Utility System of Banks thereby redesignating our present Banking System as Economic Banks of Commerce - and supplement same by establishing the 'new' Vocational Exchange as Society's Organ of Equity to serve as the Vocational Paymaster or 'prime source' for the scientific issuance of TIME DOLLAR CERTIFICATES; To Society's Individuals;

Thereby, to provide for the 'equitable' distribution of SUPER-Abundance to EVERY Man the Individual Vocationalist his 'equitable' fair share of purchasing power and capital.

Man the Vocationalist will 'deposit' or cash in his Time Dollar Certificates at the Economic Banks - who in turn redeem same for TIME Dollars at the Vocational Exchange which serves in this capacity as the Community Treasury or Finance Center.

The Economic money needs of an Economy of SUPER-Abundance will greatly expand the functions and services of the Economic Banks of Commerce. Scientific planning will adjust the ground rules on Bank loans and mortgages to the Individual and establish fixed percentages of interest and on the present practices of pyramiding.

Gone forever the criminal disparities and inequities in Wages and Product Unit Cost between Nations and Peoples and the 'Good as Gold' circulation fallacies, inflation, deflation, pseudo laws of supply and demand, the deficit financing by Government and the sophistry of War for Profit. 'NO' more taxes, debt, deficits or Money Problems anywhere, anytime and the equivalent blessing that our grandchildren will be spared indoctrination in the criminal methods and systems of our 20th Century of coveting, stealing and killing for survival.

Oliver H. Perreault,
Coauthor of BVM.

V-1 P-12

TIME Economics

Hereafter, a BALANCED production, distribution, consumption and marketability of a LIMITLESS World Economy of SUPER-Abundance, fully consumed and equitably distributed is 'perpetually achieved' - at ALL Times - when Consumer Purchasing TIME Dollars are 'EQUITABLY' distributed in Dollar AMOUNT 'equal' to the Retail Price of the 'total' Product on ALL World Markets....to EVERY Individual his 'equitable' Fair Share Consumer Purchasing Power.

1. We know at ALL TIMES the total 'EXCHANGE' Inventory of True Worth Credit Hours, recorded as available in ALL 'pocketbooks', hence the basic or total potential Purchasing Power.
2. Since the 'prevailing' work-week basic-wage-hours, like 40 hours per week average per individual, is also known...we have the 'factors' for determining the 'total' Consumer Purchasing Dollars, available for purchase use to be the 'total' Credit Hours on record (X) the 'total' Basic-wage Dollars equals the 'total' Consumer Purchasing Dollars in TIME Dollar Certificates.
3. We know at ALL Times the Total Inventory on Hand of the total World Product, as to quantity and quality, and its Unit Cost and Retail Price on the Consumer Market; hence, the 'total' Consumer Dollars needed to buy or liquidate IT;
4. We achieve a 'balanced' production, distribution and consumption of SUPER-Abundance when the available Purchasing Dollars, are adequate in amount, to purchase, buy out or liquidate the Total Inventory on Hand of the World Product.
5. Presuming that the Inventory of the total World Product 'exceeds' the outstanding purchasing power, we 'employ' the simple expedient of temporarily allocating additional purchasing Dollars to ALL Individuals in direct proportion to their 'accrued' True Worth Credit Hours on record.
6. Presuming that the Consumer Dollars greatly exceeds Product supply or availability, the Vocational Exchange is then empowered to 'temporarily' place in 'custodial escrow', an amount from each individuals account in direct proportion to their 'accrued' Credit Hours on record, until a balance between Dollar Supply and Demand is effected.

Oliver H. Perreault,
Coauthor of BVM.

The Forgotten Children of God

The following are additional stipulations, not previously discussed in the foregoing text. These are 'very' important, also self-explanatory:-

1. Basic Income:- The individuals True Worth begins at a scientifically pre-determined 'basic cost of living income' -- to provide a basic high standard of living, guaranteed to ALL -- primarily to accomodate, insure and assure the dignity and self-respect of ALL individuals, groups and families of 'lowest' vocational and economic potential - applicable throughout the world....at 'NO' Cost to ANYone!
2. Mothers:- This Plan by Our Lady of Fatima, provides that the 'non-working' mother will earn an Income, independant of her husbands income, 'according' to her True Worth - and the numbers of her children. After all she is entitled to a basic-wage as a Chief baby-sitter for the Pearl of Great Price! This is a Gift from The Blessed Virgin Mary, The Mother of God, to Her daughters.
3. The Retired, Aged, Widows & Disabled:- We introduce the 'automatic' system for providing the income needs of these groups, that will apply, after The Plan is in full installation and working order.
   a. Under the 'automatic system', each individual will have an established True Worth, and profit-sharing investment capital. Whether retired by Age, or because of disability, or in the widows case, the only change in their former enterprise status-quo, is the 'basic-wage' of gainful employment.
   b. Since, the profit-sharing income is a production dollar, the Vocational Exchange will recognize the unemployed status of these individuals, by 'allocating' profit-sharing dollars in lieu of basic-wage dollars.
   c. The number of dollars so allocated will be equal in equity, according to the average work-week of the employed. Hence, the True Worth Credit Hours accrued to the Individual (X) the above noted basic-wage 'allocated' dollars, 'equals' the individuals 'consistent' Income. AT NO COST TO ANYONE!

Vocationalism 'guarantees' the triune statuses of EVERY Individual: i.e. as a Vocationalist, a citizen and an Economic Free Enterpriser:-

1. As a Vocationalist - to spend his lifetime in a free, non-competitive effort to develop, improve and employ his every talent, knowledge-performance-abilities and skills and thereby permanently increase his Wage-multiple hourly rate of pay; i.e. his True Worth Credit Hours of attainment, as he progresses academically and occupationally 'UP' the rungs of his Vocational ladders by Stages of Development; completely independant of his neighbors efforts, attainments and progress; and without fear of disfranchisement at the mercy, or hand of, ANY man.
2. As a citizen - to capably represent himself in/on his Community and Vocational Councils and activities; a 'true' non-political Democracy wherein the triune Administrative Bodies, The Community Council (House), The Vocational Councils (Senate) and their Civic Coordinate (Exec. Admin) progresses/issues from The Communities thence to The State, to The National and International Bodies under 'ONE' Universal Constitution and Modus Operandi.
3. As a Free Enterpriser to establish his own business or be a profit-sharing corporate Enterprise employee, of his choice 'Doing the things he knows best and likes best to do' - with and amongst men who speak his OWN Vocational Languages.

Unlike today's Economy - &ALL' Free Enterprise Systems will be completely free of 'ALL' Burdens of Wage-multiple Equity and/or taxes. This is accomplished by a simple standard procedure, wherein:

1. The Enterprise employer certifies an Individuals Job Classification 'Rate of Pay' to The Vocational Exchange where it is 'added' to his cumulative True Worth Credit Hour Record.

AUG 3 - 1966

file suggs

141 E. 61, NYC
July 28, 1966

Dear Floyd:

We, Our Lady and I,are very pleased with your militant generalship and ask you to be Our Miracle Plan Co-Director, effective as of this date.

Our Lady directs that 'you' settle the Air-Line and other strikes and create a Miracle Plan Foundation under the auspices of The United Nations Internationale and ask Secretary-General U Thant to remain in office until some future time when the Organizational Systems of a One-World Democracy have been established. (Part II of The Miracle Plan for which I lack funds to Zerox).(18-months pay in 7-years)

Zerox your manuscript - arrange an unheralded meeting with the Airline and Union Officials. Give each of them a copy, explain the new System of Equity which your Convention will require The Congress to adopt after Labor Day.

Because The UN Miracle Plan Foundation must have an immediate Operating Fund - and since the Airlines will save continued operating loses and NO future taxes and Wage-multiples we expect them to be generous and to contact the large corporations like GM, etc. for large contributions; as they learn of the new Black Power where RIGHT is might.

Hail to the great contribution of the NEW Black Power. We'll meet sometime soon - until then,

Sincerely,

Floyd B. McKrisick
Director of CORE
New York, N. Y.

Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor of BVM

P. S. Also ask for Lifetime Passes for us on ALL Airlines. OHP.

AUG 1 - 1966

AUG 4 - 1966

141 E. 61, NYC
August 3, 1966

Dear Floyd:

As we prepare for the near-advent of The Miracle Plan and Peace on earth - it is necessary for us to adjust our thinking to 'true' Racial Perspective.

As we know, God 'Divined' our color distinction and the equality of our races. To this end He instilled in us an overwhelming 'pride' and purity of race which NO man can burst asunder - and when, as in England our races have indiscrimately practiced integration to the point of mongrelism, then that nation and people are punished and humiliated before the world - a defunct religious, social and economic order and concept wherein God is dead.

Present-day integration and Civil Rights measures and in a sense 'necessary EVILS' fraught with grave consequences which we see will not be the new order of the day, after The Miracle Plan installation after Labor Day.

As briefly stated in the Preface I received the Gift of Original Vision on February 2, 1960. Of the many scenes and events, on my vision panel, I was privileged to see King Solomon, the four Nubian Kings and the Queen of Sheba; thereby to foresee the advent of your Race as a Great Nation on earth - and the great Cities of your people here and abroad.

The great debate in Congress on 'Open Housing' and King's Open City demonstrations in Chicago and elsewhere are entirely wrong. Neither of our races can force the other into a mongrelistic society in defiance of The Divine Mandate. In this regard, knowing the future, ask Senator Powell to have the debated Amendment deleted to stop senseless conflict and advise Dr King to cease and desist on his demonstrations.

It is said that a wise man takes advantage of disadvantage. As you know, God is incapable of evil - but evil takes over whenever He removes His restraining Hand from the affairs of Man - which He has done - as a preliminary to the advent of The Miracle Plan; hence, the 'creeping paralysis' which has overtaken NYC, the USA and the world.

Sincerely,

Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor of BVM.

file sugg

AUG 5 - 1966

141 E. 61, NYC
August 4, 1966

Dear Floyd:

Our Lady tells me that yesterdays letter was incomplete because I failed to explain why a wise man takes advantage of disadvantage.

Your race is at a great disadvantage at the moment in regards to housing and under our present Economic System, my race is hard pressed to finance and satisfy the/demands of your people.
just

On the other hand, you have The Miracle Plan but a very few whites know about it because our White Supremmists, like LBJ don't believe in miracles (his remarks of a month ago: 'Don't expect a miracle or any one man to right the wrongs which have been multiplying for 100-years.')

With The Miracle Plan in your possession you now have the advantage of constructive thinking - of being wise men who lose no time in wishfull thinking when the great need of the moment is to begin planning great new Cities for their people. I'm sure your Labor Day Convention will become 'the great highlight in history'.

There is nothing new under the sun. As the Prophet of this Age - I have long since joined the ranks of the Bibical Prophets - of existing in sackcloth and ashes in the midst of Bountiful plenty - because there is NO precedent for me and The Miracle Plan. NO believers but plenty of psychiatric invective.

My 43-years in the hard-boiled business world has taught me that mankind resists change to the bitter end lest their survival techniques go from bad to worse. They're fatalistically convinced that it can't get better therefore they bend their every effort to manipulate and exploit the status-quo and only the wealthy fit survive.

I too share the trials and tribulations of your people - of wondering where my next meal is coming from and how I'll pay my overdue rent.

Sincerely,

Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor of BVM

August 10, 1966

Mr. Oliver H. Perreault
141 East 61st Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Perreault:

Thank you for your letter of August 9th.

Until Mr. McKissick has a chance to study, carefully, your Miracle Plan--and evaluate it, he will be unable to see you.

I will notify you as soon as this is accomplished.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Directpr

ILH

AUG 10 1966

141 E. 61, NYC
August 9, 1966

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director of CORE

Dear Miss Hellinger:

Thank you for your informative note of August 8.

As you know from my correspondance I have no operating fund and am therefore in the throes of a personal financial crises.

I will, therefore, appreciate knowing of your plans for use of The Miracle Plan so I can adjust my plans accordingly.

Sincerely,

Oliver H. Perreault

file wire

141 E. 61, NYC
August 23, 1966

Dear Floyd:

It will be a double MIRACLE if your Labor Day Convention meets as scheduled - double because it will indicate to the world, the USA in particular that your Race are responsible, civilized Human Beings who believe in Peace on earth.

Cicero is your potential Waterloo. It will be a triple Miracle if King the Kamikaze 'INVADER' keeps his date with death and survives.

Hell hath NO fury like a woman scorned - and the female of the Animal Kingdom will fight to the death to protect her lair and brood. I am a native of Michigan, a Northerner. I know your people well and mine better still.

At least 90% of the Northern White Women over 30-years of age are 'deathly afraid' of the Black Man because they fear him as a potential rapist. The justice of this belief will be meaningless next Sunday if Kamikaze and his derelicts invade Cicero.

Should he die, it is almost certain to be at the hand of a new Amazon. Womankind in our day are 'above' the law, she will be exonerated and become an army of Amazons dedicated to extermination.

What a pity the 'We want The Miracle Plan' pamphlet is not available for immediate distribution.

Your friend,

Lou.

AUG 30 1966

file

141 E. 61, NYC
August 28, 1966
3 AM

Dear Floyd:

Many thanks to you, CORE, Dr. King, et al for the masterly way you teamed up on the Cicero crises.

Our Lady wishes me to tell you that your late friend Nat King Cole is proud of your accomplishments and will be with you in spirit in the days to come.

My acquaintance with Nat is one of the most unusual of my vision media experiences. It was dusk as I switched on the light in my room in Flushing on the evening before the first announcement of his Cobalt treatments. To my great surprise, my eye screen was fan-shaped and suddenly parted in the middle and folded to the stage level to reveal a huge stage and a colored entertainer advanced from the rear to the front of the stage. I knew him, had seen him perform, could'nt think of his name - what was he doing Up There?

The next day the newspaper had the identical picture of him, as on my screen. In other words I knew 45-days ahead of his impending death - that he would soon perform in Heaven. I wrote to Bill Levinson of the Journal American (now at Newsweek) that Nat would die even though the Medico's believed he would live.

The memory of Nat returned to me on hearing of your West Side march into Cicero rescheduled for next Sunday - how he would direct a 'rolling' entertainment of the townspeople - and your Elite in their Sunday-best as your beauties (chorines) distributed the 'We want The Miracle Plan' pamphlet - as a fitting preliminary to the next day Convention.

Sincerely,

Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor of BVM

General Correspondence

AUG 31 1966

141 E. 61, NYC
August 29, 1966

Dear Floyd:

Please ask U Thant and the Cambodian Ambassador to hold ALL announcements and joint-declarations from ALL sources prior to Sunday.

Meanwhile see what you can do to stop the miscellaneous riots as in Milwaukee, Waukegan and elsewhere.

Sept 8 is The Feast of The Nativity of The Blessed Virgin Mary and will henceforth become the dual-Feast Day of Our Lady's Miracle Plan.

It is likely that Pope Paul VI will honor your Convention by an announcement.

Sincerely,

Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor of BVM

NOV 29 1966

141 E. 61, NYC
Nov. 27, 1966

Dear Floyd:

I will appreciate the immediate return of my Miracle Plan manuscript which you received in two parts: the Preamble in Baltimore and the balance in NYC.

After six years of attempting to contact The Catholic Hierarchy and 1-year on 12-1 in trying to contact the Johnson Administration I now have the 'green light' to find a reactionary sponsor.

After Matt Meyer finally got WJT in publication, I attempted personal contact and then forced the issue a reject and unread return of my manuscript.

Of course, I've attempted UN contacts but the Power and War mongers are hopeless. I agree with Stokely Carmichael that the white mans government has made you hate one another.

While you were in Cambodia, Irma conveyed, in between the lines, your vague interest, if any; altho I've been wondering for some months why you held out on IRS taxes

It takes 'guts' to be a 'lone man' attempting to promote The Miracle Plan without backers - but I'm not even punch drunk after taking everything that my 'wholesale' opposition has hit me with.

Now that The Almighty has removed my shackles I'm free to fight back. Were it not for the Spirit of Christmas sponsorship by the man on the street would most likely start a worldwide French Revolution. Humanity would be better off without the handful of Power mongers who have wrecked our destinies.

Sincerely,

Oliver H. Perreault

MAR 3 1967

141 E. 61, NYC
March 2, 1967

Dear Floyd:

It was very interesting to hear you mouth off "The expelling of Powell is a slap in the face to ALL Black Men"

I've written to you almost as many times as to LBJ and many Senators - and received NO answers. It does appear that you're just another politician.

To satisfy my creditors and avoid another eviction notice, I'm forced to apply for a job after living a destitute and hungry existence since May 5 - while trying to promote World Peace and the emancipation of your race and humanity. NO thanks to you.

The attached is self-explanatory and it's evident I didn't get to Powell's attention anymore than to you. Do me a favor and call me late this afternoon at TE-8-6551 (Embassy will call me) - or return the attached so I can get you off my mind.

Sincerely,

Oliver H. Perreault

March 3, 1967

Mr. Oliver H. Perreault
141 East 61st Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Perreault:

Thank you for your note of March 2, with the enclosed material regarding your "Miracle Plan."

We are returning this material, as yourrequested. Thank you for your interest.

Very truly yours,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
enc.

MAR 10 1967

141 E. 61, NYC
March 7, 1967

Dear Miss Hellinger:

Thank you for the return of my Brief. Assuming that you made a Zerox copy of same, please add the following paragraph, overlooked in the typing, at the bottom of page V-4:

Taxes??...Under Vocationalism EVERY Community is a 'collective'

Individual 'entitled' to a Nationally adopted percentage of the 'total' True Worth of its constituency (X) the Basic-WAGE-Hours of production in its area.

Since Floyd is meeting with Adam, advise Adam of this addition. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Oliver H. Perreault

MAR 16 1967

John Minor

3/13/67

Nice going! This confirms your re-appointment as my Co-Director

Hoover

P.S. Send RFK into the retorn. He has copy of my Parade letter & Brief, besides being over my head. DH.

Contact Jeanney Hoffa's Washington office for support. Call Kiebek, Teamsters Council Fm 1010 265 H 14 for person to contact. They have letter, Brief and instructions on this case

Also start publicity campaign Bonnie & Dodd cases as ANARCHY by The Congress.

MAR 17 1967

file
misc.

3/15/67

Since Elephants and Jackasses are carry-over relics of the Ox-Cart Era don't let Lucille become a goat. Knowledge is Understanding

Tell RFK my door is open to pick up a number of articles he's interested in. DHL.

Good idea of Dave Morrice is on Lodge meeting

Hooray — All systems are Go for a guaranteed Launch

MAR 17 1967

3/15/67

Have NY Cambodian Ambassador contact
And Henry Cabot Lodge for secret meeting
before he returns to U.S. - (near CAMBODIA)

He has copy of modified Brief and received same
before his Christmas departure and reacts to Vatican
etc. He knows the score. He's on our team
Tell RFK and Walter Reuther HHH.

MAR 20 1967

Lib
3/16/67

Dear Flagg.

as indicated in my Economic Dept, a Vacational Democracy of the people, by the people for God and the people unconditionally guarantees the triune status of Man the Individual namely as a citizen, as a Vocationalist and 3. as an Enterprizer

A Democracy is NOT a Government but the principle of self-regulation. Man is not a law, nor a law unto himself, nor is he a law-maker therefore the oft-repeated Biblical assertion that "The Ten Commandments are the Entire LAW and the Prophets".

God is a Principle, and Man an Idea-cell, therefore a Principle; yet the Power Politicians of the world have concocted as many laws as there are people, therefore like Prohibition Vitated act a Government of laws is today's system of enslavement, and oppression and disfranchisement of the OTHER FELLOW - "YOU"

POWER-CONTROL

When you fully realize that Vocationalism's Formula guarantees Economic Opportunity throughout the world you realize that so-called "Peace Terms" als LBJ dictated to you or Hanoi is criminality. The Draft disfranchised "YOU" by cashiering and conscripting your man yet you're holding still, as they force you to engage in a NICEY-NICE election. Do you have to HOLD-STILL for another election or demand a SATISFIED peoples rights of self-determination? H.H.

3/15/67 11 P.M.

Alert ALL Civil Rights Units, CORE et al.
to suddenly (PEACEFUL) whip up a frenzy - swamp The House
with letters, telegrams, editorials etc ALL OUT effort across the entire nation

Demand his immediate resetting and the
Courts to unanimously concur. - Demand that Albany
call off the election

An appropriate time for Countdown to begin is Now
'TILL ~~is~~ Good Friday at 3 P.M. - resetting on Monday 3/27

Make Lucille a double full-out -

DAP

Make friends with George Wallace and Mrs. Governor Wallace
He's sure to be your convert.

Advise Paul Martin of above. If possible have him
invite Hanoi, ~~and~~ Viet Cong + Ky to Conference in Cambodia
Lodge + Bunche of UN to represent U.S. No Peace terms
necessary - an immediate Cease-fire, lay down ALL arms.
install the Miracle Plan. and thereby re-unify ALL of
Viet Nam North + South - One Nation operating for ALL NATIONS
NONE excluded from UN seating and participation.

MAR 16 1967

file

FDR's "packed" Supreme Court and ~~the~~ subservient lesser Courts bows on the dust of the White House & The Congress. - Statism

FDR rejected the "embryo" Miracle Man 34 years ago. and every decision since has upheld the Unconstitutional, Mellon acres. (WALL STREET) Congress of 1912. He disowned all attributable laws / page V-8.

As "Money strangulators and bondage packers its pack the Anarchists are conducting a ~~purge~~ Lutheran and Dodd purge from their ranks. - Pharisee's

The Parties, controlled by wealth, are tightening the noose of racism.

Let thunder ROAR — Sic 'em

Let him ride the Ass and strut the streets of the hysterical march with circulars and eviction notices.

Why did the LL dig me? Naturally, you know the answer in the letter of 2/27

Why do you suppose Paul Martin is keeping channels open to Hawaii and Peking? You know the answers.

Easter 1967 is a mighty fine day for the "Second Reconstruction" when the Pharisees are lined up on the left side! Like so LINE 'EM UP!!

(REV 2/24/72)

MAR 21 1967

3/18/67 file misc.

Hard pressed it is - while the cats are away (Guam) the mice will play - and 'Love Up' the holier than thou Pharisees who signed and filed today against a victor who will be exalted and Rise again.

Come to think of it, Guam is a distant Island of uncontested Peace terms - don't you agree? Forgive me for asking!

Hail to the Second Resurrection

OHP.

Yet King Bob and your Patron, Saint Martin de Porres are Jubilant over the guaranteed success of their show here and THERE too.

Perfect timing by our GIRL-FRIEND (BVM) wouldn't you say? Woo!!! what a 'Doll' Believe me I know. Who knows, She does - She Knows might pay us a visit as She did at Fatima on 5-13-17 and Her Golden Anniversary - Lucky US!

3/16/67

As you know, I've been looking forward for 40 years hoping to witness the end of Man's inhumanity to man - always reminding myself that History always repeats itself with "accidental" differences.

The Redeemer was acclaimed on Palm Sunday and Crucified on Good Friday but being God He rose again on the third day.

Lincoln was't so fortunate but his memory lives on.

A new Emancipator has already run the gauntlet of Man's inhumanity, was't eat today, and will spend his last nickel for a stamp while expecting a promised "Eviction Notice" by evening. (Lied as reported)

Surely my memory will live on. Like Christ, I know what He meant when He uttered His dying words:-

My God, My God Why Last thou forsaken Me.

He came unto His own and His own received him NOT
John 1, 11

3/17 This letter held over to avoid conflict of issues
VBP

MAR 30 1967

3/28/67

Dear Floyd:

As expected there are many loose ends - and of the many that I have contacted - All have "individual" opinions and perspectives as to which way the Hand of Destiny is pointing.

By and large, ALL heads are gradually looking in the same general directions

Powell is by no means rejected and Selma does that the "Baker thru thru Pharisees" should first evaluate him is hogwash.

Plan a weekend demonstration to coincide with King's and let the cry "We want Powell reinstated on April 4" ring around the world. If you miss the boat on this, Bill pass the announcement shall over to RFK.

This summer I wrote you several lengthy letters about your Race patented as a great Nation and Cities.

You haven't tried to convert Geo Wallace. Show him the Meredith Rev Brief. Encourage him to adopt a segregation of his Towns, Cities and Schools and thus begin "autonomic" Communities of your race. ~~I~~ You have not read Part II on Metro-Communities and its scientific system of Councils and representation. The entire Board, after learning the simplicity of Vocational and Time Economics (No Taxes, etc.) Metro Communities would be readily understood

(over)

I don't have a TV, I can't read Newspapers, Magazines or periodicals for over a year, ~~so I don't~~ Occasionally I chance to see Newsstand pictures of public figures. I would recognize Farmer, Watkins and King and I have a vague memory of you as an NBC- Panel about 3 yrs ago.

Of course, not any of you know me, which includes the hundreds that I have written too. My Chieftess has wisely seen fit to shield me from "bias" against the many in Power and position. I'm sure you'd recognize me when we meet. Meanwhile you know my writing, but I've come to the conclusion that you can't write. I'm glad that my one way Communications system will soon be a dual system. I'm glad you have Irma as a proxy

Love.

MAR 31 1967

3/28/67

Dear Floyd:-

After mailing my last rambling epistle, I recalled James Farmer's Good Friday march with the 10' cross that your race has been carrying but not for long he personized — and it occured to me that you're asleep at the switch with a dreamy encounter.

Wake up and die right. you've got to have your men on the Podium with This Miracle Plan - at once - Or get stuck PAYING INCOME TAXES on APRIL 15. If you miss that golden opportunity, I'll be hunting a new Co-Director Floyd.

Somehow or other, I'll get into the AFRA strike. Like you, P.B.A. over

The Firemans and Newspaper Unions are hesitating (John J. Cassente of PBA) He who hesitates is lost.

DTP.

While your fellows live off the fat of the land, I spend the few dimes I pick up for stamps, - on all of paper. Wrangled a 20-day Stay of Elections at Court this morning on my Eviction Warrant and eat occasionally "on the Cuff" via an angel at a Restaurant I patronized six better days. During Duly Rule I find one meal and a few-smoked cigarettes. Come dere friend Dot may overdue (lease 40 lbs) in getting back to the Good Life

DTP

APR 3 1967

Dear Floyd. 3/29/67

Get Powell 'reseated' at once. Since Dodd is not expelled get him a copy of The Miracle Plan Brief, then have Adam and Dodd simultaneously present the Plan to the House & Senate.

I've written LBJ to contact me as you know he will address the Constitutional Convention April 4. If you can contact him, arrange for his presentation to the Convention to coincide with the above.

My son, an Administrator at CBS has a copy. Since I have written to Walter Cronkite several times past, last night I informed him of my son's position at CBS same building, directing its use in settling the AFRA strike. Should know results in a few days.

John J. Cassente, Pres of PBA has a copy and like you, can't see the light of day, otherwise he'd have the Newspaper, Teamsters and PBA strikes settled.

All "events" are made to order, in exact timing for The Miracle Plan. By the way, are you with Us or against Us?

The Milk strike, the RR strike coming up will surely indicate that the Almighty, well, if necessary overwhelm and Paralyze the Nation plus (over)

catastrophes, as the quakes all taken on the British coast. Destiny and History in the making.

Just so we understand one another. I don't appreciate silence anymore than you do - but I put up with it because "YOU" were chosen for me. When I mailed the Preamble to the Chairman at your July 4th Convention, you signed as the receiver, and thereby connected you and I now with the Black Power concept which you then propounded

Just everything that you have done, plus besides what you have not done were entirely pre-known. As the Bible frequently states :- "The Lord knows when you rise or sit down and everything you will or not do.

I get clobbered, when my supposed associates fail me. As a strictly secret matter, JFK was to have been my partner but his first major rejection of me WAS on 11-22-60. Need I say more

Steve.

Don't fight Destiny - Play ball be a teammate and your forbears will call you "Great". Otherwise?

Nice going! The Civil Rights leaders are studying closely the Senate action against Dodd as compared to the expelling of their leader Powell by the House.

Clobber 'em!!

5-20-67 Dear J. W.:- Besides Paul and U Thant, Cardinal Spellman and Floyd McKissick of CORE received copies. I concur with Mike M. and you in 'forcing' the UN to act on the Viet war. INSIST, demand a dozen times a day that ALL Powers act NOW. Pass the ball directly to Mao and Ho. Insist that they are 'enemies' of humanity unless they 'immediately' agree to resolve ALL problems via the 'new' Plan which Paul Martin and U Thant have in their possession. Whip up a 'storm', Ho and Mao know of the Plan, et cetera. What is it? It's a Miracle Plan, you are not free to discuss, until its forthcoming world publication. Oliver....Copy to Floyd 5-26-67

MAY 31 1967

C O P Y

141 E. 61, NYC
May 19, 1967

Mr. Paul Martin
Canadian Foreign Minister
New York City

Dear Paul:

We haven't met - nor have my many addressee's; but my hour is near at hand when we will meet.

Meanwhile, my Mentor and I, take this opportunity to express our appreciation of your services to Us in the great cause of Peace on earth - which is near at hand.

You have the 18-page Brief of Excerpts on The Miracle Plan which I delivered to your New York office last Thanksgiving Day. There are about 30-copies of the attached, to various and sundry individuals and Our Lady requests your use of my last carbon copy as follows:

1. Zerox four or more copies including the enclosed letter to Sen. Fulbright.

2. U Thant, received a copy of the letter, but receipt of a duplicate from you with a copy of the Brief will assure his having received it.

3. Forward or deliver a copy to Ho Che Ming; (letter & Brief.)

4. Provide your World's Fair management with a copy of the Brief, with this as the authorization to publish by May 31 - The Feast of Mary, Queen of The Universe.

5. This may be distributed gratis with the ticket, otherwise I expect an authors percentage.

6. Caption the Fair booklet "The Miracle Plan by Our Lady of Fatima" with the attached picture - NO editing or deletions.

7. Furnish a copy of the letter and Brief to the Ministers of Israel, Syria and the Arab Republic - without fanfare; in other words strictly confidential to them.

Do this and your great efforts of the past will come to great fruition.

Sincerely,

Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor of BVM

for
5-26-67 Copy of letter to Floyd written July 24, 1966 . This gives you background info and perspective as to our Men of Power, the first three named, in particular - the Rule of Gold boys. Are they in cahoots with the Israeli, as the reason why the other Powers are talking and acting as they are? Adam has been 'standing' for a long time

141 E. 61, NYC
July 24, 1966

Sen. J. Wm. Fulbright
Washington, D. C.

Dear J. W.:

Everytime you open your mouth against Lyndon he manages to slap your face - and in so doing slaps my face.

As you know from my 'Open Letter to Lyndon', my effort to meet him began on 12-1-65 with a letter and manuscript to Humphrey and on 12-7-65 to 'Goldbergs' office at the UN Mission. This was followed by letters and telegrams urging their sponsorship and publication because Our Lady promised World Peace for Christmas as the reward. NO ANSWERS!

When Harry Truman was in New York Christmas Eve - I delivered a manuscript to his Hotel after mailing one to him before I learned his whereabouts. This was followed by letters and telegrams urging him to contact Lyndon. Again NO ANSWER - yet he and Lyndon met in Independance at the Library dedication.

When Lyndon was at the Waldorf 2-22-66, and the Secret Service boys dddn't deliver my manuscript - they obliged by mailing it to James Rowley their Director. No answer, so I dunned him with letters, each stronger than the previous ones, even to threatening to have Lyndon impeached - to which he reacted by a week long investigation of me and an almost 2-hour long interrogation by his local agents. This took place at my temporary office in the FBI Bldg., at 201 E. 69, NYC - which my employer owns. The insulted FBI ordered me out of the building and again escorted me out a month later when I called on personnel of our company. My boss fired me. This is a long story now for the point of it.

Investigate James Rowley. Did he or not give Lyndon my manuscript and letters, including the attached. One of them is a stinker. Which one? Could be that Bertrand Russel is right. Sincerely, Oliver

October 12, 1966: (Partial copy of letter to Lyndon at the Waldorf referring to my letter to him June 25. Again the SS boys gave it to Director Powers, 90 Church St. He sent it to Washington, and again after many letters NO Answer or returned manuscript.
Dear Lyndon: My job is the World installation of The Miracle Plan - and the USA is the pilot nation under the National Directorship of Lyndon B. Johnson.....Our Lady arranged that you would be in NYC on the 49th anniversary of Her apparition to the 3-children at Fatima, Portugal - as 25,000 at the scene witnessed the sun dancing in the sky.

C O P Y

141 E. 61, NYC
May 17, 1967

Sen. J. William Fulbright
Washington, D. C.

Dear J. W. :-

As you know from my few letters to you prior to last July - our aims and purposes are in general accord. I appreciated your return of my Miracle Plan manuscript, including your envelope, which I have since used to contain my parent manuscript - so naturally, your name and views are of continuous interest to me.

I've taken note of yesterday's prediction that you will not be reelected next year because of your views and today's 'support ultimatum' by your 15-Senatorial Dovesof Peace; which Ho Che Ming will NOT accept because he learned in January that 'NO' peace terms are necessary in lieu of an immediate cease fire, lay down ALL arms and hostilities and 'install' The Miracle Plan. Who knows better than you, that the intelligent Ming, who speaks fluently in five or more languages, will NOT in any way buy Western tripe and drivel? - nor can he be bluffed, so why try?

I'm sure you have read the oft repeated bibical assertion that: "The Ten Commandments are the 'entire' Law and the Prophets." Why?...Because Man is NOT a law, nor a law unto himself, NOR is he a Law-maker because God is a Principle and man an 'abidercell' - EVERY man and woman a reincarnated Adam and Eve - therefore, the literal 3-billion laws on the statute books of the world under the pretexts of Government by Law are 'evil' concoctions of man, the arrogance of power wherein the Darwinian wealthy fit control, monopolize, manipulate, exploit, oppress and enslave to maintain and enforce Syndicated 'fools gold' Money materialism and Chattelism wherein MAN OWNS 'NOTHING' - MONEY OWNS It ALL. An Asian has NO 'fools gold' and you'll have to annihilate him to in any way sell him Westernism.

I had the 'embryo' Miracle Plan in 1933 when FDR was spouting off about 'ergs and technocracy'. I acquired the Congressional Records and of the Michigan Legislature for years 33 and 34, by far the 'most illiterate pronouncements' ever recorded by an august body who have since become experts in slinging legalistic verbiage, so camouflaged that Mr. Citizen cannot understand 'hogwash'.

Prior to 1960, I believed that the presentations of any plan must of necessity project the pro and con of things, so my 'Mentor' Who knows better solved my problem. In 30-days I wrote a 350-page, single spaced discourse: "The Approaches to Oblivion" on 'problems'. It would have been a best-seller, but I had learned my lesson, threw it in the bottom of the drawer, without reading it then or since. Were I so inclined I could write a dozen sequels, equally as worthless as the first one: 'ALL' Problems are 'Man-made' and cease to exist when replaced by a 'SOLUTION' - the 'absolute' Miracle Plan.

Sen. J. William Fulbright, #2

When God rested on the 7th Day, He saw that EVERY-thing He had created was 'GOOD'. As you know, Elephants and Jack-asses are carry-over relics of the Ox-cart Era, and since partyism like Communism, Socialism and our satanic pseudo Democracy, run by a Frankenstein bureaucracy of/~~hitwits~~ non-elected and homo's who use the astro-nomical club of 9-ciphers to decipher and enforce your 'hogwash' to their individual liking including your 'holier than thou' aggression and anti-poverty ideologies and concoctions were NOT created and will soon be dispersed into 'nothingness' with the advent of Our Lady of Fatima's Miracle Plan - The Science of Vocationalism - as per the attached Brief - pending its publication by The Vatican.

Since I last wrote you, my 'Mentor' has dictated a fantastic series of letters, wherein We, have entered into every phase and event of domestic, racial, economic and international sit-uations, preparatory to the advent of Her Miracle Plan which went un-noticed at Fatima, Portugal on May 13.

I have not in any way attempted direct contact with the Railway Unions, but I'm sure, that She will if necessary, short-circuit your senatorial efforts to avoid a paralytic strike. You received copies of my letters to Matt Meyer of the defunct World-Journal-Tribune. He, after my waiting 3-½ months, returned my manu-script. I replied that he would GO OUT OF BUSINESS - which he did 3-years to the day and hour I arrived in New York City - which as you may know is also the birthdate of Francis Cardinal Spellman, also a significant coincidence.

After 7-years of my persistant, impertinent and lam-basting effort, we as 'prophets' of our day, now have the blessing of The Vatican; wherein beginning on World Communications Sunday, May 7, 1967, ALL Layman are bona-fide prophets and authors inspir-ed by the One Holy Spirit. Since God is 'absolute', Ecumenism in The Church will by the end of 67, negate the voluminous pronouncements and prohibitions by the so-called liberals, progressives, middle of the roaders, conservatives and ultra conservatives, et al. Christ instituted His Church and 7-Sacraments to give grace to ALL men - and NOT once did He fabricate the theological ideologies which today divides stupid illiterate men and sects.

I would'nt worry about reelection if I were you be-cause elections are passé. I'm looking forward to a peaceful Miracle 'transition' from the hideous past to the Golden Age of Humanity.

Sincerely,

Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor of BVM

Floyd: Tell Stokely to calm down and sell his hardware. Following Saturday's second 'support' demonstration give out with a Floyd Mc-Kissick satirical observation: "Very pretty - especially the female flag-waving marchers - the 100% Johnson aggression forces. A mere handful of our 125,000 anti-war demonstrators were a bit hysterical and burned the flag. Every last one of them fully 'supports' our boys here, there and EVERYwhere but Saturday's Nitwit-Elite are stupid flag-wavers, hypocrites who sacrifice our boys to support the false Johnsonite power and war mongers."

Oliver

JUN 7 1967

141 E. 61, NYC
June 4, 1967

Floyd B. McKissick,
Co-Director, Miracle Plan
38 Park Row, NYC

Dear Floyd:

Our Mentor requests an 'immediate' Arab-Israeli Friendship Pact as participants in The Miracle Plan in lieu of present threats, blockades and hostilities. As we know, The Almighty will NO longer tolerate war or threats of war on earth. Suffice to state that 'He' means business and EXPECTS their immediate accord - OR ELSE - several nations will cease to exist.

We, are depending on you and U Thant, as partners, to stop the 'fuddy-duddy' arguments in the UN; and today's STUPID Israeli threat. The principal topic of 'ALL' Books of the Old Testament concerns the victories and defeats of the Israelites. When the delayed Moses descended the mountain with the Ten Commandments, he found Rabbi Aaron, the on again, off again defector from God, in the satanic worship of the 'golden calf' - and the Jews have not, to this day, ceased this worship.

As the Prophets clearly relate, The Almighty, placed His Spouse Mary, The God-Woman and The Child Jesus on a 'cloud' which hovered over Her people Israel, the while He was busy establishing The Universe. The history of the Jews, is in actuality the 'entire' Old Testament, and today, as of old, these defectors from God and Mary are the 'Principals' in the world's troubles - here and abroad - and their 'FINAL' opportunity to become true, godly people or be DESTROYED.

Everytime Wilson exhibits his on again, off again vacillation by his nicey-nice referring of world affairs, Britain will be visited by catastrophe - yesterday an oil slick, today a double tragedy in 12-hours - tomorrow:-'Dirge of the Merchants' Apoc. (Rev) 18.... unless he becomes one-track instead of Britains two-timing, and double-standards.

Naturally, the Viet-Nam war must 'stop' at once; and to this end We appoint you to head-up a 'Special Commission': U Thant, Bunche, Martin, Lodge, Fulbright, RFK, DeGaulle, Marcos, Cambodian Prince, Brown, Kosygan and Associate(s), and Ky - to settle 'ALL' matters with Mao Tse Tung and Ho Che Ming.

Good Luck!

Sincerely,
Oliver Perreault
Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor of BVM
Director of Miracle Plan

cc Sen Fulbright
CARDINAL SPELLMAN.

JUN 7 1967

Dear Lloyd. 5/4/67 - 9:45 PM

I was about to leave my apartment, when Our Lady requested my "Commentary Letter" to you and its "Members".

While eating dinner at L. L. & Louis later She reminded me that Walter Lauther's name was inadvertedly omitted in my typing work.

Just learned on the Newscast that Nasser is sending his V.P. to Washington. Have U. Thant show my letter to the Israeli Minister and suggest a Friendship Visit in Johnson's Office

Love

JUN 9 1967

Dear Floyd. 6/7/67

Our thanks to you and Il Shaul for a job well done. Get us all away with the Vietnam Commission.

The Mid-East situation will have an abrupt, surprising end.

Oliver

Hi Irma: Here you and two friends are the Flushing IRT. Sunday about 5:30?

Oliver

JUN 14 1967

1Nd 2, 6l, HFC
June 12, 1967

Sen. J. William Fulbright
Washington, D. C.

Dear J. W. F--

We are indeed grateful for your invaluable intermediary services for Us - and We hope you share our elation at the very definite progress and shaping up of world affairs. Be so kind as to tell LBJ that We appreciate his astute handling of an explosive situation; and of course, I, with you, express my commendation of the wonderful teamwork of Kosygan and Associates.

Now that the volatile Mid-East situation is close to resolution - allow me to briefly project and explain a few pertinent elements of a neo-political Vocational Democracy needed to resolve the thinking of the divergent Israeli Ministers - yesterdays 'common market and cooperation' between the Arab-Syria and Israeli 'states' as expressed in Southfield, Michigan - and today's 'hold on to territorial gains' by the Israeli Minister at home.

As stated in your copy of the Miracle Plan Brief: (V-J+) -Terms??- Under Vocationalism EVERY Community is a 'Collective' Individual 'entitled' to a Nationally adopted percentage of the 'total' True Worth of its constituency (X) the Basic-WAGE-Hours of production in its area. Then on World - "a Community Autonomy of symmetrically equated population within circumscribed land areas."

Projecting these elements you foresee: a United States of Europe - a United Mid-East States - and of Africa and Asia by geographical boundaries that allow symmetrically equated population. Since ALL Individuals will have 'True Worth Vocational equality' - everywhere in the world - today's National Boundaries will have little or no effect on the symmetrically equated 'future'. Redistricting in the USA will as you will easily envision, will of practical necessity merge Communities on State Boundaries and become Metro-Communities.

Since the Israeli Ministers are reticent about the precise: 'To the victor belongs the spoils' - have LBJ call in the Washington Embassy Ministers and with the above in mind convince them to lure Nasser and Companion States to sign our suggested Arab-Israeli Friendship Pact.

Sincerely,

Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor of BVH

cc Cardinal Spellman
Floyd McK & U Thant

file

JUN 1 3 1967

Monday Noon
6/12/67

Dear Floyd.

Yesterday, I informed Talbert that Andrew Smith received a copy of the Parent memorandum last Feb '66 and had tried unsuccessfully to referee the Fact Sheet over.

Add her to your Commission Receipts list.

Dave

C O P Y

JUN 13 1967

141 E. 61, NYC
June 8, 1967

UN Israeli Minister
House of Israel
11 E. 70
New York, N. Y.

Sir:

We, God Almighty, Mary The God-Woman a dnd I, Their chosen Emancipator of the human race 'CONDEMN' your planned, pre-meditated aggression and satanic victory.

You, like Syria and The Arab Republic received copies of Our Lady of Fatima's Miracle Plan, also known to the major Powers - but 'you', like Cain before you, chose to murder your brother Abel, that you might continue 'worshiping the golden calf'; the 'curse' of your people.

Today's victory IS your future defeat, because your people will stand alone in a futile attempt to maintain Rule of Gold vs The Miracle Plan - and the public enmity, at a low ebb today, will become an overwhelming resurgence against the Jews and even the innocents among your people will become enemies of humanity.

God is merciful, and will therefore restrain His wrath and vengeance providing you make immediate amend by proposing an Arab-Israeli Friendship Pact be signed in President Johnson's office on Tuesday June 13 - a pact completely devoid of victory, terms or conditions now or at any future time.

The lives you save will be your own and of your people.

Yours truly
Oliver Herreault
Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor of BVM
Director of Miracle Plan

cc. Cardinal Spellman for Pope Paul VI
Rabbi, Fifth Avenue Synagogue - 'your' witness, 5 E. 62, NYC
Sen. J. William Fulbright for President Johnson
Co-Director Floyd B. McKissick for Secy-Gen U Thant

JUL 10 1967

fil

141 E. 61, NYC
July 4, 1967

Dear Floyd:

Congratulations to the 'new' Black Power, who on Independance Day 1967 - in Convention assembled - began their new era of self-determination according to the newly formulated 'Blueprint for Human Survival'.

While you, Irma and James Farmer were busy conventioneering, I've resumed a one-way contact with Paul Martin and Fulbright, both of whom are in frustrating positions - Martin, as the mouthpiece of Lester Pearson, therefor unable to act on his own without approval; and Fulbright who is limited to pressuring LBJ and the Senate with as little success as I command; except that our Mentor is 'forcing' all issues, past and present - and like a good boy gladly do as I'm directed to do with the end result 'guaranteed'.

I've sat glued to my radio, listening to the UN debate - and exerting, rather projecting The Miracle Plan specifics into the great debate. Last week, I began the final phase - the 'Internationalization of TIME 'IS' MONEY - the 'KEY' to the worldwide future of Peace, Equity, Security and SUPER-Abundance for all mankind; and without which your new Blueprint would be without substance.

I've directed Paul Martin to distribute copies of The Miracle Plan Brief and to frame a resolution on Money, but as of yesterday the debaters were side-tracking issues hoping to postpone them until the regular UN Assembly session in September - today it is apparent they failed to pass the buck back to the Security Council.

As you know, the world is 'dominated' by a mere 'handful' of men who head the Big-4 - and of course The Almighty is gradually destroying their power. We are very interested in the Albanian, Kuwati and Ecuadorian delegates. Contact U Thant and Paul Martin to assure that these delegates have received copies of The Miracle Plan and include my most recent letters in U Thant's file. Work with them to propose the Internationalization of TIME 'IS' MONEY and you'll have choice partners.

Sincerely,

Oliver

Oliver H. Perreault

JUL 17 1967

141 E. 61, NYC
July 14, 1967

Dear Floyd:

As you will recall, Newark's Mayor Adonisio had a week long radio discussion of Newark's destitution and financial problems** at which time my inclinations to step in, by contact, with The Miracle Plan, was deferred by Our Mentor, Who now reactivates this need, as the appropo time for now injecting a new hope in time of critical need.

Our Lady requests your good offices and personal participation in this crises - even to the right of publication of The Miracle Plan Brief and the several letters which you have to J. W. Fulbright including the elimination of Taxes and equalization of Metro Communities by symmetrical equating.

Good luck!

Sincerely,

Clover

**WINS a year ago
Right of Publication by Gov Hughes and Mayor Adonisio.

Clover Herriott

file [redacted] 19 196

Sunday 7/16/67

Dear Floyd:

Tell Adam and James to "THROW" the Book at them - leave No stone unturned - Pull ALL the stops on the ORGAN of World Communications, the SHOT heard 'round the world.

Love

Pull "No" punches. Full throttle GREEN LIGHT ALL the way thru to "guaranteed" safe landing by Aug 15

DJP.

GO GO GO!!!

Don't conserve on fuel or ammo - More as needed. You're an AUTOMATIC "PILOT" ALL the way DJW

Involve Lindsay, Jensberg & Administrators on the Teachers Welfare and other issues. Lindsay has knowledge of me and the Miracle Plan since 12-22-1965 and after since including the Legislators - also the Newark Teachers AFL under Hoodbridge since I sent them a Brief during their strike last winter. You're going to need Real Legislators - Speak from the Miracle Plan "SOLUTION"

DJP.

JUL 26 1967

Mile
Correspondence

Newark 7/24/67 - 1 am

Dear Floyd.

Very few things stem out right - Saturday, and in the instance of the Newark Black Power meeting my Mentor has provided a very sketchy insight, but after dozing off at Medatte, I awakened to hear the WPAT 12:30 news cast so back, stated that it was anti-white and "ANTI-CHRISTIAN"?
2 3

After one year of my genuine interest in you and the plight of your race it is now past time for you to reciprocate by an answer to this letter - Please!

Oliver

AUG 1 1967

141 E. 61, NYC
July 30, 1967

Dear Floyd:

As expected, you didn't honor me with the courtesy of a reply. Am I an 'untouchable' white?

As you have learned to expect during the past year, I am a naive, gullible fool who walks where angels fear to tread - and I'm expecting to return to Detroit possibly this week, finances permitting.

My stay in NYC for 3½ years has been one of rank hunger and destitution plus several disfranchisements; my reward for investing my life for the Emancipation of Humanity.

The attached is elaborated text to replace page V-11 only. Please renumber pV-12 'Preface Postcript as V-16.

I am retaining my NYC apartment, my security deposit, at least for the month of August - and let this part of my future be subject to later circumstances.

Sincerely,

Oliver

Oliver H. Perreault
Cœauthor of BVM

World Rehabilitation

INCEPTION; Within 30-days of 'inception into law' The Miracle Plan Installation Procedures provide for a BLANKET Wage, Pension and Welfare INCREASE; plus a Cost of Living Income as a supplementary, at once BUYING POWER for the MASSES - 'YOU'. It will require an approximate 90-day period to include the many categories of self-employed and other Individuals, like farmers et cetera, who are not receiving a 'Payroll Income'.

The 'mechanics' of this procedure are guaranteed; wherein, 'ALL' EMPLOYERS;---Community, State and Economic including Social Security, Welfare and other Group Agencies - WILL - until The Vocational Exchanges are set-up, 'SERVE' as her PAYROLL issuers of TIME DOLLAR CERTIFICATES; dispensed by The Exchange representative, temporarily resident at The Banks in EVERY Community.

The Employers 'sole' Cost of Labor in the 'payroll' Time Dollar Certificates will be:— 'Basic-Wage-Hours' ONLY: ($1.00 per hour). Today's Wage-multiple 'Consumer Market Prices' will prevail for the duration of the first year procedures.

Since 'ALL' Taxes and Tax Systems are permanently abolished, rescinded, null and void (part 6 of the Procedures), ALL Individuals - Economic Enterprisers - et al, will be enabled to replenish their Capital Reserves and/or payoff their indebtedness, et cetera, at 'NO' Cost to ANYone!

TAXES??.....As stated on page V-4 of this text, quote: "Taxes?? Under Vocationalism EVERY Community is a 'collective' Individual 'entitled' to a Nationally adopted percentage of the 'total' True Worth of its constituency (X) the Basic-WAGE-Hours of production in its area." .....'ALL' Community, State and National Budgets for the Fiscal Year ending July 1, 1968 will in LIEU of the inoperative

embryo Vocational Exchanges, will receive their operating FUNDS in lieu of taxes - from the National Rehabilitation Treasury set-up for this purpose. Since Wage-multiple Economics, as above, will prevail for the first year - each Administration, will like Enterprise, pay Basic-Wage-Hours ONLY to its payrollee's, and thus save the substantial Wage-multiples incorporated in its budgets.

BANKS?? ... As our text explains on page V-4, The Community Exchanges are 'NOT' Banks, but a Treasury Organ of Society as her 'prime Source' of TIME 'IS' MONEY issue in TIME DOLLAR CERTIFICATES to Society's Individuals, who 'elect' to cash or 'deposit' the Certificates at the bank of their choice, whi said Bank 'redeems' same for TIME Dollars - and subsequent refund by The Exchange..... The Federal Reserve Banks will be re-chartered as Economic Banks of Commerce of greatly increased monetary and customer service as a 'prime' Economic Enterprise.

World 'MONEY' System:....The Internationalization of TIME 'IS' MONEY - 'IS' the prime pre-requisite to the World Rehabilitation Project from which The Miracle Plan will become operational; world-wide within 2-years. This requires immediate Universal acceptance.

The United States will 'Nationalise' TIME 'IS' MONEY under the 4th Amendment proviso:- "The Congress has the 'sole' power to coin and regulate money." This inception thereby 'certifies' 'ALL' Premises, philosophies, methods, systems and procedures specified in the thesis: The Miracle Plan of Vocationalism and a Vocational Democracy; thereby nullifying 'ALL' existant Rule of Gold 'Statutes' diametrical to TIME 'IS' MONEY & Vocational Economics - extant on the Statute Books of our Nation, States and Communities.

Scientific Capitalization: NO MAN can Pursue the Happiness of Endeavor and Enterprise,with his neighbor, without a Capital Endowment in the Coin of his Realm - TIME!....This equally applies to the Public and Parochial Domains and the Economy; and including The United Nations Internationale Import & Export Banks. The basic premises of this procedure are briefed in the following paragraphs.

Meanwhile, we adopt, as soon as possible, preliminary rehabilitation procedures to accomodate basic Capitalization needs of the Individuals, Communities, States, National & International needs; a beginning procedure which will materialize the following premise:-

"Society, as the Trustee of God and Custodian of Earth, exercises its Power of Attorney, by issuing a 'Deed of Dominion by Natural Right', secured for the Child, by a 'new issue' of Profit-Sharing' Investment Capital, as a 'new' Heir of God, which thereby, measurably contributes to, and enriches the General Welfare of ALL.

Therefore, Society will establish a 'three-fold system' for endowing the Individual Vocationalist, and through him the Parent, the State and The Economy with 'new' profit-sharing Investment Capital - a triune Trusteeship:-

1. An initial 'per-head' endowment at birth - divided three ways.
2. And when of Age - an amount directly proportional to the individuals (childs) ever increasing True Worth of Endeavor and Enterprise.
3. For Home Ownership - to insure living standards within The Family's increasing True Worth...the 'childs' contribution to it.
4. For maintenance of The Public Domain - its institutions, facilities and services, necessary to the childs general and public welfare.
5. For productive enterprises, to insure a constantly expanding economy, thus to insure the childs future opportunities. "

The United Nations: (excerpts) "There are 'NO' Tariffs anywhere in the world. She is the 'intermediary' for maintaining ALL Trade records and relationships between Nations at their Import-Export Trading Stations and Centers....She maintains a Trade Bank Account for 'ALL' Nations; wherein the escrow amounts of these Bank Accounts is a 'per-head' Deposit by population - per nation as determined and authorized by the UN Authority....From the above escrow funds, her Import-Export Bank 'pre-pays' the Economic 'Exporters' at their Shipping or Source-Port according to their priced Bill of Lading, which includes prepaid handling and freight to the Importers unloading Docks. At the Port of Entry - the Importers National Authority reimburses The Bank for 'ALL' interim payments it made between the Source and Destination.....During the initial Rehabilitation Period, the now impoverished Nations will usually show a Deficit Balance of Trade in Dollar amount. Since Time 'IS' Money of equal evaluation everywhere at 'NO' Cost to ANYone - the UN Authority periodically wipes out the deficit balances, because there are 'NO' losers since the 'Exporters' of every Nation has already received full Dollar Payment for his Products and Services at his Source-Port." (End of quote)

EQUAL - Metro-Community Population:---Vocationalism provides for the 'symmetrical equating of population within circumscribed land areas;' to establish Metro-Communities of EQUAL population. This predicates the 'merger' of several Communities, which in some cases will over-lap State boundaries. When this occurs, each neighbor State will yield its West boundary, and as may be required 'annex' its neighbor on its Eastern boundary to accomplish EQUAL redistricting. The sparsely populated areas of said Communities will be 'partitioned away' for development by a State Authority having its own budget for same.

A Vocational Democracy:....Since EVERY Community is a 'collective' Individual - her participation in State and National affairs follows in collective scope the premise: "Vocationalism 'guarantees' the triune statuses of EVERY Individual: i.e. as a Vocationalist, a citizen and an Economic Free Enterpriser:-

1. As a Vocationalist - to spend his lifetime in a free, non-competitive effort to develop, improve and employ his every talent, knowledge-performance-abilities and skills and thereby permanently increase his Wage-multiple hourly rate of pay; i.e. his True Worth Credit Hours of attainment, as he progresses academically and occupationally 'UP' the rungs of his Vocational ladders by Stages of Development; completely independant of his neighbors efforts, attainments and progress; and without fear of disfranchisement at the mercy, or hand of, ANY man.
2. As a citizen - to capably represent himself in/on his Community and Vocational Councils and activities; a 'true' non-political Democracy wherein the triune Administrative Bodies, The Community Council (House), The Vocational Councils (Senate) and their Civic Coordinate (Exec Admin) progresses/issues from The Communities thence to The State, to The National and International Bodies under 'ONE' Universal Constitution and Modus Operandi.
3. As a Free Enterpriser to establish his own business or be a profit-sharing corporate Enterprise employee, of his choice: 'Doing the things he knows best and likes best to do' - with and amongst men who speak his OWN Vocational Languages.

We have briefed The Miracle Plan for your enlightenment. Current events IS the Handwriting on the Wall - your ZERO HOUR for its acceptance. Make ready the 'Way of The Lord' and He will make ALL things NEW - for 'YOU

File

AUG 3 1967

141 E. 61, NYC
August 1, 1967

Dear Floyd:

I applauded your Black Power Conference 'separatism', and hoped since Fulbright and LBJ had ignored my 'Bill for Services rendered' that it would be my great delight, consolation and reward when you, et al, succeeded in destroying Washington's Frankenstein bureaucracy and its centralized Federalist Power and war mongering ideologies.

I heard your 'separatist' statement of yesterday - also the Senate Rules Committee to investigate the 'riots' with a report by my birthdate October 2nd.

I wrote Fulbright that today Aug 1, their option on my friendship and services would terminate. These boys know what's in the wind - that their jobs and prestige is up for grabs - so, take every precaution and be ready for every eventuality in the event they try to 'hang something on you and other Civil Rights groups'.

Sincerely,

Oliver

Oliver H. Perreault

AUG 8 1967

141 E. 61, NYC
August 3, 1967

Dear Floyd:

Much to my disgust and displeasure Our Lady has kept me financially shackled to postpone my tendency to get going ahead of Her schedule.

You will recall my letter to Fulbright of May 17, in which it was stated that if necessary 'She' would short-circuit their Senatorial efforts to avoid a Rail Strike.

On June 17, She told me to submit my 'Bill' to LBJ c/o Fulbright plus a number of follow-up letters on same. When on July 13 - NO answer - I wrote of my deepening resentment over my continued destitution and that Our Lady was 'allowing' it to continue - to which She replied:

"Hell has 'NO' fury like 'The Woman' scorned - what happens to you happens to Me."

On July 17, the Rail Strike - in which I repeated the above with the added:- "WE have only just begun". The Riots et cetera are mere indications that Her 'restraining' hand has been lifted from rampaging men, everywhere.

Fulbright and Spellman also received my World Rehabilitation text on Monday - so to calm today's disgruntlement Our Lady says:- "LBJ has announced his Tax-hike, Hubert who has knowledge of The Miracle Plan is suggesting a 'Marshall Plan' and Maxwell Taylor has a 17,000 man committment from Korea - the 'subtle' escallation of the war which We discussed after the deadlocked UN - Mid-East situation.

Reuthers indication of a forthcoming Washington meeting this month and a lifting of the Strike threat on the Profit-Sharing issue seems to indicate, after your Monday 'separatist' statement, that you are keeping him informed.

Now the point IS:* The Senate and LbJ's Administration has conclusively proved that they are 'NOT' my friends, rather my enemies and yours - so, when Taylor's report on Viet Nam is made public - 'open up on 'ALL' issues:- The Great Deception and Fallacy - the Tragic 34-years of 'trial' by ERROR - FDR to LBJ.

Name names, including Fulbright. Lay-off Spellman, prior to Aug 13 - because Our Lady 'seems' to indicate (holding out on me) that he will forward to The Vatican for publication by them.

Sincerely, Hour

AUG 8 1967

141 E. 61, NYC
August 4, 1967

Dear Floyd:

There has been a lot of water over the dam since I first wrote you on July 3, 1966 - and I'm hoping the dam will break very soon. Assuming that you have taken full advantage of the assignments directed your way, We are gratified by results - that Floyd, who had the tendencies of a Brown and Carmichael has become a true Leader and man of dignity and stature among his people and world leaders.

Since all of my writings, and letters too, are 'positive rendition' which require NO answer or contradiction, rather blanket acceptance or non-acceptance, I have taken no offense at not hearing from you - so I gain when my addressee accepts and the non-acceptor becomes the loser.

As I review the past year - great progress has been made - because The Miracle Plan has entered the World Arena and the only stumbling block, so far, has been Washington, D.C. Were you in my position to evaluate current events, everything is fast coming to a head. Our Lady is the only One Who knows what additional catastrophe's, riots et cetera, will occur as a preliminary to the instantaneous advent of Her Miracle Plan.

A year ago 'God was dead', not so today, as greatly evidenced in the UN in the Mid-East debate, when God was mentioned with such frequency by ALL members - that the number of mentions in one session greatly exceeded the 'total' mentions of the past 20-years.

At the time the Secret Service had me fired - I was the Administrative Assistant to Alex DiLorenzo Jr and Sol Goldman in the Chrysler Building - Real Estate tycoons far more fabulous that the defunct Zeckendorf Empire. Since I was their representative in the take-over transition of three Hotels in April-May 1966 - my friends, made at Hotel Lancaster, had the props out from under them when the Resident Auditor and Firm, was released on Jan 15, 1967. Prior to April 1, I was 40 lbs. underweight, my involuntary hunger-fast - so my friends contacted me, offered me $90.00/week plus meals to bring the 'books' up-to-date, which I did in 4-weeks, whereupon Sol Goldman signed my last paycheck, even though I saved him about $5,000 in Auditors fees. On April 5, I got on the Lex-Express dwntn, at 59th and stood face-to-face with Floyd McKissick, to Grand Central. Our Mentor said 'Don't speak' so I didn't. Anyway, as Miracles go, I regained my lost weight in less than 30-days, at Age 62, that's a Miracle plus the fact that I have the vigor, vitality and strength of a 30-year old. My apartment neighbors, and a Welfare representative, over to see me, about that time, was 'bushed' at walking up the 5-flights and amazed at my ability to run up, without loss of wind, etc. Start needling Washington.

Sincerely,

Oliver

AUG 11 1967

141 E. 61, NYC
August 7, 1967

Dear Floyd:

You are well aware by now that 90% of the American Whites are NOT racists and anti-Negro. History proves that Rulers and Dictators have always employed subtle propaganda and Class struggles to inflame emotionalism - to inflame one group against another - with the intent of these enslavers and oppressors of mankind to 'step-in' and referee with much publicized benevolence the battle they set-up. As a result, the Masses become beholden to them in everything they do.

As you will note in the attached 'The Great Deception' my Mentor has allowed me to take off the 'Kid Gloves'. However, it is a matter of deep regret to me - that after 20-months of all out sincere effort in behalf of mankind - that I have been a miserable failure in effecting the peaceful Miracle Plan transition.

I am, with this writing, mailing a copy of this letter and the attached article to Sen Fulbright - a last resort try to break thru Washington's seemingly impregnable callousness.

I will advise you in the event of an answer from him by August 13. Failing an answer - sell the article to the highest bidder - 50-50 on the take. Vengeance is Mine says The Lord so let Him assume the results of the published article; in other words be cautioned and caution your friends and associates to keep cool and your hands clean while Destiny takes its course. OKAY?

Sincerely,

Oliver H. Perreault

CC Sen. J. W. Fulbright

Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor of BVM

The Great Deception & Fallacy
The 'Tragic' 3¼-years of
Trial by 'ERROR'
FDR - LBJ

'The Stranglers'

We nominate our White House incumbent as the most sophisticated 'criminal' in the History of Mankind - second only to Cain who slew his brother Abel.

Likewise, we do not hesitate to indict the famed 'Doughboys' who failed to Save the World for Democracy - as his henchman cohorts - because they are todays Ruling Generation; his staunch supporters and collectors of Social Security from our Money Strangulated Nation - the 'werewolves' living on the blood money of future generations; and who in their heyday garnered Blood Money from the Sophistry of Wars.

Only now, do we realize, that the Obsessed Texan, who gained his majority as FDR's protege in the '30's, the same in whom we placed our trust and mandate in 1964 - has and does in fact 'act' as an 'absolutist', an attribute reserved to God Almighty.

But then, the very same Doughboys who wouldn't stay down on the farm after they had seen Paree - are the generation who have made 'crime pay' and won their exoneration by declaring that 'God is dead' (apologies to Communists who openly profess atheism), therefore the master genocidist and birth controller, is now a full fledged 'absolutist' under the former precept:- 'The divine right of criminals and rulers'. (Kings??).

ALL of us, young and old, have with tongue in cheek, 'aped' our Doughboy Political Spoils Trustees by sanctimoneously deploring the dastardly days of 'Blood Money INFAMY' by GORY-type' criminals of memory like the Kaiser, Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, Kruschchev and Japan's militarists, to mention a few.

But the 'post-infamous' living Criminal, to whom we owe the continued hunger, poverty, and destitution of our Nation and the World - is none other than the Power-mad, war-mongering 'absolutist', who in complete, arrogant defiance of ALL World Leaders, world opinion, including His Holiness Pope Paul VI - has succeeded in usurping the prerogatives of God by 'browbeating' the world into submission to his 'benevolent, holier than thou' aggression and anti-poverty, et al, decrees and ideologies - by which he is succeeding in the wholesale 'Strangulation of Mankind' as a preliminary to a benevolent conquering of the world by subjugation under the slave-yoke of his centralized Imperialist Frankenstein Bureaucracy, which practices under the pseudonym of a Democracy.

Yesterday, after a moment of perplexed frustration, he gleefully embraced the Mid-East crises as a God-sent, diversionary event - to 'cool' anti-Viet Nam War Demonstrations - but today, the while Detroit burned and riots flared, everywhere, 'Nero' fiddled and connived to 'trick' an alarmed populace, by a subversive Trojan Horse machination, by stealthy decree; i.e. the compounded deception of coupling a 'war escallation with new taxes' - in callous defiance of the masses - but naturally approved by the Doughboy Blood-Money guardians and by the semi-invalid who betrayed the Hungarian Freedom Fighters.

Tch, tch!....'We didn't expect the aroused Black Power radicals to 'act-up' at this time - we had better kill them off before they get us by anti-riot legislation, to legalize the 'powers' of a Police State to 'KILL, KILL, KILL' - to quell rebellion, revolution and insurrection. We will not 'tolerate' usurpers of our prerogatives - they must be taught that 'Anarchy' is reserved to us.

Do you want to bet on the 'winner and outcome'?.....Read on!!

It requires little thought to understand 'The Great Fallacy' because our White House absolutist and strategist 'glibly', but with fitting nuances of speech, in his famous State of the Union messages, told the Nation and the World that his Administration does 'the will of men' by proven 'trial by ERROR' machinations and that he is steadfastly engaged in innumerable 'trial by ERROR' wars of his own making and design; to mention a few:- wars on poverty, crime, air pollution, et cetera, ad infinitum;

But the most 'touching' of his declamation IS that; 'Deficit Financing' WORKS - 'Not for you-mind you' - but as a perfect alibi for his Government - a tribute to the political intrigue and double-standards of his GREAT predecessor - FDR.

Man, the intellectual - 'YOU' - is the only nitwit on earth who mortgages his future to live today at the expense of his progeny's tomorrows - shrinking the heads of the unborn by an astronomical mortgage on their future; thereby FORCING our 'Thalidomide' offspring to COVET, STEAL AND KILL - as the price of survival in our man-made Jungle Chattel-land;....

Maybe you are so naively illiterate that you don't know which end is UP - that 'YOU' 'ARE' indeed, a Chattel-renter of EVERYthing you possess for use, because under FDR-LBJ Rule of Gold, MAN OWNS 'NOTHING' MONEY 'OWNS' it ALL! Wake-up 'sucker' - ALL you have to show for what you have is DEBT, DEBT, DEBT!!! - your legacy to the unborn throughout the world.

Now, this Great Fallacy is as 'old' as Methusale - except for accidental differences. As in the past, our modern Doughboys did what comes naturally in the 'Roaring 20's - as they ate, drank and were merry with wine, women, song, suffragettes, Prohibition and pyramided, non-existent Money - until the Crash of '29 and the Great Depression of '33 - and from which 'YOU' learned 'NOTHING'.

The Great Deception? - Pertinent to this discussion, as the key to its understanding IS - that FDR envisioned, or pretended to the ideal of a World Money System, a new technocracy for the 'equitable' distribution of Super-Abundance - but as the Doughboys well remember, his promises were short-lived - hardly uttered and simultaneously 'junked' - as he employed 'gimmicks and slogans' to reinstate the unconstitutional acts of The Congress of 1912 - 'ALL you have to fear is fear itself' - thereby perpetuating to infamy - The Congressional 'abrogation' of the 4th Amendment: "The Congress has the 'sole' power to coin and regulate money".

He abdicated the Gold Standard and simultaneously 'gathered' up 'ALL the GOLD' from the four corners of the earth, then made it a felony for Americans to 'Hoard Gold'. After he had succeeded in 'denuding the world of its gold' he decreed its new market-price; then began to collect Income Taxes (a citizen is a chattel & pawn beholden to the State, who pays thru the nose for mythical privileges, benefits and over-lords) following which he adopted the infamous Keynesian Deficit Financing - a fraudulent prosperity predicated on 'DEBT' incurred by its Chatellized citizenry; and to the 'exclusion' of the World who could not adopt Deficit Financing because they had 'NO-gold' buried in a hole in the ground.

Remember, the mad Gold-Rush, when our Frontiersman shot and killed with the impunity of a Hitler - for 'GOLD' - but lost most of it to the Empire Builders, who in turn gave the Golden Brooklyn Bridge to The Congress of 1912 and ALL of their gold in exchange for your Constitutional birthright - the Congressional prerogative mandate to 'coin and regulate money' and effect its 'equitable' circulation to the citizenry. By this 'abrogation' sell-out - you began 'paying tribute taxes' to the new Extortioners and your beloved Constitution 'became a Strangulation-Mortgage on your lives.

This fallacy would have been apprehended except for the intervening Sophistry of Wars for Profit - the sanctimoneous selling of arms, ammunition and materials to aid potential enemies to adequately prepare for War against 'YOU'. Then the 'climax', as the American populace were tricked into a 'Good Neighbor Money 'bondage' - the while the Darwinian wealthy FIT garnered ALL the Money and Profit EVERYwhere; 3¼-years of The Greatest Tragedy in the History of Mankind.

As a result of The Great Deception & Fallacy:- The NO-gold Nations and Peoples, EVERYwhere, including our own, are literally forced to live in a vacuum of hunger, poverty and destitution; actually 'forbidden' to work, to eat, to sleep because they have 'NO' 'fools gold' hidden in a 'hole in the ground' therefore, 'NO' MEDIUM of TRADE acceptable to our satanic, Imperialist, Syndicated 'fools gold' Money Chattelists - who 'rent' to US everything we have, and the peoples of the world must 'Sell their SOULS' for a Foreign-aid, Good Neighbor handout. Did I hear you call them 'ungrateful wretches'??

How well most of 'YOU' know that you have become rabid worshippers of the golden calf as practitioners who garner your so-called share of the spoils by cutthroat, dog eat dog, business is business competition wherein Money-might is right, to the victor belongs the spoils and the end justifies the means by which you sanctimoneously COVET, STEAL & KILL for Money - because it takes: 'Money to MAKE Money'. the while our great majority are 'forced' to SELL their Body and Soul to exist.

You protest this excoriation!! Lincoln freed the slaves so you say, therefore it is not your fault or responsibility that they are illiterates unable to 'compete' with YOU?? Tch, tch!!

In the great depression days, you were helpless illiterates (and today). Read The Congressional Records of the 30's to learn how 'illiterate' your Government by Law & Decree has become. It never occurred to you even now, that Elephants and Jackasses are 'carry-over' relics of the Ox-cart Era of 'killers for gold'; and that with the adventof The Industrial Age you became a 'First-Class Extortioner' (the 50-million Frenchman variety who can't be wrong) - who buy a million paper-backs on pseudo-Economics to learn the art of EXTORTING Wage-multiples from 'inanimate brainless products and services' (your illiterate inability to effect 'equitable' distribution) - thereby the MASSES are literally forced to 'kickback' to your Enterprises 3/4ths of their Hand-to-mouth Wages the while your Spoils Trustees EXTORT the 'balance as tribute-Taxes' to the Empire Builders who own The Constitution and you - lock, stock and barrel.

You once believed in Home Rule and State's Rights but you literally begged, then allowed FDR to centralize ALL Power in a Federalist Welfare State - a Frankenstein bureaucracy so 'monstrous' and malignant that it grows at the rate of 5-new employees per minute.

Nor do you believe in the possibility of a Miracle solution!! Instead, you are guilty of complicity with the 'absolutist' who in 1966, told you repeatedly 'NOT' to believe in 'Miracles' - and you happily concurred, content in the Mass-agnosticism of Sophistry - the belief in nothing, including yourselves. How well you know - that your entire life 'racket' IS:- the satanic premise: (it takes Money to make money' - therefore, NO MAN can Pursue the Happiness of Endeavor & Enterprise without Capital. How then can the 'freed' slaves 'compete' with YOU??

But the 'arch-deceiver' is not an agnostic like you - because his 'Nemesis' is a Miracle Plan - which he has known about since Christmas 1165 - a documented thesis which unconditionally guarantees Peace, Equity, Security and SUPER-Abundance for ALL mankind.

He, his V/P, his UN Ambassador, his friend Red-herring Harry, his rubber-stamp Congress and financial tycoons know of same - as he does - yet he perpetrated the greatest sacrilege of ALL time - when he sent his Zionist emissary to Rome and around the world - but deliberately concealed from you, the world and His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, on Christmas Eve - that they had the subject Miracle Plan and that Our Lady of Fatima had 'promised' Peace by Christmas (1965) as a reward for its publication and adoption.

After 20-months of patient pleas for recognition while surviving rank hunger, poverty, destitution and disfranchisement at the hands of his Secret Service - this coauthor of The BVM - with Her permission herewith declares 'against them'. The Miracle Plan is 'YOURS' for the asking, as is the proof of the above documentation against them.

ALL Black Power Groups 'KNOW' of The Miracle Plan - and if YOU deny them a peaceful, immediate 'transition' from our 'hideous past' to EQUITY according to God's 'new' Magna Carta and Bill of Rights for 'ALL' mankind - then 'YOU' will become co-victims with 'The Strangler'.

"It is written: I will destroy the wisdom of the wise and the prudence of the prudent I will reject." 1Cor. 1:19.

That time has come to pass!!

AUG 16 1967

8/14/67

Dear Floyd:

Our Mexico says the "absolutest" true plans for a Military-regime take-over after the next riot. Check-out all Black Power Groups and White instigators in the Kansas City area.

There is collusion, CIA-SS-FBI & Military. Their tentative schedule, on or about 8-22. Report any & all findings to Lackey at once. Also Fairbrights.

Just got the message - not entirely clear as complete. More when I know more.

Love

AUG 17 1967

Dear Lloyd: 8/12/67 10:30 Rev

Here on the Military Take-over background info.

The 8/10 news cast was an intended "leak" i.e preparatory propaganda by the Administration. — followed by the Bombing escalations as a concession to the Military and as your Rover anti-riot propaganda circulated via TV to the Viet Nam GI's is anti-Black.

~~No~~ I got the first telepathic directive upon hearing the 5:30 PM (8/14) newscast that LBJ planned a 100% Job placement for returning GI's. to make them ANTI-Black & PRO-LBJ

As you may imagine and understand from my letters I mentally pigeon-hole information fragments, sometimes for months. at a later date the pieces of the info jigsaw puzzle suddenly fit together and our Master Architect's mind by analogies of same.

Compresez:

Over

LBJ is losing No time in capitalizing on the GO-AHEAD statements of Ike and certain members of Congress and if possible he will "cashier his opposition" as you know our Military were the prime consultants and strategists in the successful Zionist Mid East aggression and the are just ACTING for an opportunity to quell a riot and take-over in the U.S.A. and corral your people Over.

P.S.- As you know your Nonsike Conference declared war on the Militant Christian Patriots. They'll crush the insurrection By "FRAMING" a RIOT for the end and justify the mass "round-up" at your Washington military

Over

AUG 17 1967

Dear Lloyd:

8/15/67 10:30 Rom

Here on the Military Take-over background info.

The 8/10 newscast was an intended "leak" i.e preparatory propaganda by the Administration. — followed by the Bombing escallations as a concession to the Military and as you know anti-Viet propaganda circulated via TV to the Viet Nam GI's is anti-Black.

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Congress;

Over

LBJ is losing No time in capitalizing on the Go-AHEAD statements of Ike and certain members of Congress and if possible he will "cashier his opposition". As you know our Military were the prime consultants and strategists in the successful Zionist Mid East aggression and they're fast ACTING for an opportunities to quell a Riot and take-over in the USA. and corral your people

Over

P.S. As you know your Nazi-like Conference of 26 of the obedient Spiritualist they'll create By "FRAMING A RIOT" the end result justify the means & fast reassemble Reistre also "Armed-up" at your Pentagon

Over

As you deduce from the Mackinac Island Conference by Romney - Rocky - George - plans a European & Russian trip next month.. Meanwhile dear Lady says "Give them time to work locally - to Coordinate the Banks, Car Mfgrs, Governors and City Administrations

Keep cool and your hands clean - God got in Chicago last week. Shalom

As I recall a few months ago "Juice a Romney supporter - your Lebanese statement that his Mormon Creed should not be held against him in an election - It won't. He crossed that bridge with JFK in '60. Assuming that promotes The Detroit Plan - its system of Administrative progression would make him a natural for the top job.

The Civic Coordinate (Executive) of our new Democracy is somewhat styled as a Corporation with its Chairman President & Board of Directors.

It begins in the Community since each Metro Community is subdivided in Districts and choose their man in a Managerial sense. These assembled Managers elect a Metro Manager from among them - a peer of their Group (Community-wise) Parallel to the Community Govt. the Vocational Groups progress in turn to the State and National. No Elections as we know them today. No Political Parties - So you can understand that Communities of your people are EQUAL in every respect.

By the way I expect Floyd McCrary, Flint Negro who is resigning to contact you. Keep him in the groove a post. Shalom

AUG 17 1967

Dear Floyd 8/25/67 5:30 am

While I was typing the Gov Romney letter on 8/10, either 2:30 or 3:30 pm there was a one time, mention on WPAT by a guest from an official to the effect that he foresaw a Military and Economic take-over by the Military to Control against riots

Just called WPAT to get a read-back from their News Dept but the operator said No one there this early in the AM. I didn't catch the officials name so as a lead-start on the K C info call WPAT Mon 8-9:00 for the officials name and comments (believe you were in Chicago that day)

Oliver

Our Mentor tied in my forecast to J. V. after the Detroit riot that K C would be the next biggie and the WPAT news. Today is Her Feast of The Assumption and 8/22 Feast of The Immaculate Heart (Our Lady of Fatima)

Oliver

AUG 14 1967

141 E. 61, NYC
August 10, 1967

Hon. George Romney
Governor of Michigan
Governors Conference
NY-Hilton, NYC

Dear Governor Romney: Re: The Miracle Plan

As a native of Michigan and a Detroit & Flint resident for 25-years of my adult life - it is my delight and pleasure to transmit to you the inclosed Miracle Plan: its Preamble, Preface Brief and a substantiating 'Article' and selected sample letters from my files on the above.

As you will note from the attached copy of your memo to me dated June 18, 1963, the subject Miracle Plan is not a new venture for me - in fact The Miracle Plan is perhaps better known at the UN and the major Capitals of the World, including North Viet Nam than in the USA - where my every effort these past 7½-years has been 'suppressed'.

Receipt of your acknowledgment memo - and in the same mail a 'refused' certified Brief mailed to Rose Kennedy for JFK - set in a chain reaction against me, whereupon I was 'railroaded' into Newberry State Hospital on July 1 - 'Pre-occupation with unusual ideas'. After 3-months of drugs and incarceration by The State of Michigan - Dr. Cameron, Supt., and Staff decreed an 'Outright Discharge' on my own recognizance, full citizenship restored.

Since I am a pauper, and my entire experience in NYC has been of rank disfranchisement at the hands of the US Secret Service (Gestapo) - I didn't have the fare to make a trip to Detroit to lend my hand in its Miracle Plan Rehabilitation.

This letter authorizes you to furnish copies of the attached to your Conference of Governors and to submit The Miracle Plan Preamble and Preface Brief for immediate World Publication.

The article and letters: 'The Great Deception' was written on August 7 as a modern Sword of Damocles - for restricted distribution to World Leaders, The Congress, Federal and State Government officials and dissident Business tycoons; The 'Pen is mightier than the Sword' - and as you read the subject material - it will convey my resolve to 'Play for Keeps' peaceful or otherwise;- an 'irresistable 'Force' to move with 'ease' the immovable Body.'

Time's awasting, so please get together with The UN and The Congress and effect its 'Inception into Law'.

8/10/67 Floyd: Hold Publication and protect your use of the article, as above. Oliver

Sincerely,
Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor of BVH

COPY

AUG 25 1967

141 E. 61, NYC
August 23, 1967

Dear Governor Romney:

Assuming that your recent knowledge of The Miracle Plan is the basis for your increased participation in current events, We appreciate your commendable efforts.

As you surmise by the trend in national and world events, The Almighty is 'forcing' ALL issues past and present. I expect this trend to reach a climactic stage within the next four weeks - near or total paralysis.

Your recent request for Federal Troops in the Detroit riot established moral precedent and justification for a 'Military' take-over of the Nation and The Economy by The Administration. In recent weeks, this long-held plan, is out of the moth-balls, including its propaganda releases. As pending nation-wide strikes gain momentum, the CIA-SS-FBI-Military, with the fore-knowledge of The Administration which is fast losing its popularity, grip and strangle-hold - are 'framing the next disastrous riot' to justify the take-over.

My Mentor, therefore, authorizes the immediate use, release and publication of The Miracle Plan Preamble and Brief, and the 'article': The Great Deception & Fallacy - NO restrictions.

Sincerely,

Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor of BVM

Note to Msgr Sheridan: I'm sure you recall the picture book, comic style, issued 30-years ago by The American Hierarchy, an advance story on how the Communists would plan and accomplish the take-over of the Nation and the world. That story may soon be validated with a slight change in the Cast of Characters. Oliver

SEP 18 1967

9/13/67

Dear Lloyd:

I gassed get yourself a copy of the Cyrus Vance report on the Detroit riot.

No doubt you are aware of the many articles on crime et cetera, Look, Life, News Week.

Also the Politicians are shaping up sides on Viet Nam. - strikes are increasing - The Steel Industry are at odds with LBJ & Eckles.

Naturally, a few of the above may be in cahoots with the administration planning, on "take-over". but all in all, the important thing is an eventual justification for take-over. Milwaukee may prove to be a next stepping stone - followed by a surprise quickie where least expected. As you know Mike Mansfield gave quite a talk in Kansas City last week. I have no reason to believe he's two-faced - but I have, on several letters, to Hubert referred to Mike as "Weather-vane Mike". Follow his statements for leads on admin. thinking and plans

Love

and don't forget the Senate Rules Committee report on 1012

SEP 18 1967

141 E. 61, NYC
Sept 15, 1967

Dear Floyd:

U Thants threat to resign has coincided with my thinking and personal situation. In my case its 'mutiny' NO bounty.

I've told my Boss, NO pay - NO work! I'm sick and tired of living on endless frustration and rejection - so I'm going to apply for Welfare and get a job and to hell with the world situation.

Sincerely

Oliver H. Perreault

cc Gov George Romney
Msgr Earl V. Sheridan

SEP 28 1967

141 E. 61, NYC
Sept. 26, 1967

Dear Floyd:

I've been teasing Our Lady about Our choice of South Africa - primarily on what you would think about them; because speakers that followed him yesterday and Upper Volta just concluded, accuse Portugal and South Africa of 'apartheid'.

As We listened to the South African, yesterday, his entire speech was based on the first three lines of the UN Preamble; with the reasoned admonition that the world's basic problem was poverty and destitution of the masses; a lucid explanation free of the political topics which dominates the UN debate.

Our Lady answers: Tell Floyd to be a smoothie and get the South African to 'practice' what he preaches - handed to him on a platter of Gold - The Miracle Plan. Comprenez?

Sincerely,

Oliver

Oliver H. Perreault

P. S. All of the small nationx speakers are tops with Us. The major powers are by comparison 'bums' - in short monopolists; so the small fry in cooperation with your 'minority' peoples are the hope of the world and humanity. Oliver

Oliver H. Perreault,
Coauthor of BVM.

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The School of Experience

Time spent cannot be reclaimed, but its future is assurred!

ALL of US are in School ALL of OUR LIVES, Endeavoring to attain the TOOLS needed by Enterprise. Endeavor the female of our species performs to enable Enterprise the male to produce or achieve a tangible result:-

a. Endeavor is the Individuals 'ability to do', while Enterprise is the 'act of doing it'. Endeavor attains as a student, and Enterprise accomplishes as her worker.

b. Together, they achieve or produce a tangible result, or something to show for having done it - for having learned, trained and acquired the 'ability to do', and then lending and combining their work, practice and effort 'to do it'.

c. Therefore, the elementary yardstick of attainment is that of 'passing' from one grade to the next highest', as Grade I to Grade II - a student.

d. Of accomplishment, it is that of 'advancing' from one educational or occupational level to the next highest, as Skill I to Skill II - a worker.

e. As the Individual 'climbs' the ladder of attainment, accomplishment and achievement, he increases his merit-payment wage-multiple or hourly rate of pay'. This is his True Worth, 'cumulative' because it constantly increases, from the cradle to the grave. ONCE GAINED - NEVER LOST!

f. The Student receives a report card and certification slip from his school, college, university or extension course, and the Community//~~Summer~~ Vocational Exchange receives the original copy of the certification slip of accredited Credit Hours to be recorded on the True Worth Diary Record Card.

g. The worker is promoted by his Enterpriser, or technically advances to the next higher level or skill. He also receives a certification slip as proof of advancement. As above,the original copy is sent to and registered by the Exchange on his Record Card. As a student and/or a worker, the individual has increased his hourly rate of pay...his True Worth wage-multiple.

h. The Storehouse of gifts, talents, vocations and abilities which endows Man, IS:- the 'only' product of attainment, he has to 'spend in Time' - for the benefit of himself and Society.

i. Vocational aptitudes and abilities are many and varied. ALL are alike, yet unlike in the 'functional ability and characteristics' which specifically identifies the individual personality; for he 'functions' as himself FIRST, LAST AND ALWAYS...as a Member of The Body of Christ which he 'inhabits'!

j. Each individual achieves the satisfactions that Pursue Happiness, doing the 'THINGS' he knows and likes best to do'. Each one aspires to a certain 'inborn' level of attainment, some much higher than others, some more gifted than others.

k. The degrees of proficiency attained by the Individual, in his respective endeavors and enterprises IS equal to the measure of comfort and degree of satisfactions, he needs and must have, to make his Pursuit of Happiness complete.

l. Many men are highly skilled, Masters of their professions and trades, others have NO 'hankering' to progress beyond a certain inborn level of attainment. Still others are highly proficient in a number of vocations and trades.

m. When assembled as the Body Politic, the 'total' world man-power IS a 'perfectly' balanced Production Unit; - a man for every need, and a 'non-competitive opportunity for every man to be in his rightful place - functionally coordinated as a Team - after This Systems Installation.

n. The 'non-hankering' ones are satisfied with the World; - and the more gifted, want the 'World with a fence around it'. In other words 'water' seeks its own level - physically, intellectually and vocationally.

o. The gifted ones want a high standard of living with 'do-dads', while the 'non-hankering' ones are satisfied to be 'comfortable' in nice surroundings, and a 'good' standard of living.

Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor of BVM.

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Dominion and Capitalization
by:
Natural Right of Inheritance

Thanks be to God and Our Lady of Fatima, we are ushering in OUR New Era of Peace, Equity, Security and Abundance - to satisfy God's great yearning for a 'SECOND' Era of Mankind, to be as it WAS in THE beginning of Time, as it was 'intended' to have been NOW, and from the beginning of Eternity and Time.

Who's Who??

Jesus, the King of Kings, was born in a 'stable' - to remind Man, that he enters and leaves Life 'empty-handed'!

He is ushered in, and carried out, and takes nothing with him - not even his body - proof-positive that he 'OWNS NOTHING' - not one grain of sand nor even one speck of dust - not one drop of water, nor even one breath of air!

Therefore, the Earth, and ALL things in it, including Man His Child, IS the 'exclusive property' of God, The Patriarch, Who by virtue of His Bounteous Divine Providence, has 'WILLED TO CONSIGN', the Earth to Man, the Individual, as His Steward, and to the Society of Man, as His Custodian.

God created the earth for Man, the Individual, countless billions of US, and appointed Society, the ONE large Family of God, The Patriarch, to be the Matriarchal Custodian of Earth.

As the Matriarchal Custodian of Earth, Society 'OWES' every man, without exception, a LIVING - the 'GAINFUL' - NON-COMPETITIVE 'opportunity' to Labor; by the sweat of his brow, his intellect - from the cradle to the grave and beyond into Eternity - by 'earning it' - as a Just Steward - as did Noe!

When Society fosters Man, the Individual, in conformity with the Divine Mandate of Individual Stewardship:- "Increase and multiply and Have Dominion"...she WILL BE attended by the 'Doves' of Peace, Equity, Security and Abundance!

When she fails her assignment, her generation is ravaged by moral decadence, degradation, war, disease, pestilence, destitution and her final end:- 'RAPE' by the satanic horde - which We are witnessing and undergoing TODAY!

God IS 'THE' Corporation - the Earth His Project - and WE the Laborers in His Vineyard, from which he hopes to 'gain' His Increase....'YOU'!

For which YOU receive the 'Coin of His Realm' - Life Everlasting!

Who's Who??....God 'IS' -- you 'are'!

God 'LOVES YOU' dearly - He wants YOU very much!

God is the 'sole' OWNER of earth, Society the Custodian, and Man the Individual, the Lord and Master, as the Vocational Steward and Heir of God.

God created the Earth for Man, the Vocationalist, countless billions of US, and He said:- "ALL shall Have Dominion by Natural Right of Inheritance"!

EVERY Child, 'YOU'...is a 'Prodigy of God' - a special Ward of Man - the wealth of the earth, the legacy of the Parent - the 'new' Lord and Master, born of the Will of God - hence, the great joy amongst men, when a child is born to them.

The Child is the New Steward, come to claim his Inheritance:- "Dominion by Natural Right of Inheritance" - a natural 'Heir of God' and His Divine Providence!

The Child is the New Steward, come to claim his Inheritance, thereby, ALL MEN Have Dominion - for ALL are created EQUAL - ALL have Life, Love and Light - ALL are 'singularly' identified from ALL OTHERS as Vocational Stewards of Individual Dominion. NO two individuals ever receive an 'identical parcel of endowments'.

Each receives a 'specific' assortment of graces, gifts, talents, skills and abilities which 'clearly identifies'....'YOU'....from ALL OTHERS!

The Child is a 'Ward of Man the Trustee'....a triune trusteeship:- The Parent, The State and The Economy!

The phrase:- "Make ready the Way of the Lord" - applies to every Child!

It is a 'literal' demand, command and charge, levied by God, on the Parent and Society...requiring them to establish an 'Endowment Trust' for EVERY Heir of God, a DEED...that guarantees a fruitful life, non-competitive Dominion, free endeavor and enterprise.

The State of Society, as the Trustee and Custodian of Earth, 'INDEMNIFIES' the child with a 'NEST-EGG', which the Parent, as his guardian, will invest for him, unto the day of the child's majority.

For NO MAN can Pursue the Happiness of Endeavor and Enterprise, with his neighbor, without a Capital Endowment in the Coin of his Realm - TIME!

ALL THREE TRUSTEES, are held equally responsible before God, for the childs welfare. It thus becomes the 'bounden duty of ALL' - not only to develop the childs gifts, talents, aptitudes and potential - but also to wisely invest and compound, the portion of the child's inheritance, entrusted to their care.

For, investment of the childs inheritance pays for his keep as a member of the family, for his education, citizenship and social maintenance as a member of Society, and to The Economy for his necessity, and the protection of his future opportunities and livelihood as an adult.

Society, as the Trustee of God and Custodian of Earth, exercises its Power of Attorney, by issuing a 'Deed of Dominion by Natural Right', secured for the Child, by a 'new issue' of Profit-Sharing' Investment Capital, as a 'new' Heir of God, which thereby, measurably contributes to, and enriches the General Welfare of ALL. The Wise Men brought the Child Jesus, gold, frankincense and Myrrh!

Therefore, Society will establish a 'three-fold system' for endowing the Individual Vocationalist, and through him the Parent, the State and The Economy with 'new' profit-sharing Investment Capital - a triune Trusteeship:—

1. An initial 'per-head' endowment at birth - divided three ways.
2. And when of Age - an amount directly proportional to the individuals (childs) ever increasing True Worth of Endeavor and Enterprise.
3. For Home Ownership - to insure living standards within The Family's increasing True Worth....the 'childs' contribution to it.
4. (See next page)

4. For maintenance of The Public Domain - its institutions, facilities and services, necessary to the childs general and public welfare.

5. For productive enterprises, to insure a constantly expanding economy, thus to insure the childs future opportunities.

The Investment Capital accruing to The State is under its sole jurisdiction and use for The General Welfare - for ANY and ALL Things required for the common good of ALL....AT NO COST TO ANYONE....God's Capitalization of MAN and The Earth!

The portion of The Parent, and of his child, is under parental control and jurisdiction. The Great majority will use part of their capital for Home ownership (The Heirs Castle(, and invest the balance to expand the Economic Enterprise that employs The Parent, as a profit-sharing Enterpriser.

'Every' Child IS a 'Pearl of Great Price'!

Our Mothers, God Bless Them - spent the 'first' nine months of our lives, Endeavoring to develop us into existence 'through' Labor, that we might be born to earth, as was The Christ Child.

Never again, after our new Systems Installation, will ANY mother bring forth a child in poverty and destitution. She will be adequately compensated, for delivering to earth 'The Pearl of Greatest Price'.

She will receive True Worth Credit Hours of Endeavor for bringing the Child into the world....and a monthly 'basic-wage-Hours' for her services as the child's Chief nurse, teacher and baby-sitter, hence an INCOME....independant of, and in addition to her husbands income.

The above 'new child' Credit Hours are added to the 'accrued' True Worth Credit Hours she has previously received. Her 'total' Credit Hours (X) the basic-wage-Hours as a baby sitter....equals her INCOME....hence, an 'identical' Universal Gross Income Formula for MAN....male and female!

Oliver H. Perreault
Coauthor of BVM.

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Capitalization by Inheritance

This
The/Millenium Plan by Our Lady of Fatima, provides EVERY Individual with a 'nest-egg' of 'Inheritance Investment Capital'....which he normally invests with his profit-sharing employer; since ALL Economic Enterprises will be 'employee-owned'!

The Individual decides to go in business for himself to produce his new invention. Several of his fellow-workers agree to join him. They withdraw their capital stock from their current employer, namely sell their stock - to invest their new enterprise - and they are in Productive Enterprise - in business for themselves - a profit-sharing enterprise.

EVERY CHILD, without exception, receives a 'nest-egg' or Inheritance at birth....which the Parent invests as Investment Capital.

As the Child begins to accumulate True Worth Credit Hours, at school, or in other forms of Endeavor and Enterprise, his Credit Hours increase.

When the child or teen-ager begins work (Enterprise), this individual receives a 'basic-wage', AS DO ALL MEN, of one-labor-man-Hour Dollar per hour for every hour he works, therefore his Income is:- Credit Hours X Labor Hours equals his Income in Consumer Time Dollar Certificates.

As his True Worth Credit Hours increase - Inheritance Points also 'increase'!

Every individual will have the same 'relative proportion' of par-value Inheritance Points....according to his 'accrued' Credit Hours.

This 'proportion' of Credit Hours to 'Inheritance Points achieves Equity for ALL.

The use of 'Inheritance Points' stabilizes the computation and simplifies the simple bookkeeping at the Community ~~Consumer~~ VOCATIONAL Exchange.

The Economic Enterpriser 'converts' Inheritance Points by 'cashing' them for Time Dollars.

The 'par-value' of the points, will be uniform for all individuals.

The Economic Scientist and Planning Engineers will scientifically determine the Investment Capital needs of The Economy, The State and The Family!

Since the 'total' True Worth Credit Hours 'on deposit' IS known at ALL times, the engineers know at ALL Times the total Inheritance Points on deposit, namely the 'accrued' Points issued by the Community ~~Consumer~~ Vocational Exchange.

The total need in Investment Capital 'Time Dollars', per Point, is periodically determined by the planning engineers. When the Time Dollar value per Point increases, the par-value of the Inheritance Points also increases. IN DOLLAR VALUE.

The Economic Enterpriser holds his 'Employee's Points, as the basis for his Capitalization. Each time the planning engineers 'upgrade' the Time Dollar conversion value of the Inheritance Points, the Enterpriser increases his Capital Fund, because he 're-submits' his Capitalization 'Points' to receive the 'upgraded' amount, hence the Time Dollar increase from the former to the 'upgraded value'.

When, as a profit-sharing Enterprise, the Enterpriser pays dividends to his employee's, and the amount of the dividend is equal to the par-value Time Dollar... the employee elects the choice of converting to additional Inheritance Points...or he may wish to withdraw the stock dividend in Time Dollars for Home Ownership use.

The 'initial' CONVERSION of Inheritance Points to Investment Capital Time Dollars will be a 'basic-first-step' in our 'initial' Systems and Installation Procedures.

The Era of Stock Market speculation that 'destitutes' the Economy, as the 'werewolves' of Labors blood, sweat and toil - is herewith condemned to oblivion, Amen.

WE have introduced the 'composite' Sciences of Money, Social, Vocational and Production Economics and Technology.

This entire script, including the remainder, IS synoptic text of minimum need to your understanding.

Oliver H. Perreault,
Coauthor of BVM.

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The Securities Exchange

The Community Vocational Exchange in Every Town 'capitalizes' the Individual, the Community and its basic Economy; whereas The Securities Exchange and Commission is a Treasury Organ which serves as the National Authority for 'capitalizing' the inter-State Economy; namely the Public Utilities, Corporations, individuals and Economic Enterprises whose size, operations and functions serves more than one Community or State.

The National Authority, under the direction and custodianship of its Securities Exchange allocates (finances), underwrites and markets ALL Stock and Bond issues, new and old....and makes same available on the Market to private investors, large and small.

Buying and selling does not alter the par value of the stocks, nor can an individual, syndicate or corporation corner the Market or buy a controlling interest in any Economic Enterprise without the express consent of the Exchange Commission.

The Common Stock Shares will have an equal value to the Inheritance Point shares, including its periodic increases, noted under the topic 'Capitalization by Inheritance'. Share Holders will participate by proxy in the Economic Profit-sharing System and upgraded values noted in the referenced subject matter.

Oliver H. Perreault,
Coauthor of BVM.

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The United Nations International Authority and Import-Export Bank

'Autonomy'

This article defines the 'autonomic' status of The United Nations International Authority and Import-Export Banks.

We have 'capitalized' the Individual, the Community and the Economy on a 'per-head' Census basis; supplemented by the ever increasing True Worth 'Inheritance Points' ACCRUED by Society's Individuals - as recorded and housed at The Community Vocational Exchanges throughout the world.

We have 'empowered' the scientific planning engineers to periodically upgrade the per Point Time Dollar investment values as required. This procedure also fully accomodates The Public Domain requirements of the Community, State and National Civic Coordinate Divisions - as noted in the preceeding 'Capitalization' Topics and subsequent topics:'A Democracy'.

The United Nations IS the One-World Family of Nations on earth! She maintains World Peace and serves as the International Moderator-Coordinator and Clearing House on 'ALL' World Affairs:- Academic, Social, Civic, Vocational and Economic fields of endeavor, enterprise, service and activites.

This article defines The United Nations as an 'autonomic' International Authority and Import-Export Trade Exchange Bank - a status equal and/or comparable to a 'National Authority' status specified in our One-World Democracy; which issues from the Community to State, to the National and now supplemented herewith by The United Nations Internationale.

She is 'capitalized' by a 'per-head' Capital Endowment according to the world population. When the Nations 'upgrade' their Time Dollar values, her International Directors increases her Capital Fund, likewise.

Oliver H. Perreault,
Coauthor of BVM.

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Her Time 'IS' Money issuance in TIME Dollar Notes, Checks, Drafts, Currency and Coin are 'Universally' recognized and accepted as Legal Tender for 'ALL' Debts and Transactions, public and private including her employee Vocational Exchange Time Dollar Certificates.

As now, her Member Nations pay their pro-rata share for maintaining a World Peace Force. There are 'NO' Tariffs anywhere in the world.

To simplify these explanations, we specify that she is entitled to 'Sell at a Profit' any and all of her Services in amassing, correlating, evaluating and publishing the many facets of World Knowledge and Enterprises which she gathers and assembles for the benefit of one or ALL Nations.

She is the 'intermediary' for maintaining ALL Trade records and relationships between Nations at their Import-Export Trading Stations and Centers.

She maintains a Trade Bank Account for 'ALL' Nations; wherein the escrow amounts of these Bank Accounts is a 'per-head' Deposit by population - per nation as determined and authorized by the UN Authority.

From the above escrow funds, her Import-Export Bank pre-pays the Economic 'Exporters' at their SHIPPING OR Source-Port according to their priced Bill of Lading which includes prepaid handling and freight to the ~~Source~~ DESTINATION -Port, DD Loading Docks.

At the Import-Port of Entry - the Importers National Authority reimburses The Bank for 'ALL' interim payments it made between the Source and Destination

The UN Bank also handles Credit Transfers, Capital et cetera, when an Economic Enterpriser moves or expands his Enterprise(s) abroad.

During the initial Rehabilitation Period, the now impoverished Nations will usually show a Deficit Balance of Trade in ?Dollar amount. Since Time 'IS' Money of equal evaluation everywhere at 'NO' Cost to ANYone - the UN Authority periodically wipes out the deficit balances, because there are NO losers since the 'Exporters' of every Nation has already received full Dollar Payment for his Products and Services at his Source-Port.

Oliver H. Perreault,
Coauthor of BVM.

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Under a Democracy of World Uniformity, Equity, equal opportunity and free enterprise for the Individual and the Autonomous Community...ALL of which are 'guaranteed' by these portends, the question:- "To be or not to be"....is one of 'singular determination':-"WHO is 'entitled' to WHAT, WHY, HOW and WHO does IT"

WE have established 'who you are'....and WHO does IT, namely the Community Vocational Exchange! We also know WHAT and WHY they do it. They 'certify' Equity!

The Community Vocational Exchange is an Administrative Organ; namely, THE Treasury of The Civic Coordinate of our 'One-World' Monolithic Democracy, hance the 'identical' Modus Operandi, Financial and Coordinating Units in every Community, State, National and International.

The entire System of Civic Enterprises....issues from the Autonomous Community, thence to the coordinating State Divisions that assist it, including its National Division for State and International Coordination.

God IS 'THE' Corporation, for which He has 'scientifically' hired, allocated, endowed and assigned, the 'exact' numbers of men, for every walk of life, of every profession, occupation, trade, art and craft, that is needed to design, develop, build and complete His Earth Project - in every Era of Time.

In the same related sense of God's scientific planning....WE too must plan scientifically....and achieve 'ONE' Modus Operandi throughout the world!

We have done so for YOU the Individual. We employ a Universal WAGE Classification Manual to measure and evaluate Individual attainment and the Wage-multiple he receives for meritorious performance and qualification, and by which he attains his 'very own' True Worth Status....and which he, the individual can, will or could attain too, everywhere he may choose to go, or be, anywhere in the World!

ALL Nations and peoples use 'ONE' Universal WAGE Classification Manual, so, wherever you are, whoever you may be, 'your' opportunity IS equal in the USA or Timbuktu!

Gone forever, is the 'criminal' disparity in wages, and/or in Product Unit Cost, wherein One People, has an average wage of .15¢ per hour, and in the USA $5.00 per hour for 'identical' knowledge-ability and skill, work and workmanship.

Likewise, in the same related sense, we scientifically determine the Financial Equality of the Autonomous Communities. Since God has 'scientifically balanced' the Man-power of the world, we too must achieve a BALANCED MAN-POWER by EQUAL POPULATION....to equalize the autonomous True Worth Status of our Communities.

Technically speaking, The Civic Coordinate Units progress 'financially' in direct proportion to the True Worth of its constituency or population, times (X) the 'total' Basic-WAGE-Hours of production 'earned' by its constituency in the Economic Production Enterprise Units within its area.

That is 'ultimate' True Equity and Equality between Communities. Today, 'inequity' abounds in ALL Fields of Endeavor and Enterprise, including Civic progress and facilities.

Uniform Civic True Worth and 'equal' progress in the State, the Nation and the world is 'achieved' by a balanced Man-power....by the establishment of a 'new' System of 'symmetrically equated' Metropolitan Communities, of 'equal' population within 'circumscribed 'land areas'!

This is a natural merger of man-power, to maintain an 'equal' participation balance, per head, in the small hamlet and suburbia....providing, that the Metropolitan Community, of large land area, is NOT 'saddled' by undeveloped or sparsely populated fringe areas that usually abound within ALL circumscribed land areas.

We therefore, 'partition away' the subject land areas from the 'equated' Metropolitan Community....and 'assign' same to the State Divisional Coordinate Units, which will approximate 'four' Divisions per State, by quadrants:- North, East, South and West.

These 'four' Dividions are answerable to the Metropolitan Communities at the State Level or State Civic Coordinate, whose representation 'issues' directly from the Community to the State....but whose Finances and Funds are INDEPENDANT of the symmetrically 'equated' Communities.

There is only 'ONE' premium on TIME Money....Man-power and Product availability! More specifically an adequate Labor-force to technically get everything done at once!

That too, is 'ultimate' realization. Of first importance in the great readjustment and rehabilitation to Civic equality....is 'planned current need'.... where needed most....and gradual ultimate planning and achievement.

The Planning Commissions of the newly equated Metropolitan Communities has for its 'primary' consideration, per head service by 'equal population', with no remaining burden of undeveloped or sparsely populated fringe areas....since the State Commission will develop these areas, whenever an adequate Labor-force is available.

Since OUR 'new' Democracy is a Monolithic Social and Vocational self-regulated System, with 'NO' political parties or governmental units, as at present, we will eliminate ALL overlapping jurisdiction, administration and sundry work systems like today's cumbersome and inefficient autocratic Civic Systems.

We will re-deploy the personnel of these gigantic governmental enterprises, and channel them into private enterprise....into a new System of Public Utilities and Cooperatives....and thereby 'merge' many community and inter-community projects, maintenance and work.

The 'new' Public Utilities and Cooperatives are private-profit-Enterprise Units 'employee owned and operated', as will be ALL of today's individual and corporate Enterprise Units.

We have 'eliminated' ALL WAGE-multiples from entering Product Unit Cost thereby guaranteeing to Man the Economic Enterpriser an autonomous TAX-FREE Overhead, Reserves and Profit multiples....'ALL' the Profit - NO TAXES of any kind!

Oliver H. Perreault,
Coauthor of BVM.

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THE MASTER PREMISE
PERSPECTIVE

It is our great privilege, NOW to witness the manifestations of God's love and to participate in the wondrous elements of rehabilitation for The Golden Age of Humanity - Universality, existence everywhere!

TO BE....as it was in the beginning of Time....Paradise on earth!

To satisfy God's great yearning for a 'SECOND' Era of Mankind to be as it WAS in the beginning of Time for Man....as it was 'intended' to have been NOW - and from the beginning of Eternity and Time.

"Whatever God does will endure forever; there is no adding to it, or taking from it. Thus has God done that he may be revered. What NOW IS has already been; what is to be ALREADY IS; and God restores what would otherwise be displaced." Eccles. 3:13,15....There is NOTHING new under the Sun!

He created ALL Men EQUAL!....for ALL men have a body, mind, heart, soul, intellect, free-will strength....and a VOCATION!....Black or white, rich or poor, free or slave, literate or illiterate, in Bountiful Plenty or abject poverty and destitution, Man will propagate his SPECIES....until the NUMBERS of Men born to earth is 'equal' to the NUMBERS of Stars in the Heavens - of heavenly mansions!

Time and humanity will march ON, despite the contraceptors or the nuclear annihilation of the masses - for only 'one' Couple and one Bishop chosen by God to survive US - is adequate to perpetuate the Human Race and Holy Mother Church.

"What advantage has the worker from his toil?

"I have considered the task which God appointed for man to be busied about. He made everything appropriate to its time, and has put the timeless into their hearts, without man's ever discovering, from beginning to end, the work which God has done.

"I recognized that there is nothing better than to be glad and to do well during life. For every man, moreover, to eat and drink and enjoy the fruit of all his labor is a gift of God." Ecclus. 3:9,15.

I have considered the task which God appointed for man to be busied about!!

Oliver H. Perreault,
Coauthor of BVM.

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THE RIGHTS OF MAN
THE VOCATIONAL PREMISE

What advantage has the worker from his toil?....What is the task which God appointed for man to be busied about?....WHO is 'entitled' to what, why and HOW?

God created the earth for Man the Individual Vocationalist, countless billions of US and appointed Society, the ONE large Family of God, The Patriarch to be the Matriarchal Custodian of earth for God and Man when He said: "Increase and multiply and fill the earth and Have Dominion, RULE over ALL things in it." Gen. 1:28.

God is THE Corporation - the earth His Project - Society the Custodian and Man the Individual, the Lord and Master, as the Vocational Steward and Heir of God.

As the Matriarchal Custodian of earth for God and Man....Society 'OWES' EVERY Man a LIVING - an 'ABSOLUTE' guarantee of Individual Dominion....to EVERY Man the GAINFUL 'Non-Competitive' opportunity and facility to SPEND his LIFETIME in a FREE, ceaseless effort to develop, use, employ and market his Vocational TOOLS in TIME for/PROFIT....the True Worth of his Vocational assortment of graces, gifts, talents, knowledge-performance-abilities and skills....his Vocational Tools which singularly identifies him from ALL OTHERS.... the ONLY things he has to SELL and SPEND....

a 'guaranteed'

In the 'TRUE' expectancy of receiving an EVER increasing True Worth INCOME.... in 'exact' proportion and commensurable with his EVERY Stage of TOOL development - as he climbs 'UP' the Vocational Ladder....to reach the Full Stature and level of attainment for which he or she was individually created....

An 'ever' increasing True Worth INCOME which enables each and every individual to 'freely' choose, purchase, acquire, use and enjoy his EQUITABLE fair share of a World Product of SUPER-Abundance....AND....

Which will 'materially' REFLECT the 'extent' of his progress 'UP' the Vocational Ladder of attainment, accomplishment and achievements in Endeavor, Enterprise, Service and Activity - Religious, Social, Civic, Vocational and Economic.

An 'absolute' World System of Money, Equity and Vocational Uniformity - at 'NO' Cost to ANYone - based on TIME 'IS' MONEY in Vocational Economics - of equal evaluation everywhere in the world....'NO' TAXES, DEBT, DEFICITS or Chattelism!

What is VOCATIONALISM?

1. It is a scientific Buying Power Formula for the MASSES.
2. A new One-World System of Equity for mankind which employs Time 'IS' Money in Vocational Economics to enable Society's Organ of Equity: The Vocational Exchange in EVERY TOWN to be the Prime Source of Money issue (4th Amendment); and to scientifically measure, evaluate and PAY Every Individual according to his True Worth Credit Hours; namely, his Wage-multiple Credit Hours received for educational, vocational and occupational attainments; as the basis for his cumulative ever increasing Wage-multiple hourly rate of pay and INCOME paid to him in Time Dollar Certificates; Formula: True Worth Credit Hours of Vocational attainment (x) Basic-wage-Hours received from his employer equals INCOME.
3. Hence, a new, universal Economic concept, method and procedure which RELIEVES The Economy of the Burden of Wage-multiple Equity in LIEU of a Basic-Hour-wage ($1.00 per hour) Cost of Labor in UNIT COST; thereby automatically ADJUSTING todays Free Enterprise profit-taking systems to achieve SUPER-Abundance throughout the world - at 'NO' Cost to ANYone! (Time Economics).
4. Thereby providing an unconditionally guaranteed Free Enterprise, security and Buying Power for Every Individual - countless billions of US - to Every Individual his 'equitable' fair share; at 'NO' Cost to ANYone - 'NO' hunger, poverty, destitution or unemployment anywhere anytime! nor Taxes, debt, deficits or Money Problems, anywhere anytime!

Accomplished BY:- a scientific World System of Money, Equity, Uniformity and Harmonious Coordination - under 'ONE' Universal Constitution and Modus Operandi - a monolithic, self-regulating 'One-World'Vocational Democracy of the people, by the people, for God and the people....

Which 'guarantees' a permanent Peace, Equity, Security and SUPER-Abundance..a TAX-FREE, scientifically capitalized Individual Dominion, Community Autonomy and Economic Enterprise EVERYwhere in the World - a SUPER-Abundant Profit-Sharing Economy - a symmetrically balanced Labor WAGE-multiples EQUALS the Overhead-Profit multiples of Economic Product-Services Enterprises - a Community Autonomy of symmetrically equated population within circumscribed land areas - an Autonomic United Nations Authority - AND a BALANCED production, distribution and consumption of a LIMITLESS World Product, fully consumed and EQUITABLY Distributed...

According to the EQUITY Formula of Scientific Christianity which scientifically determines:- "WHO is 'entitled' to what, why, how and HOW Society does IT" by employing her INSTRUMENT of EQUITY - The Universal WAGE Classification Manual for measuring and evaluating the True Worth of Man the Vocationalist, at school, at work, at home, at play; under the auspices of her Organ of Equity - The Community Vocational Exchange and Finance Center in EVERY TOWN - the 'prime Source' of TIME 'IS' MONEY issue (4th Amendment) in TIME Dollar Certificates; at 'NO' Cost to ANYone! EVERY Individual, without exception, is on her PAYROLL.

The Technology of Mass-production by Automation is a 'prime necessity', to meet the future need of Abundance, therefore it is imperative to effect the immediate, accelerated development and expansion of 'automation' processes and machinery.

Automation is a blessing from God, which eases the toil and burden of Labor, the while it accomodates the increased productive needs of humanity.

Within 60 days of The Miracle Plan inception into law - there will be an acute shortage of Labor, skilled and unskilled.

Within 30 days of inception into law, The Miracle Plan Installation Procedures provide for a BLANKET Wage, Pension and Welfare INCREASE; plus a Cost of Living Income as a supplementary, at once, BUYING POWER for the MASSES - 'YOU'. The 'mechanics' of this procedure are guaranteed.

Wherein, 'ALL' EMPLOYERS: Community, State and Economic, including Social Security, Welfare and other Group Agencies WILL, until The Vocational Exchanges are set-up, 'serve' as her PAYROLL issuers of TIME DOLLAR CERTIFICATES; dispensed by The Exchange representative, temporarily resident at The Federal Reserve Banks in EVERY Community.

The Employers 'sole' Cost of Labor in the 'payroll' Time Dollar Certificates will be: 'Basic-Wage-Hours' ONLY: ($1.00 per hour). Today's Wage-multiple 'Consumer Market Prices' will prevail for the duration of the first year procedures. Since 'ALL' Taxes and Tax Systems are permanently abolished, rescinded, null and void (part 6 of the Procedures), ALL Individuals - Economic Enterprisers - et al, will be enabled to replenish their Capital Reserves and/or payoff their indebtedness, et cetera, at 'NO' Cost to ANYone!

We have the know-how of MASS-production and its administrative and distribution techniques. The Miracle Plan systems make 'NO' changes in today's methods, procedures and systems - except for the elimination of ALL Taxes and Wage-multiples.

Current Events 'IS' the Handwriting on the Wall. This is ZERO HOUR for YOUR acceptance of The Miracle Plan of Vocationalism. The Future has arrived! Now TO BE or NOT to be is the 'sole' remaining question.

This Omnibus of Time has God and Our Lady of Fatima as our Pilot and Co-Pilot!

Oliver H. Perreau
Coauthor of BVM.

Natural Systemic Adjustment
from
Rule of Gold -TO- Time Economics

'Installation Procedures'

OUR present-day 'Approaches to Oblivion' will cease 'WHEN' We and The Miracle Plan are accepted!....When do YOU want me in the Drivers Seat?....NOW or FOR The Remnant of US following global nuclear war?

Whichever YOU choose!....As of NOW, We guarantee the IMMEDIATE installation of The Miracle Plan, as per the following procedures: BY: Natural Systemic Adjustment; namely, a natural, normal and painless 'transition' from present-day to future-day concept, methods and systems - natural and true to God and man - for the BENEFIT of ALL at the EXPENSE of NONE....whichever YOU choose....NOW or later!

How shall IT be done?

1. By instituting The Miracle Plan of Vocationalism and its Systems of TIME 'IS' MONEY Economics, of EQUAL evaluation everywhere, at 'NO' Cost to ANYone, 'NO' Taxes, Debt, Deficits or Money Problems anywhere, anytime AS2 'The Law of The Land' - by a SPECIAL Act of Congress - via the 4th Amendment - as per part 6 of this procedure.
2. Then, within 30 days, converting The ?Economy and Humanity from Rule of Gold to TIME 'IS' MONEY Economics - an initial procedure to immediately effect an at once production, distribution and consumption of Abundance:-
   a. By granting a blanket Wage, Pension and Welfare INCREASE: plus a Cost of Living Income as a supplementary, at once, Buying Power for the MASSES!

2..b. Wherein 'ALL' EMPLOYERS: Community, State and Economic, including Social Security, Welfare and other Group Agencies WILL, until The Vocational Exchanges are set-up, serve as her PAYROLL issuers of TIME DOLLAR CERTIFICATES; dispensed by The Exchange representative, resident at The Federal Reserve Banks in every Community.

c. The EMPLOYERS 'sole' Cost of Labor in the Time Dollar Certificates will be: 'Basic-Wage-Hours' ONLY: ($1.00 per hour) plus their present cost of 'fringe' benefits, if any.

d. Todays Wage-multiple 'Consumer Market Prices' will prevail for the duration of this first year procedure....Since 'ALL' Taxes and Tax Systems are permanently abolished, rescinded, null and void, part 6, 'ALL' Individuals, Economic Enterprisers, et al, will be enabled to replenish their Capital Reserves and/or payoff their indebtedness, et cetera, at 'NO' Cost to ANYone!

3. Within 60 days TO: 'equalize' ALL Wages, Salaries and Market Prices everywhere in The Nation by 'comparable' Vocational categories and equal like-kind Market Prices:

a. In anticipation of this 'equalization', the Cost of Living supplement, Part 2a, will be computed for The Nation as per the prevailing Cost per Individual, adult and/or child, in the City currently paying the highest average Wage to its middle-class citizens.

b. It is mandatory that our first year program fully alleviate all areas of poverty and destitution and the hand to mouth existence of the great majority....at 'NO' Cost to ANYone!

3. c. Equalizing Market Prices and the Wages of the Laborer, Trades, Arts and Crafts to highest area Union Scales should pose no problem. This equalization is the initial preparation for:

1. The national changeover, within one year, from Wage-multiple to Basic-Wage-Hours as the Unit Cost of Labor in our new Market Prices.
2. The equitable adjustment of ALL Wages of ALL categories, when we are evaluating Vocational True Worth attainment by using the new 'standards' incorporated in the forthcoming Universal Wage Classification Manual.
3. Since we realize that amassing and compiling Vocational Records for the great majority of Individuals over 35 years of age is a practical impossibility, as regards certification of education and past work records, these individuals will be vocationally rated on the basis of their present occupation plus bonus Credit Hours for seniority and/or service records; or if to their advantage these individuals may elect to compile and get certification of their own records.

d. TO: equalize the Wages and/or Salaries in ALL categories serving The Public, Private and Parochial Domains including the Vocationalization of 'ALL' Avocationalist men and women engaged in the many categories of Religious and Humanitarian Services of ALL Orders, faiths and creeds.

1. ALL Locales are 'entitled' to equal first class educational opportunities, facilities, hospitals, institutions and City administration and services and religious and humanitarian services rendered by our many Avocationalist men and women.

3. d. 2. Since Pa rt 4 of this procedure relieves The Public, Private and Parochial Domains of their Wage-multiple payments in LIEU of Basic-Wage-Hours, the subject Groups must immediately equalize their Wage-standards throughout The Nation and be full participants in the Cost of Living allowances, parts 2a,3a.

3. Todays small town teachers and administrative personnel do not receive 'equal pay' for equal to City standards of knowledge-performance-ability and education. Comparative inequities also apply to the many categories of City Administration and/or its services.

4. The Services rendered by most of the Avocationalist men and women are in the general categories of Education, Hospitals, Institutions et cetera. These inter-faith Groups will meet with allied Vocational Groups to determine 'comparable' Wage-standards for their members. Their 'sponsor' Church and/or Organization will then issue their 'payroll' Time Dollar Certificates, as above.

e. TO: Vocationalize and provide 'ALL' categories of self-employed Individuals with a Vocational Exchange 'payroll' status plus the Cost of Living allowance.

1. This applies to the great numbers of ~~Individuals~~ Independant non-incorporated Individuals and/or partnerships whose personal or Family Income is derived from the 'net profits' of their respective Professional and/or Private Business Enterprises;

2. And whose Income usually fluctuates because of feast or famine and/or seasonal conditions; or as in the case of the farmer and his allied categories whose income depends on the success or failure of crops and/or other hazards of Nature, Time and circumstance.

3. e. 3. These general categories include 'ALL' independant Professionals and small Businesses, Farmers, his allied categories, Agents, Contractors, landlords and the numerous categories of Sales and Services; In 'brief' ALL Individuals engaged in a profit-taking Enterprise who do not have an independant or Vocational, Family Income 'payroll' status.

4. These Individuals will 'register' with The Vocational Exchange Representative at their local Bank and submit to him their last two years record of Net Income, before Tax deductions, (Fed. Income Tax Statement), thus to determine their mean-average monthly Income.

5. These Individuals will then be classified as 'incorporated' Private Enterprisers and thereafter pay The Exchange an average months Basic-Wage-Hours from their Business Income. Their Family or Vocational Income will then be paid to them as:-Mean-Av-Wage X Basic Hours equals Income plus the Cost of Living allowance - in Time Dollar Certificates.

6. Our Vocationalism text has stipulated that Farmers, Dairymen, Cattlemen, and allied handler-distributor Groups are Public Utility No. 1, namely, 'Common Market Cooperatives'.

7. Our text also suggests that 'ALL' Independants are Vocationalists of specific categories and should properly be profit-sharing members of a Chain, Association or Cooperatives.

8. Our text also provides 'Inheritance Capital' for all Vocationalists; for example, the Farmers and allied categories 'merge' as Common Market Cooperatives, invest their Capital, pool their manpower, equipment, et cetera, plan their crops (no subsidies) and then on the basis of their acreage, et cetera are enabled to improve their holdings from their pro-rata share of the Cooperative profits; besides each family member participant receiving their Vocational & Cost of Living Income.

3. f. The COLLEGIANS 'are' our very special category of Vocationalists Who in a few short years will be participants to the fullest extent of The Miracle Plan.

1. We are therefore certain they will be eager to lend a helping hand in performing the many procedural duties required to install our Vocational Systems throughout the world.
2. They will be the first to study Vocational Time 'IS' Money Economics and The Master Theorem:-'The Science of God, Man, Nature and The Universe.
3. Therefore, effective within 30 days, Our Lady of Fatima decrees that 'ALL' Students past the 12th Grade shall receive an Income and Cost of Living allowance; at 'NO' Cost to ANYone!
4. This applies to Students of 'ALL' School categories:- i. e. Universities, Colleges, Technical, Vocational, Seminaries:- Public, Private, Parochial and/or ALL other Schools past Grade 12, whose Students participate in full-time Courses of Study and/or Training.
5. To accomplish this NOW, and in the future, 'ALL' Registrar's and Treasurers of 'ALL' School categories,(above), are herewith permanently appointed as Branch Office Vocational Exchange Representatives.
6. NOW, and in the future, The Registrars Office will compile and maintain the complete Scholastic Records of its Students. At time of registration, a Students Lifetime Vocational Record (Diary) will be transferred from the Home Town High School and Vocational Exchange to his adopted School, where his record will be housed and maintained until he/she terminates or graduates.

3. f. 7. Source of Income:- Our text 'Capitalization by Inheritance' stipulates that the Parent will invest the child's nest-egg of Investment Capital - until he becomes of age. So, we qualify this as: 'College Age'; wherein the 'accrued' profit from the Investment Capital is a Production Basic-Wage Time Dollar to be used by the Individual while in College; if he so desires.

8. Since 'ALL' of Humanity are 'beginners' in our new Systems of Time 'IS' Money Economics at 'NO' Cost to ANYone - We decree that the subject Basic-Wage-Time Dollars are immediately available to 'ALL' Students at the rate of 100 Hours/month.

9. Since True Worth Credit Hours will not be known until The Wage Manual is available for use and since Rule of Gold Wage-multiples remain in effect for the first yea r, We arbitrarily decree that 'every' Student will receive the National Cost of Living allowance plus $1.00 per hour, per year in school.

10. In other words, the Freshman receives $1.00 per hour and the 4th year Senior $4.00 per hour. The Senior thus receives 100 Basic-Wage-Hours per month (X) his Wage-multiple $4.00 per hour equals $400.00 per month Income plus Cost of Living allowance; issued in Time Dollar Certificates by his School Branch Office Vocational Exchange; at 'NO' Cost to ANYone!

g. Since the many categories of Armed Services Personnel are on a per diem wage plus dependants allowance, We decree the doubling of their present Wage plus a Family Cost of Living allowance.

h. ALL prisoners, inmates, patients and convalescents in our many Federal, State and Community prisons, hospitals and/or institutions, Public or Private shall receive a spending allowance of $60.00 per month via their resident Vocational Exchange Office.

i. The many Individuals not on Pension or Social Security Rolls who are non-employed but self-supporting will register with their resident Vocational Exchange Representative to receive a per diem ~~Income and Cost of Living allowance~~.

4. The Public, Private and Parochial Domains:-

a. The Special Act of Congress, part 6, which enacts into Law: TIME 'IS' MONEY Economics will decree 'ALL' Taxes and Tax Systems as:-immediately and permanently abolished, rescinded, null and void.

b. Our text 'Rehabilitation Budgets, page V-65, provides that 'ALL' Communities, States and Federal Administrations will receive their Budget Incomes as 'earmarked' Funds via The National Treasury, at 'NO' Cost to ANYone!

c. Since the subject Budget System cannot be effected immediately, or within the first year of this Installation Procedure, The Communities, States and Federal Administrations will as heretofore prepare their Budgets and then submit same to The National Treasurer to receive 'earmarked' payment in LIEU of Taxes.

d. As now, the first year Budgets will be Rule of Gold Wage-multiple Budgets PLUS the Budget Needs of The Private and Parochial Domains - at 'NO' Cost to ANYone!

e. Our text 'Capitalization by Inheritance' provides a 'per-head' Capital Endowment for The Family, The State and The Economy. The term 'Public Domain' thus includes ALL 'Like-kind' Educational and Institutional Services, et cetera, operated by the Private and Parochial Domains.

f. As in the above Cost of Living 'equalization', ALL Communities and States will 'equalize' and base their Educational, Administration and Institutional Budgets on the basis of the 'per-head' Cost - in the City of highest Wage Standards.

4. g. The 'per-head' enrollment budget allowances for 'ALL' Universities, Colleges and Schools of the three Domains will be of three general categories::-Administration and Personnel, Buildings and Equipment, and Maintenance. The 'per-head' allowances for Universities and Colleges will be under State Administration and High and Grade Schools under Community Administration.

h. As already noted, Part 3d2, The three Domains will issue Payroll Time Dollar Certificates to its Personnel plus the Cost of Living allowance; at a cost to them of Basic-Wage Hours ONLY; thus providing them with a profit-surplus, as in part 2d.

5. National, State and Community Administrations:-

a. Our text 'A Vocational Democracy' alters our present-day Political System of Administration and Representation - and which is NOT defined by our Constitution.

b. However, our Vocational System text is in full accord with the 'dictates of wisdom' as clearly expressed by Our Founding Fathers; namely that 'All Rights' are vested in the Individual, then Society as the Custodian, thence to the Community, then to the State for inter-Community Coordination, thence to the National (Federal) for inter-State Coordination.

c. ?The Special Act of Congress will 'order' the dissolution, within one year,of 'ALL' Administrative Systems and bureaucracies which today encroach on Community and States Rights.

d. In so far as possible, 'per-head' Budget 'equalization' for our Communities and States Administration, maintenance, et cetera, will follow the above patterns of determination.

5. e. The Federal and State Administrations will, as quickly as possible,'contract' with the Individual Communities to take over and complete the Federal and State Projects planned for their respective Community areas.

f. The Special Act of Congress will also 'decree' and order the dissolution of todays Political Systems of Representation; hence, The Federal, State and Community Congresses and Council Members will resign their 'Positions' one yea r to date of the Act.

g. This is not a demotion. The Act will stipulate that the subject 'Members' of ALL Executive, Legislative and Administrative Bodies will be 'The Pilots' in establishing, coordinating and effecting the installation of a Vocational Democracy.

h. Our text has established the/new system or pattern of representation and suggests the qualifications of its jurisdictional appointees; therefore it is more than likely that the majority of our incumbent 'Pilots' will naturally succeed themselves into the 'new' Office categories; as their just reward for an installation job well done!

i. The 'Pilots' will coordinate the Registration Procedures, the Set-up of the Vocational Exchanges and Universal Wage Classification Manuals, AND the establishment of Our new Vocational Democracy. They will work hand-in-hand with ALL Council and Congressional Members of ALL States and Communities, Social, Civic and Economic. Their grandchildren will revere their memory and boast of their accomplishments.

5. j. REGISTRATION:- The complete 'Registration Procedures' must be completed within 9 months; thereby allowing three (3) months to complete The Vocational Exchange housing and Records Systems.

1. ALL employed persons will be registered at their place of employment which issues their Time Dollar Certificates.
2. The Independants, parts 3e and 3i will complete their registration with the 'departmental' Vocational Representative at their Local Bank.
3. The Avocationalists by the Group which sponsors them.
4. The Collegians by their University and/or School.
5. The Aged, disabled and/or other recipients of money-aid by the Groups which services them.
6. ALL other persons, as in part 3i, who believe they are not included in the foregoing categories will register with the Vocational Exchange Representative at their Local Bank to receive their Time Dollar Certificates.
7. The unemployed who are not employed within thirty days, will re-register with their State Unemployment Office.
8. The unemployed housewife and/or mother will be registered by the husbands registration at his place of employment. Since We have promised 'mothers' an independant income as the chief baby-sitter, Our Lady of Fatima suggests that ALL mothers register at their neighborhood School, under the auspices of a PTA or other/Community Group , said Group to receive authorization by The Vocational Exchange Representative to issue Time Dollar Certificates. Since the husband will receive the Cost of Living allowance for the entire family, We will begin our Mother payments at the rate of one Credit Hour:$1.00 per day per child up to and including the twelfth Graders.

5. j. 9. As we near completion of the registration we shall organize a 'Block Census' (count noses) to proof-check our Street Directory Records by areas to insure 100% registration.

10. This will also enable our Community and State Civic Coordinate Councils to 'equalize' the 'new' Metro-Communities by population within circumscribed areas.

~~11~~. 11. The above named 'sponsor' employers and/or groups will compile, correlate and assemble the 'complete' set of Registration Forms for its employees or members. Upon completion, at a pre-set date just prior to the Block Census,(after the Wage Manual), 'every' registered individual will receive a duplicate serially numbered Registration Receipt - one copy of which will be picked-up by the Block-Census takers.

12. ALL Registration Forms will be designed for record conversion to IBM or equivalent.

13. The initial Wage Manual must be ready within seven months, at which time EVERY Individuals 'new' Wage-multiple will be determined; thus allowing Individual Records review and adjustments as required.

14. Thereby within one year of its inception into Law, The Miracle Plan will be in full effect.

15. There will be situations in 'parts' of the World wherein lack of facilities or geographical considerations, may delay or not fully accomodate those areas in the/above procedural manner.

16. However, these special needs or situations will be specially planned for them by Our office at The United Nations.

17. Our Registration will commemorate the Census or Registration which took place during the Birth of The Christ Child - of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ! St Luke 2,1-14.

6. The Congress will use their Constitutional Power to write and enact a 'NEW' 4th Amendment 'TIME 'IS' MONEY' Bill.:- "Congress has the 'sole' Power to coin and regulate Money".

   a. The Preamble to the new 'Money Bill' will Document, therefore incorporate the text of The Miracle Plan of Vocationalism thesis which includes this Installation Procedures.

   b. Specifically, Time 'IS' Money Vocational Economics will thus become 'The Law of The Land'!

   c. There shall be 'NO' Amendments in this Special Act which in ANYway 'alters' the Vocationalism concepts!

   d. A 'codiciled' Amendment thereto will decree the immediate abolition, repeal, rescindment, null and void of 'ALL'mTaxes and Tax Systems:-Federal, State and Community Tax Laws; and therefor 'suspend'(moratorium)/ALL Income Tax Amendments and Laws which require a 'Referendum' to repeal and abolish.

   e. A 'codiciled' Amendment will repeal and replace The Federal Reserve Act, The Securities Exchange and Commissions Acts by the 'new' Systems noted in the Vocationalism text.

   f. Tt will also decree the permanent abolition of Stock Market 'speculation' within six (6) months and also repeal The Small Loans Acts and Finance Company charters. In the future, Money used to 'make' Money will require 'Tangible Investments' which do not in ANYway chattelize the Vocationalist and/or Enterprisers. This section must also rescind 'ALL' Forms of 'Recourse Paper' which chattelizes todays Enterprisers.

   g. In brief, this Special Act will establish 'A Vocational Democracy as clearly set forth herein!

7. RELIGION and CHURCH SUPPORT:- This topic established the 'temporal' Vatican State and outlines an International Procedure for assuring The Economy or Church Support of 'ALL' Faiths and Creeds.

   a. The Vatican is a National or Temporal State equal as a National Authority to all other Members of The United Nations; and as such maintains and conducts Her Business Affairs, Embassies, et cetera with the same jurisdiction and/or authority as do ALL other Nations NO MORE - NO LESS. She has 'one' Voice and 'one' Vote only in The Councils on World Affairs.

      1. ALL of Her citizens are Vocationalists. We have in part 3d,3,4 of this procedure Vocationalized Her predominant Avocationalist categories, as equal participants in True Worth Wage-Multiples and Cost of Living allowances.
      2. Her State and numbers of resident citizens are equal to that of a small Community; except that She has numerous employees, Ambassadors and/or Embassy Staff citizens as Her nationals; hence under Her jurisdiction as non-residents.
      3. She thus has a 'per-head' capitalization of Her citizenry equal to that of Her sister-City, Rome, Italy - except that She is The Domain and The Economy; therefore retains to Herself 2/3rds of the per-head Capital. Her citizens are free to invest their Capital Endowment with Her as an Economic Enterprise or with The Economy of Her sister-City or elsewhere.
      4. Therefore, Her Time 'IS' Money issuance in Time Dollar Notes, Checks, Drafts, Currency and Coin are 'Universally recognized' and accepted as Legal Tender for 'ALL' Debts and Transactions, Public and Private (as with ALL Nations) including Her employee Vocational Exchange Time Dollar Certificates.

7. a. 5. The United Nations Authority allocates and maintains Her Import-Export Trade Bank Account, as for ALL other Nations, as noted in the topic:-'United Nations Authority', page V44.

6. She operates as a closed Corporation, therefor buys and sells Diocesan and/or Business Services, from and to, Her subsidiary International Diocese and/or with other Nations.

7. She maintains International Embassies but has 'NO' temporal control over Her subsidiary International Dioceses, Bishoprics nor over Her spiritual-subjects.

b. We have provided a System of Equity and Super-Abundance for all of mankind; and have in this procedure identified and provided for the Individual Avocationalists and The Private and Parochial Domains, as pertains to their Educational, Institutional and/or Humanitarian Services.

1. We therefore decree the Synod or Diocesan Incorporation of Religious Enterprises, wherein a single Denomination, combined Sects or as an inter-faith Council of Churches will receive a 'Per-head' Capital Endowment under our Text classifications of The Public Domains.

2. When determining the 'equalization',Capitalization and Budget needs of The Public and/or Private and Parochial Domains, our scientific planning engineers will also determine and allocate the 'per-head' Capital and Budget needs of The Religious Economy; i.e. Buildings, Equipment,Personnel,Maintenance.

3. The Individual parishioner will then 'register' with his Church, Synagogue or the Religious Sect affliate of his choice and consign his 'per-head' capital or religious endowment to them via The Vocational Exchange'.

owland Evans and Robert Novak

CORE's Reply to Poor People's March Offers Hope for Peaceful Solution

DEEP UNDERCOVER concern by Negro leaders that the Poor People's March on Washington may be a dangerous exercise in futility will surface this week in a dramatic proposal by the militant Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

The CORE proposal, developed over recent months, is scheduled to be released later this week. It is addressed, significantly, not merely to Federal officials but to the March's sponsor: the late Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Indeed, the proposal represents a clear break by CORE from SCLC and its new leader, the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy.

Although the CORE proposal avoids overt criticism of the March in the interests of black solidarity, it implicitly puts down Abernathy's demands for massive Federal spending as just more begging for handouts. Instead, it calls for the Negro community to develop its own commerce and industry. "We seek to harness the creative energy of private enterprise to achieve a solution to America's crisis," says the six-page CORE proposal.

Contained herein is the potential for a union between Black Power and the Republican Party's traditional philosophy. CORE's proposal bears a striking resemblance to Richard M. Nixon's recent statements, a fact fully realized by CORE leaders.

IN RECENT DAYS, Nixon has been in contact with CORE leaders Floyd McKissick and Roy Ennis through intermediaries. Thus, their surprising agreement on economic Black Power could turn out to be Nixon's first real breakthrough into the Negro leadership.

What makes this all the more remarkable is the recent history of CORE. Less than three years ago, CORE was nearly prostrate, its

Novak Evans

treasury empty, and its influence low. McKissick was an uproariously disruptive force at the White House Conference on Civil Rights in late 1965, demanding a $100 billion "freedom budget" by the Federal Government and denouncing the "capitalistic system."

Since then, CORE has slowly regained prestige in the Negro movement. More important, although McKissick still occasionally demagogues for public consumption, its leaders privately have come around to the view that neither King-style demonstrations, massive Federal spending, nor Molotov cocktails is the answer.

Specifically, CORE leaders and other rational Black Power advocates have felt that Abernathy's demand for 1 million jobs, even if granted, would only produce annual pilgrimages for more Federal handouts. But since Abernathy's demands more likely will not be met, they have privately felt the fruits of the March would be frustration and violence.

ACCORDINGLY, Nixon's nation-wide radio speech of looked by both press and politicians, struck a highly responsive chord among CORE leaders with its call for "Black Capitalism." That set in motion the first indirect contact between Nixon and CORE, a contact that helped shape the details of the CORE proposal.

"Handouts are demeaning," says the CORE proposal. "They do violence to a man, strip him of dignity, and breed in him a hatred of the total system." CORE's answer is a community development program to "draw funds from many sources and promote self-generating growth with the aim in time of ending reliance upon the taxpayer."

Its base would be nonprofit, community-owned "community development and service corporations" to develop new and existing industry inside the Negro ghetto.

This is nothing less than Black economic nationalism with an implied separatism that makes white liberals, still yearning for immediate racial integration, heartsick. But it strikes a responsive chord for Negro militants and has the indispensable virtue of attainability.

According to CORE's proposals, the long-term loans and technical assistance needed from the Federal Government would have a total price tag of less than $1 billion—considerably less than the Kerner Commission's unattainable recommendations and infinitely less than Abernathy's vague demands.

Consequently, CORE may be pointing to a way out for politicians worried that Abernathy's tactics can only lead to a dead end. CORE's answer, posed in terms no more radical than Dick Nixon's, could give Congress a new, pragmatic answer instead of the vague, open-ended proposals of Abernathy.

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Potomac Fever

By Jack Wilson

The sudden switch on the tax bill makes sense when you figure it out—it's just that nobody thought of calling Wilbur Mills a blackmail before.

Quote: Surgery patient—"Look, Doc, I don't want a new heart. Just take out my appendix, the way we planned."

Socio-Political Not

A NATION WITHIN A NATION

A Proposal by the S.C.L.C./C.O.R.E.
Community Development Task Force
for
The Poor People's March
(Roy Innis, Task Force Chairman)

The black and white communities in these United States live in separate yet contiguous worlds. Wealth and influence are concentrated in the white community; a capacity for disruption is the only source of power available to the black.

America cannot and will not continue to exist as two nations: one affluent and white; the other black and poor.

Reciting the statistics of poverty is a sterile pursuit. Infant mortality, substandard housing, malnutrition -- these are the polite terms of social scientists that blur the fact that babies are dying, families are crowded into rat-infested slums, and children are hungry.

The situation in the cities is explosive, but the problems of the urban poor cannot be solved without attending to the needs of the rural South as well. Cities -- in the South as well as in the North -- face unmanageable migrations of poor and uneducated people looking for a better chance -- a chance that, by and large, simply does not exist. This migration will continue until men can make a decent life for their families in the countryside.

The wave of prosperity engulfing America has bypassed the poor who are dammed behind a wall of discrimination, ignorance, and a general lack of concern. As with all dams, there is energy confined behind this wall -- energy that can create or destroy.

The challenge to American pragmatic genius is to provide channels for the constructive, creative release of this energy.

For if these channels are not opened, the dam will be breached, and a torrent of destruction will sweep this country.

Welfare is no answer. Poor men, black and white, jammed into urban ghettoes or abandoned in rural hollows don't want handouts.

A continuation of the welfare system -- checks in the North, food stamps in the South -- indicates to the poor that this country is intellectually and morally bankrupt or that the country doesn't care.

Handouts are demeaning. They do violence to a man, strip him of dignity, and breed in him a hatred of the total system.

Moreover, the overbearing and unresponsive institutions of our society -- its schools, its police, and its welfare system -- work against poor men. The taxpayer is disappointed because people on welfare are not grateful; people on welfare are embittered because there are no avenues of escape.

For poor men want the same as the rest of us. Poor men want to be independent. Poor men want jobs, ownership, control over their own destiny.

A PROGRAM FOR AMERICAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Welfare is no answer, but there is an answer.

We look to the genius of American pragmatism to invent new institutions to meet new needs.

We seek to harness the creative energy of private enterprise to achieve a solution to America's crisis.

We look to American independence of spirit to recognize opportunity and to take advantage of it.

We look to the vitality of American initiative to transform the underdeveloped parts of this nation.

It has happened in the past; it can happen again.

* We propose a program of economic and community development
  -- that will provide opportunity -- and room to move -- to the poor people of this nation;
  -- that will provide jobs and ownership;
  -- that will require and foster community stability.
* We propose a program of urban and rural reconstruction that can transform the energy of social protest into constructive activity for community development and social change.
* We propose a vehicle for private, decentralized decision making -- the antithesis of big government -- a new community institution
  -- in which the people who are closest to a problem are responsible for solving it;
  -- in which indigenous leadership will be recognized and in control (rather than a leadership held in contempt and derision by the community);
  -- in which power is responsible to the community.

PROGRAM

I. At the center of the program we propose is the new local institution -- to be called the Community Development and Service Corporation (CDSC) -- a nonprofit, community-owned corporation, democratically organized, on a one-man, one-vote basis.

This new corporation will represent geographically defined city neighborhoods and rural districts.

The Corporation in each community would

-- develop new and existing industry on the basis of technical assistance and long-term loans;
-- establish community control of community development;
-- use the profits to finance social service programs, employment centers, training institutes, etc., in the community.

II. A Federally-aided effort would help the Corporation establish locally owned business and cooperatives in the community through

-- a Community Capital Banking Corporation, in each community, capitalized by government subscription and government-insured loans, to finance local business at favorable terms;
-- an Industrial Turnkey program of tax incentives to encourage businesses to come into the community, train people to operate new enterprises, and sell such new firms to the community at fair market value;
-- a Community 'Point Four' program of technical assistance to train people for new jobs and to develop management talent within the community.

III. A Community Trust would be established in each area to ensure that a share of the business profits of the community would be used for the welfare of the community -- as judged by the community. The Community Trust would hold stock in community businesses, and return a portion of the profits to the Community Corporation. In this way the community's own economic development will help finance its necessary social services.

We are drafting detailed legislation to accomplish this program. Since it involves mostly long-term loans and technical assistance, its cost to the taxpayer will be far, far less than a program of handouts. We estimate less than one billion dollars a year.

Moreover, the program is designed so that as profits and income rise and the death of babies and unemployment decline, the program will phase out and costs will decline. When the community is fully productive, special incentives will disappear.

This is what the poor of America want and what Americans have always wanted -- no handouts, simply the opportunity to earn, to own, and to make their own way in this rich land.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

Don Smith, Director of
Public Relations
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
200 West 135th Street, N.Y.Cl
(212) 281 9650

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

MARCH 2, 1967

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today charged that the vote to exclude Congressman Adam Clayton Powell from taking his seat in Congress is a slap in the face of every Black American.

Passage of the exclusion resolution brings into sharp focus the double standard that exists in that legislative body. It is further proof of the widespread racism still prevailing in this country.

Instead of initiating long needed reforms, the singling out of Powell as a Congressional scapegoat is a denial and rejection of the needs and wishes of the black citizens of this country. It is a virtual abrogation of the right to representation in Congress of the residents of the 18th Congressional district.

McKissick stressed the importance of efforts toward the formation of a black political apparatus to combat political racism and overcome the powerlessness of the black masses. He stated that no third party was contemplated but a political structure that would work for the

benefit of black people, supporting or opposing candidates and issues in accordance with the needs, welfare and aspirations of this disadvantaged minority.

CORE contends that even favorable world opinion will be lost if the United States persists in its policy of racial double-dealing, thereby violating the American dream of equality for all.-30-

January 4, 1967

Mr. Floyd B. Barbour
Associate Editor
Porter Sargent, Publisher
11 Beacon Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Barbour:

Thank you for your recent telephone call regarding your request of December 16, 1966 that Mr. McKissick write an article on Black Power for a proposed book on that subject.

The honorarium agreed upon is fifty dollars ($50.00). We will have the article ready by the end of January, 1967.

Thank you for your cooperation and interest.

Very truly yours,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH

PROGRAMS FOR BLACK POWER

by Floyd B. McKissick

Hillel, the Jewish philosopher once said,

> "If I am not for myself, who will be for me?
> If I am only for myself, what am I?
> If not now, when?"

This quotation, in a real sense, summarizes what Black Power is all about.

The time spent in definitions and in arguing the many ramifications of this concept has little significance if programatic measures have not evolved to give life and breath, as it were, to the doctrine.

We should remember that the Black Power Movement attempts to secure power for Black Americans in six specific areas; in other words, it seeks to achieve power for Black people in six different ways.

These are:

1. The growth of Black political power.
2. The building of Black economic power.
3. The improvement of the self-image of Black people.
4. The development of Black leadership.
5. The attainment of Federal law enforcement.
6. The mobilization of Black consumer power.

It is incontrovertible that these important ideals must pass beyond the mere rhetoric. Programs must be initiated and relentlessely pursued in order to develop the wide organizational base necessary to achieve our ultimate goal of equality in American life. Although in cussory manner some of these programs are herein described.

Among these efforts, none has been mpre difficult to implement than our political projects. In Louisiana, under the leadership of Ike Reynolds, CORE has developed a political movement that was instrumental in creating a series of Voter Registration organizations. This movement submitted nine candidates for election in November 8, 1966. Eight of them won seats; principally on the local school boards. For the first time in fifty years, Black people, in several parishes in Louisiana, now have officials that will serve their needs and make decisions to fulfill their aspirations. This is an example of Black Power in the political field.

In Opalousa, Louisiana, a sweet potato cooperative has been created. Farm laborers have brought land and are working it jointly and selling the produce for their own benefit. Organized by John Zippert, young CORE Task Force worker from New York, the cooperative now has 375 Black farmers. The success of this project has caused 15 small white farmers to join the combine. The special methods and marketting techniques learned there will be applied in other parts of the country. This is an illustration of Black economic power.

In Baltimore, Maryland, under the leadership of Antione Perot, a CORE field secretary, a freedpm school has been established with thirty teachers and two hundred students, ranging in ages from eight to eighty. Negro histroyp art, music and other aspects of Black culture are presented in order to make Black people aware of their contributions to the American heritage and to

world civilization. More than anything else this showed Black people as important to the development of Western civilization. It is, therefore, an excellent example of the drive for the improvement of the Negro self-image.

Extensive conferences and leadership programs have taken place in Virginia, Maryland, New York and in California. These programs bring together the potential indigenous leadership of the Black community. Indoctrination in the new philosophy, training in leadership techniques and the development of verbal skills are aspects of this program. This is an example of the development of Black leadership.

Better and more extensive Federal law enforcement is a constant objective of this phase of the Black Power doctrine. The Congress of Racial Equality maintains a legal department that seeks Federal law enforcement in the numerous cases where local law enforcement officers have been guilty of discriminatory practices under color of law or of failure to protect Black citizens and white Civil Rights workers from harm. Additionally, CORE chapters develop volunteer legal panels which appear in court to protect the rights of CORE workers who are arrested during demonstrations, detained without due process of law or involved in cases where constitutional considerations are present. Since all these instances press for improved federal enforcement, they show efforts in the search for the attainment of federal law enforcement.

The mobilization of Black consumer power is demonstrated by the development by the urban chapters of Consumer education and their initiation of protests and selective buying against economic

exploitation by retailers in the poverty ghettos. The Brooklyn chapter recently made a survey of butcher shops and vegetable stands in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area and discovered that many of the the merchants were offering inferior meat and inferior vegetables at higher prices than in the white neighborhoods. Unsanitary conditions prevailed in many of the facilities. The presence of an organized group protesting this disgraceful merchandising immediately improved conditions. Legal complaints were sought for the more intransigent merchants who will provide better merchandise or be forced to close shop. Here is an illustration of the mobilization of Black consumer power.

These programs and similar projects together constitute what has become known as the Black Power doctrine. Black Americans are aware that they live in a racist society that functions on the belief in white supremacy - sometimes open and sometimes secret. Black Power will serve to strengthen and encourage the Black American in his quest for equality; for united, he can fight against this evil. Thus, Black Power will become the key to the vast organization of Black people throughout the country so that they can, by the strength of numbers, effect meaningful change in the world in which they live.

The goals we have described - economic power, political power, and the power of people united for a cause that is just will be accomplished when sufficient power is developed by Black people to topple the bastions of discrimination and to end the long nights of injustice.

-30-

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December 16, 1966

Mr. Floyd McKissick
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030

Dear Mr. McKissick,

Our House is readying for Spring a book on Black Power. We intend the study to be definitive in its tracing of the concept from DuBois to the present. Stokely Carmichael has given us permission to print an article by him, and we are currently in contact with Bayard Rustin, Howard Zinn, Courtland Cox, and others.

We are most interested in having an essay from you. If you are interested, won't you contact us so that we can make necessary arrangements.

Yours very truly,

Floyd B. Barbour

Floyd B. Barbour
Associate Editor

PORTER SARGENT PUBLISHER

Publisher of The Handbook of Private Schools

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Movement
Organization
Apparatus
Structure
Machinery

A CALL FOR THE ~~ORGANIZATION~~ creation of a New
~~OF A NEW~~
NATIONAL POLITICAL [redacted] UNION ARM (Voter
Black People

THE AFRO-AMERICAN ALLIANCE

by
FLOYD B. MC KISSICK, NATIONAL DIRECTOR
of the
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

More than a century after the Proclamation of Emancipation, Black Americans still experience the evils of economic deprivation, inferior education, sub-standard housing and an unemployment rate almost three times higher than white workers. Political disenfranchisement, economic exploitation, fear and frustration continue to plague Black citizens throughout the country. Discrimination in almost every aspect of American life perpetuates their misery and prolongs the blight of second class citizenship. The moral concepts of human equality and brotherhood have been compromised and subverted by the power complex of government and business. Thus, the masses of Black Americans are still paralized by poverty; unmotivated, frustrated by unkept promises, bloodied in the streets of Los Angeles and Saigon and strangled by a pattern of racism that runs through the entire fabric of American life. The anguish and humiliation and terror still curb their aspirations and generate feelings of despair and vengeance.

Their inability to achieve status and security within the American system has been caused by systematic patterns of denial and rejection; denial of equal economic opportunity and rejection of true political democracy. These racial injustices prevail because of the absence of adequate political power on the part of Black Americans to bring about an end to the inequities.

It is, therefore, imperative that new methods and innovative measures be

—

found to end this syndrome of powerlessness.

We realize that in a democracy such as ours, only through the use of power generated by the unified action of Black people on behalf of black people and black causes can justice and equality and human dignity be attained.

We further realize that no political machinery, now in existence, is available to us through which our just hopes and aspirations can be attained.

Hence, it is incontrovertible that the attainment of our social, economic and political and human rights will come only through our own joint efforts, dedicatedly inspired and relentlessly pursued.

In order to implement the project we are calling ~~a~~ an organizational conference in New York City on February the 18th and 19th to develop plans for the establishment of a national political apparatus with a national membership made up of Black citizens of each and every State of the United States with a governing body known as the National Committee consisting of at least one man,who shall be known as the National Committeeman and at least one woman, who shall be known as the National Committee woman.

The State apparatus shall be modeled after the National apparatus and shall consist of Regional and sub-grouping apparatus down to and including Precient apparatus.

The National officers shall be elected by the National Committee.

Robert's Rules of Order shall prevail in all matters apropos not covered by appropriate rules.

From the National Committee there shall be created the National Executive Committee.

The National Convention shall be the supreme authority.

Between conventions the National Committee shall be supreme.

The Executive Committee shall perform duties usually assigned to an Executive Committee.

An Administrative staff shall be created.

From: The WRFD COMMENTATOR/ January 7, 1966

Much has been said to underwrite theologically the necessity of organized religion to become involved fully in the struggle for racial justice and human dignity. But the indisputable fact is that the fight for freedom does not need organized religion. In fact the Negro revolution is putting organized religion out of business!

Many believe that the best that institutionalized religion can offer to the oppressed is psychological comfort when the human spirit is depressed as man pursues in this life the fight to be a man. But some of the most radical religious experiences in this age have not been in the pews, but in the streets, jails and smoke filled rooms where strategy and tactics were being shaped to attack the evil of racial injustice.

Many Negroes believe that organized religion is a convenient tool of the white American t o assure himself that he is not guilty of criminal injustice toward his black brother; that the white American wants religion not because he wants justice, but because he needs to prop up his "innocence." Whatever the truth, there is nothing more demonic and enslaving than an organized religion that has kept both Negro and white from the committment to be his brother's keeper, that has kept man away from the front lines in the battle for truth and justice, that has immured man within the secluded walls of silence.

But organized religion is dead to the millions of oppressed peoples who fail to see its relevance or its religiousness. IT IS DEAD NOT BECAUSE OF THE BATTLES IT HAS LOST, BUT BECAUSE OF THE BATTLES IT HAS FAILED TO FIGHT.

The Christian church has avoided the world--or the here and now, the world of injustice. It first avoided it by offering another world to come.

It then avoided this world by creating in juxtaposition its own world. But that world has crumbled. It became segregated, too. The various theologies of organized religion became very conducive and accommodating to a segregated society. Exhortations to "preach the Word" were used to justify bypassing the plight of Negroes in a segregated society. What organized religion failed to see was that sacredness is that which saves the here and now from hopelessness. The organized religions were too other-worldly to realize this.

Hence, when the revealed moment came in history for the exodus of Negroes from racial captivity, organized religion was unable to lead. A few religious leaders helped to organize the Negro movement, but organized religion still stood back and on the outside. By no means can we falsely ascribe leadership of the Negro freedom movement to the church simply because church leaders or clergymen were in the forefront of the struggle. Whenever organized religion finally entered the struggle it was because it had been recruited, resuscitated and evangelized by the Negro revolution.

I like to think of the recent Conference on Religion on Race as an effort toward religious renewal. And renewal is only possible by an honest commitment to the here and now of things. But it should be clear that the future of race relations is not at stake here; it is the future of organized religion.

It is also vital to understand that organized religion can accelerate racial progress. What the Conference of Religion on Race and its supporters must decide is whether to help in this acceleration process. If organized religion chooses to assume this role, it must develop entirely new and radically different ways of religious work. The church or synagogue cannot "call the shots". The shots have been called already by Negroes wanting an endto segregated and poor-quality schools; the call has been given by Negroes and poor whites who want an end to scrooge welfare aid and partonizing settlement house programs.

Indeed, the role of organized religion will be the very humble one of a lowly servant and not of a charismatic leader. Institutionalized religion will have to listen for awhile. It cannot come up with preconceived programs for the poor.

It cannot decide what is best for them. Instead, it must listen until it can speak as one OF them. Only then can it speak with any authority. The poor white and Negro are tired or being patient--tired of treatment. They are tired of having things done for them.

If organized religion is to accelerate racial and economic justice, it will have to help the Negro and poor white to achieve sufficient political and economic power to bring dignity and self-determination. With such power, the people can make decisions about their own destiny. Without it, no man is truly human. Rather, he is hopeless, anonymous, faceless.

For the church this means first of all that it must give up some of its own vested power and status. Church budgets will need radically new orientation and allocations. Money will have to be spent in organizing neighborhoods, communities.

This also implies that organized religion must return to the inner-city. This doesn't mean sending putty knives and paint. It does mean that multiple centers and multiple ministries must be set up in the core of the city. It means that clergymen and laymen must organize community groups, serve housing centers in the Negro and poor-white ghettoes. It means group ministries in commercial districts night beat and roving ministries, establishing coffee houses, peoples' theatres and other new forms of the ministry.

But there are grave doubts whether organized religion is ready or will ever be ready for this type of ministry. There are too many vested interest power-groups within organized religious institutions who have too much to lose. (For example, church-going landlords could not charge exorbitant rents to the poor anymore.) One alternative, then, would be to enlist as many persons possible to bypass boards and solicit independent financial help.

Another alternative would be to work toward an ecumenical effort so that no single denomination will feel it is alone, especially when the attacks from the conservative and radical-right elements within our organized religious institutions begin. But whenever we find a single denomination ready to go, it should not wait for others.

The day of reckoning has come for our church leaders. If they fail at this moment to make a forthright commitment, if they fail to struggle for and with the Negro and poor white, if they fail to discard their old wine skins for new ones, their religion is dead.

"ORGANIZED RELIGION FACES ACID TEST"
WRFD Commentator/January 7, 1966

by the REV. ARTHUR A. ZEBBS

Misc. Projects

A Draft to be voted on by the Board of Directors,
Urban Training Center for Christian Mission on
January 25, 1966

For submission to Citizens Crusade Against Poverty, Office of Economic Opportunity, Center for Community Action Education, Inc., and several foundations. Funds on hand from Commission of Religion and Race, NCCC, and funds sought from National Catholic Council on Interracial Justice and a similar Jewish group will be assigned to this program.

THE URBAN LEADERSHIP CORPS
(Finding and Making New Cats for the New Thing)

I. Introduction

The primary service to be rendered American society at this moment in history is to help the Negro break out of his ghetto jail and get the maximum feasible participation of all sectors of American life in helping him to do so. The division between America's mainstream and the Negro poor is increasing to alarming proportions. The ghetto dweller is alienated because the escalator is not rising fast enough for him. The question is whether an interdependent metropolis can arise without him. If he grows in uselessness, he may opt out.

It is important to explore the black ghetto in depth against the backdrop of the metropolis and the myriad power systems which constitute it. There are hints that the metropolis is the place where every man's fight to participate will have its decisive battle. It appears that the metropolis is becoming more and more ghettoized in spite of the fact that its greatness depends upon greater interdependence, more viable networks of communication, increased social mobility, and adequate and creative vehicles for political participation.

Black ghettos include those intolerable slum areas lived in by the black poor as well as the more attractive living areas of those Negroes who claim some affluence (sometimes called "gilded" or "mink-lined" ghettos).

The point is that most Negroes live in Negro areas because they have to; it is an involuntary condition since most good housing areas are closed to them, and when some degree of openness occurs, the process is carefully controlled. This condition has led Kenneth B. Clark to call the Negro ghetto a form of status symbol for white people. "It is an involuntary prison--like confinement that destroys and dehumanizes powerless people," he says. The ghetto is not

accidental, but the result of a wide-spread conspiracy. Whites applaud the ghetto because it takes "their minds off their own problems. They talk about all those terrible illegitimate kids in Central City and forget about the abortions in their own 'gilded ghetto'."

St. Clair Drake views "the pressure upon Negroes to live within all-Negro neighborhoods" as a kind of victimization in which black people without their consent serve as means to white people's ends and are deliberately manipulated by clever, vicious, cynical and powerful groups in American society. Thus we have the "nigger" because a "nigger" is needed. When the "nigger" is no longer needed, which is about to occur, he may be regarded as useless and expendable. Therefore, for the health and conscience of the metropolis defined as extending to national scale, a new national consensus is emerging that priority be given at most to ghetto break-up or at least to its transformation into relatively stable and attractive colored communities (what Nahaz Rogers calls "growing roses in the ghetto").

The major question to which we must address ourselves is Ghetto Jailbreak: How can it be started, developed, sustained? How is it related to the break-up of slums as a whole? Both white and Negro slums? What are the institutions we must deal with in both ghetto and slum break-ups? What are the skills and the kinds of power needed by ghetto residents to cause the break-up?

A necessary first step is that of finding and making skilled, sophisticated, incisive, and committed new leaders in the very heart of the ghetto who in turn organize their brothers for the jailbreak by proclaiming the good news that through collective action and mutual burden-bearing, ghetto-bound residents can change their situation and create new structures of hope and participation in society's mainstream. What they are to do in appropriate action is not in isolation from other actors in metropolis but either in cooperation or responsible conflict with them. The need, therefore, is for a new urban leadership which understands the interactions of metropolitan structures and does not get "hung-up" on particular institutions or formulas.

The term "jailbreak" refers not only to decisive action in changing the residential pattern, but to similar changes in the worlds of work, play, leisure, culture, and public affairs. The Negro must have equality of results in changing his status in education, jobs, income, and life chances. We are talking not about bread alone, but also about cake, icing, and beverage; indeed, all of the goodies and responsibilities in which men participate to make the new metropolitan society open, human, and interdependent. The word "ghetto" refers not only to black ghettos but also to the fact that whites who set themselves

up behind legal and extra-legal walls on either a class or race basis are likewise deprived and in need of a jailbreak.

Nearly everybody is convinced that the Freedom Revolution has entered a new phase. Called for are new insights into basic conditions, new visions as to what urban society can become, and new technical skills and practical know-how for helping our cities to realize these visions. Considerable thought must be given as to how the real needs of the low-income ghetto dweller (representative of "the loser" or "the other American") get articulated and made the basis for genuine reflection and responsible action by increased numbers of an alert citizenry. For this to happen, ghetto dwellers must be helped to become teachers as well as pupils, and actors with an appreciative audience rather than victims in an ever-widening context and at an ever-increasing magnitude. They must become the new guides, the new motivators and the new leaders of the metropolitan society. Increasingly, they will play significant roles in major dramas as the new cats doing the new thing.

II. The Proposal

A. What It Is

1. In line with the paramount need of finding and making leaders and training them as committed, cogent, and skilled metropolitan actors, the Urban Training Center for Christian Mission (herein after known as UTC) proposes to create, recruit, and train a nationwide Urban Leadership Corps (herein after to be called ULC).
2. UTC is a national ecumenical institution (twenty-one Protestant denominations and the Roman Catholic Church) engaged in helping churches and churchmen to define and articulate their mission in a world of revolutionary urban and technological change.

UTC already has a valid and exciting training structure of national reputation. Acclaim has been accorded it on the basis of its rigorous style of putting trainees into a particular action upon which they reflect in connection with other contemporary actions, past rationales, and future responsibilities. In addition to laboring with the problem of contemporary church tasks, its trainees have formulated arresting new designs for ministry in many secular sectors.

The UTC faculty is currently engaged in developing faithful and responsible urban leadership on the part of churches and churchmen.

Currently, the Center is offering as one of its training curricula, a specialization entitled "Ministries within the Freedom Movement." Here trainees are related to the growing ferment and transition in the Civil Rights Movement.

Now, UTC proposes to establish a more specialized training program to meet the urgent need for a new kind of ghetto leadership adequate to enlarge the scale of its actions. UTC cannot establish such a custom-fitted curriculum to meet this need without enlarging staff and budget. Much like a university creates a new department for specialized tasks growing out of teaching, research and development needs, it is proposed that the "movement curriculum" become the basis for a new program, the Urban Leadership Corps.

Needed are expanded staff, facilities, and budget, and a more comprehensive curriculum to fit the needs presented by a new kind of trainee. This is the way the expanded program would work:

Each year, the Urban Leadership Corps (ULC) is to recruit and train one hundred (100) promising young adults as members of the Corps from the ghettos of at least twenty (20) key metropolitan centers. Family responsibilities should be no deterrent in enlisting candidates for training. Preference is to be given candidates who have demonstrated outstanding skills, initiative and potential as emerging young leaders in ghetto situations.

Recommendations for potential corpsmen are to be sought from appropriate ghetto-based community groups (e.g., community organizations and foundations, organizations of the poor, churches in the ghetto, and freedom movement local units).

Trainees are to matriculate twice a year, October 1 and March 1, in teams of five (5) from each key metropolitan area. This means a total of fifty (50) a session or ten (10) metropolitan teams.

Trainees matriculating in October are to spend five (5) months in intensive theoretical and practical training at the UTC subsidiary, including:

(a) supervised placement in a Chicago ghetto or a metropolitan situation related to it in terms of understanding and action;
(b) thorough team analysis of the back-home situation; and,
(c) the acquisition of at least one functional-technical skill designed to be useful for back-home leadership.

At the end of February, each team returns to its home-based ghetto and (under supervision) develops approaches to problem-solving, organization for effective action, and the development of indigenous ghetto leadership. Their job is to start a valid action.

At the beginning of the twelfth (12th) month, the training team is to return to Chicago for a final month of analysis: What it did, where it made mistakes, further proposals for sustenance, supplementation, and support of the actions and programs it initiated back home, new designs for action, and how it moves to support itself financially over the long haul.

Training for recruits matriculating in March is conceived on the same lines as trainees who entered in October.

Trainees in ULC are on a one-year program and need subsistence for themselves and financial support for their families during the entire period of training. Therefore, it is recommended that each trainee be paid at an average rate of one hundred dollars ($100) a week for the year's program, both at the Center and in the back-home situation. At the end of the program the trainee is to be supported locally through new groups he may evoke, or older groups which may wish to support him, or by working at a specific job by which to support himself as he enters the arena of community leadership as a trained and qualified indigenous person.

Since corporate enterprise seeks to hire merit people who are well-motivated and well-oriented, there may be negotiations at the trainees home base for team members to be employed by companies seeking merit employees to offset discriminations. The trainee can then support his community ventures while he copes seriously with the problems of a vocation or career. A committed volunteer interested in community action may also be one of the best

(4) two troubleshooters (roving analysts and developers who visit and work with and evaluate corpsmen in their back-home situations)

c. Added secretarial staff (three secretaries and/or clerks)

d. Supervision to be provided by agencies with whom teams are placed

e. Consultants and teachers of special skills to be brought in as required

2. An added training facility would be required

a. Possibility of investigating utilization of other facilities, e.g. vacant Lake Meadows Club as a physical facility for such training

(1) possibility of developing its use in concert with developmental leadership models in concert with Chicago groups

(2) another possible facility is the building owned by First Congregational Church on Washington Blvd. This facility is close to UTC and would insure close association with ULC and regular trainees at UTC

3. Real attempt to include personnel in Chicago movements and agencies in reflective processes and situational analyses attendant upon such training, both on the field and at the leadership training center facility

4. Ghetto residents and organizations both in Chicago and trainees' back-home situations are to be sought as partners in curriculum development and training action

III. How Related to Other UTC Curricula

The Urban Leadership Corps is an integral part of a larger training curriculum in which trainees will be involved with people of poverty and color in their situation, as they reflect together upon core issues in the ghetto jailbreak, analyze prospective solutions to the over-all plight, choose policies from several alternatives, set priorities, develop clear-cut strategies and tactics as well as schedules for implementation, and come up with designs for action.

Also participating in urban leadership training as related to ghetto conditions, actions and responsibilities will be urban executives, pastors of churches, church laymen and laywomen, college, university and professional students, and members of local commissions on human relations and councils on race relations.

Also participating are ministers of key churches in Negro urban areas throughout the nation who are present as Ford Foundation fellows and interns, and who will be coming and going through the period allocated for training of ULC.

There will also be the convergence of other curricula. Trainees will be at UTC for pursuit of such specializations as: community organization practice. and ministry, ministries at the metropolitan level, ministries to corporate enterprise and the labor movement, central city ministries, and the acquisition of planning and management skills for solving specific urban problems. Core experiences for all include plunges and live-ins, the practice of philosophical reflection in an urban world, an overview of actions and ministries at both metropolitan and neighborhood levels, the role of faith and non-faith in making the jailbreak and special seminars related to the trainee's own concerns and practices.

Participants in all curricula will rub shoulders, share exposures, and exchange ideas as they analyze larger urban conditions and specific ghetto phenomena and establish a basic framework of interrelationships as well as analyze their roles and responsibilities as effective change agents,

A Chicago-based committee of indigenous ghetto residents and organizations will join with the Urban Leadership Corps in on-going curriculum development and field placement.

IV. Content of Training

The Urban Training Center teaches by involving the trainee in a particular action where he learns skills which he relates to the development of a body of knowledge, a structure of thought and inquiry, new and effective analytical tools, and an effective style of participation and action. The trainee is disciplined to ask: What were the methods and interpretations used in the past; what is the particular current situation needing understanding and action now; how do we proclaim and act in this situation to evoke new life, new structure, and new community? At all stages of engagement-reflection, both in the class room and on the field, the trainee is to concern himself with asking what is the situation? What ought to be? How can it be changed to what it ought to be?

The training program of the Urban Leadership Corps will deal with basic conditions and problems of modern urban life as reflected in the ghetto and related to large-scale metropolitan society. It will examine structural deficiencies where they are found to exist in societal institutions. It will be the concern of the corpsmen's identity and role as agents for change vis-a-vis other

agents which resist change. It will raise hard questions as to whether society is to be adjusted to the so-called victims or whether so-called victims are to be adjusted to the prevailing society. Under the program, participants will consider changing the rules as well as address themselves to becoming more skilled in operating within the rules. The program will deal with formulating goals for the communities in which corpsmen are involved and programming their implication at varieties of scale as well as drafting time-tables for achievement. It will be concerned with content, process, responsibility, self-image, and evaluation as steps in initiating change. By a process of team-teaching, indigenous persons of all classes (professional and non-professional), and at all levels (ghetto, metropolitan, and national) will join the resident staff in teaching and developing the trainee for urban leadership.

V. Why Chicago as the Pilot for Urban Leadership Corps Training?

A. Why Chicago as the pilot for training? On the one hand, Chicago may be the most segregated city in the North. On the other, creative movements throughout all sectors of the city are at work proposing solutions. There are the following attempts:

(1) A Coordinating Council of Community Organizations exists for Chicago. It started out to approach the issues of school integration and quality education. It can serve as a city-wide handle for tackling the relation of ghetto issues to metropolitan issues. It has a promising pilot going in community organization and church involvement in the North Kenwood area.

(2) A west side movement which has brought together staffs of organizations to weld a coalition aimed at wiping out slums and confronting the city with the necessity for adequately housing its poor. Southern Christian Leadership Conference has its staff involved in the leadership of this movement.

(3) Churches and other organizations have come together into a federation for the purpose of organizing ghetto residents, house by house, and block by block. (West Side Federation)

(4) Local church efforts are supplemented by the most creative alignment of church organization in America at the metropolitan level. Worthy of mention are the Interreligious Council on Urban Affairs, the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, the Chicago City Missionary Society, the Office of Urban Affairs of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Chicago, the Union of Hebrew Congregations, the Conference on Religion and Race, and the racial action groups of various denominations.

(5) An organization of the unemployed, the West Side Organization for Full Employment, with the professional staff coming from unemployed persons who are busy articulating their goals and establishing feasible time-tables for solution.

(6) People on public welfare rolls are being organized into a city-wide community welfare union through the aegis of the West Side Organization and cooperating groups.

(7) Chicago has the wealth of experience of successful community organizations of various types, including IAF and non-IAF types. TWO is one of the most effective ghetto-based community organizations in the United States.

(8) Suburban involvement in at least talking about the need for a ghetto jailbreak is at an all-time high. Organizations and movements are prepared to work assiduously in this area.

(9) There is a wealth of institutions, academic and non-academic, working at the complexity of the ghetto problem, who may be involved in the training and placement of trainee teams;

(10) Militant Negro organizations are pushing precinct by precinct for realistic participation of the ghettoized in the political system. A master plan has evolved for 100 key precincts to be involved in direct election of precinct captains.

(11) Urban research study centers exist at the University of Chicago, Northwestern, and Loyola University. There is a Center for African Studies and a center for teching the Urban Disadvantaged at Northwestern University.

(12) The Negro middle class is studying anew its relationship to a proclaimed ghetto jailbreak. No longer do they see themselves as buffers between the militant and the power elite. Pyramids for the jailbreak are being set up in South Shore and Chatham to awaken more so-called affluent Negroes to the fact that they may have a handful of civil rights but there is little more in their bellies and over their heads than other ghetto residents have. More and more are articulating the need to give money, manpower, skills, intellect, and dedication to making the jailbreak. This group realizes it can break through in a new way by being the thinkers and bankers of the jailbreak, if they become more directly involved with the Negro poor.

(13) Chicago is also in ferment with respect to such groups as labor, students, participants in the peace movement, who are talking about new coalitions with the poor and/or ghetto dwellers.

(14) A new sense of responsibility for ghetto jailbreak by corporate enterprise has developed in Chicago through the Association of Commerce and Industry.

Urban Leadership Corpsmen will have opportunity to participate in most of the above projects.

We project that models for more sophisticated training and action can come out of careful placement in the above-listed areas. The Chicago-based committee will give serious consideration to limiting team placement to a few of the most strategic models.

VI. The Curriculum Profile

A. First Month--Introduction to the Process

1. A general orientation to metropolitan and ghetto problems through seminars led by Center faculty.
2. A series of calculated exposures to the various people, issues, movements, and systems of the metropolis.
3. A seminar series calculated to develop the analytical tools by which conditions, agents, systems, and institutions may be analyzed, goals set, policies chosen from various alternatives, strategies and tactics considered, appropriate action designed, and new forms of social, political, and economic organization developed to meet the critical needs of the situation.
4. Coming to grips with "The Negro's Negro Problem," i.e., the problem of the Urban Leadership Corps' own identity through process seminars aimed at problem definition. Questions raised will include: Where have I come from? Who am I now? Where will I be tomorrow? Therefore, what must I do today? Who is my reference group? Is there a separation between isness and oughtness? Can it be overcome? If it cannot, then what to do I do now? In what way am I like the eagle who had been called a chicken so long that he believed he was one? In what way am I a sleeping giant? What are the levers I must pull to set things in motion.

What and where is the veil which keeps me out of the game? What codes, folkways, and skills of the dominant society do I have to learn? What has been the real effect of my powerlessness and lack of skills? Can I get into the game and play without conflict?

Is my condition due basically to both a lack of power and skills? What mechanisms do I need for translating my ideas into action and formulating policies? How are all of the above related to an adequate grounding in the theory and practice of community organization and development, political science, sociology, communications, the arts, urban planning and management, decision making and philosophical re-conceptualization.

5. Assumed throughout the first month:
Seminars will be conducted both at the Center and in the ghetto with people of the ghetto involved.

B. Field Engagement and Continued Training
(Months 2-5)

1. The vehicle is sub-division of trainees into teams or sub-centers of action-reflection oriented toward context, people, issues, systems, and tasks. Each team is to have a team leader. The context is the metropolis. The city is the curriculum. The team, wherever it is situated, analyzes ghetto jailbreak in relation to metropolitan perspectives: images, people, conditions, issues, means, material, goals, and structural complexities and realities. Careful attention is to be given to the development of sequences by which each team and trainee learns and grows.

What was started in the first month is to continue. Reflection is to be by teams in the field with one day a week given to bringing together all teams with appropriate representatives of the people within the situation which each team serves along with a bevy of appropriate experts.

Each team is to be assigned to a primary field placement and supervised in a model for engagement and interpretation designated by ULC and the indigenous committee.

Specific skills as needed are to be custom-fitted to each participant. Simple skills such as how to conduct a meeting, how to organise thoughts, how to plan, how to speak effectively, and process and management skills are to be included in instruction in the ghetto situation. More sophisticated skills are also to be taught: how to understand a community, how to organize a community, how to find and train indigenous leadership, how to analyze, cope with and re-direct a community's center of power, how to work with or buck against agencies in a community through which this power is sustained, how to understand the unique features in a community that work against jailbreak and those that can be utilized to further it.

Special use will be made of adjunct faculty from all functional fields and metropolitan areas.

C. Months 6-11: Supervised Practice in Back Home Situation
A basic bibliography has been developed for the curriculum.

D. Synthesis: Month 12

1. Trainee team returns to Chicago.
2. Seminars aimed at re-conceptualizing of problem and slice of pie within the team's slice which each trainee wants to get hold of. Reflection on the design of action and the new forms needed to fit the situation. Attempt to be made to see the metropolis as a whole and where each team's and trainee's experience fits in.
3. Building corporate responsibility. Clarifying role and mission of each trainee in furthering the jailbreak and the training others as he goes to his mission destination.

VII. What the New Program Will Cost (Annually)

Ten Apartments (one team of five assigned to live in each while in Chicago) Rental rate @$75.00 a month per apartment= $750 a month	$9,000
Food @ $15.50 a man a week while in Chicago 50 men x $15.50= $775 x 26 weeks=$20,050 x 2 groups=	40,100
Transportation to and from supervised field (in Chicago) 50 men x $3.50 a week = $175 x 26= $4,550 x 2 groups=	9,100
Round trip to UTC and return (twice) at cheapest transportation $150.00	15,000
Staff	
Director of the Corps	15,000
Director of Training (more programmatically oriented than UTC's Director of Studies who is logically oriented)	14,000
Troubleshooters (2)	20,000
Supervisors or Team Leaders (5)	50,000
Administrative Assistant	7,000

Secretaries (2)	10,000
Travel	10,000
Supervision by agencies in the field (Chicago and back-home)	25,000
Consultants	10,000
Evaluation	15,000
	$249,200
UTC Administration @15% of program budget	37,380
Family Support and Maintenance @$100 a week a trainee	520,000
Capital Items	
Furniture for 10 Apartments	2,500
Office Equipment	2,000
	$811,080

THE URBAN LEADERSHIP CORPS

Addenda

1. This proposal was originally written for submission to the Citizen's Crusade against Poverty.

   Further reflection led staff to consider other groups such as the Office of Economic Opportunity, The Center for Community Action Education, Inc., and several foundations as possibilities for program support.

   This means that this proposal will have to be further amended to fit the requirements peculiar to each group to whom it is submitted.

   E.g. The Office of Economic Opportunity requires the sponsoring agency of any program seeking funds to show a contribution either in cash or kind of ten (10) percent to that program. If in kind, this must be specifically spelled out; i.e. facilities for teaching, utilization of regular staff, consultation, office space, etc. The value of facilities is measured according to a basic rule: The number of square feet involved and frequency of use.

   Before submitting the proposal, agreement has to be reached with the regional OEO office as to the basic square foot rate which will be allowed.

2. Correction of sub-heading No. VII
   A. Page 13
      (1) Item headed "ten apartments,"
          etc.
      Amend third line to read:
          "Rental rate including utilities @ $85.00 per month per apartment = $850.00
                                                "$9,200" (a year)
   B. Page 14
      (1) New summary of items following "evaluation" should read:

UTC Administration (15%)	$249,400
of program budget	37,410
Program Total	$286,810

      (2) Separate item headed "Family Support and Maintenance @ $100 a week a trainee = 520,000 annually, and bring to bottom of page
      (3) Amend item headed "Captial items" to read: "Furniture for 10 apartments = 12,500"
      (4) at end of page 14 insert:
          "Summary"

Total Program	286,810
Total Capital items	14,500
Trainee support & Maintenance	520,000
	821,310

AH:sen
1/25/66

NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJEC RADIO
471 Clinton Ave.
Newark, N. J.
201-242-9329

file

FEB 15 1966

9 February 1966

Floyd McKissick
CORE
38 Park Row
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. McKissick,

I am writing you with two thoughts in mind. First, we would like you to join the Board of Sponsors of the Newark Community Union Project Radio. The concept of a low-cost, community radio station represents, we think, a breakthrough in the strategy of community organization. The Newark station is already serving as a model for similar civil rights oriented stations elsewhere.

Sponsorship carries no particular obligation. All policy decisions will be made by the community people to whom the station belongs. However, we believe your endorsement will assist us in encounters with foundations and governmental agencies. There is the further possibility that sponsors may be asked to intervene to forestall any harassment that might threaten the Newark station or other neighborhood stations currently being planned. Preliminary planning is underway in Atlanta, Ga.; Jackson, Miss.; New Haven, New York; Jersey City and Chicago.

Apart from the question of sponsorship we need immediate financial assistance (see enclosed budget). If you can help personally, or if you can suggest sources of funds, please let us know. Tax-deductible checks can be made out to St. John's Summer Program (a tax-exempt institution at 118 Summit Avenue, Jersey City, N. J.) and sent to me at the above address.

Please let us know as soon as possible if you are willing to be a sponsor.

Sincerely,

David Gelber

David Gelber

A partial list of sponsors includes:

Nat Hentoff, writer and jazz critic: Chairman
Paul Goodman, writer and educator
Harold Taylor, former President of Sarah Lawrence College
Dr. Tom Levin, Director, Mississippi Child Development Project
Miss Elizabeth Sutherland, Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee
Dr. David Finkelstein, professor, Yeshiva University, treasurer, Tougaloo Radio Ass.

NEWARK COMMUNITY UNION PROJECT RADIO
An Experiment in Communication and Community Organization

The Newark Community Union Project (NCUP), an independent neighborhood* started 20 months ago by Students for a Democratic Society, will launch a non-commercial radio station in late February, 1966. The station will be heard in a lower-class, predominantly Negro section which has been the focus of NCUP's organizing efforts. The station is viewed by NCUP as an innovation in the strategy of community organization as well as a model for low-cost, decentralized radio communication.

Statement of Purpose

The student organizers who came to Newark in the summer of '64 went house-to-house talking with people about problems the community shared. From this organizing sprang block groups which successfully resisted an "urban renewal" scheme, withheld rent from a slumlord, insisted on a community center and demanded in the mayor's own office--that city hall provide a traffic light for a dangerous corner. This experience has refuted the common assumption that "lower-class apathy" will defeat community organization in the ghetto.

Now, many people in the NCUP neighborhood are working to create a permanent medium through which to express the insights and grievances which usually get no further than the street corner, the kitchen and the front stoop.

The community radio station will fill a void created by the indifference of the large newspapers and radio stations to the problems and interests of poor Negroes. While the national press has encouraged the peace movement and the civil rights movement in the South simply by acknowledging that they are being heard, local communications media tend to ignore or distort demands from below which disturb local political and economic power holders.

Rather than simply substitute "spokesmen for the poor" for "spokesmen for the powerful", the station will invite people to speak for themselves, to draw their own conclusions. In this way, it is felt, the kind of social change NCUP is trying to promote can best be achieved. If poor people can operate their own radio station, they will be less tolerant of others controlling their schools, their housing authority and their city hall.

Community Participation

Neighborhood people will participate in every phase of the operation from broadcasting and technical supervision to sewing curtains for the studio and holding cake sales. Women have volunteered to go from store to store armed with notebook and pencil to gather consumer information for subsequent broadcast. High school boys and girls are planning programs about school and extra-curricular activities. People throughout the neighborhood will serve as block representatives encouraging their friends to talk on the air and become part of the radio station organization. These neighborhood representatives will meet together regularly along with anyone else who is interested to review

* group

station practices and make policy decisions as they become necessary. There are, then, numerous and varied roles essential to the operation which can be filled by people with little or no professional radio experience. About three individuals with radio or newspaper experience will work on programming and will familiarize the rest of the staff with the skills of radio journalism. NCUP wants to pay apprentice salaries to the men and women who find radio work more satisfying than the jobs and schooling normally available to lower-class Negroes in Newark.

Programming

Programming falls into four broad areas, the last three of which overlap: entertainment, community service, news and feature and "agitation."

Entertainment: The programming will reflect the interests of the listening audience. One preference is for rhythm and blues, jazz and gospel music. The station would neither survive nor be meaningful if it restricted itself to top-40 programs. There are so many polished top-40 stations in the area that another is hardly needed. Thus, talk programs will be given priority over recorded music shows. Staff limitations necessitate a substantial amount of music programming. The long-range expectation is that listeners will tune in a top-40 station when they want music and NCUP Radio when they want to hear their neighbors.

Community Service: Some programs will be devoted to ways by which poor people can better cope with their immediate situation. Consumer advice (including exposals of unfair business practices) and suggestions leading to more efficient utilization of public services will be scheduled. Community service programming (listing neighborhood events, announcements about missing dogs, etc.) greatly expends the number of participants in the station's programming. In addition, it substantiates the independent, non-exploitative character of the station.

News and Feature: The news and feature department will depart from the conventional practice of focusing on news manufactured by the established political and economic groups in the community. Instead of minute expositions of what happened last night at the City Council or P-TA meeting, priority will be given to coverage of news which most concerns the listening audience. It is the case that public agencies are indifferent to the sentiments of the poor. Poor people rarely are consulted about such matters as the allocation of open space. The services they receive are poorly financed and dispensed grudgingly. Accordingly, the station will pay particular attention to the municipal services with which the poor repeatedly come into contact. Two examples which would have received prime coverage: the recent and unreported failure of Newark police to search for a missing eight-year-old Negro, later found dead; the "teachers" in a Newark school who regularly show their students audio-visual aid movies from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m.

News from other cities and countries will be reported through tape exchanges with other stations and by monitoring

short-wave broadcasts. Covering non-Newark news should help local people understand how their problems contrast with difficulties poor people face elsewhere. Whenever the station interprets news, it will welcome rebuttals.

Agitation: The station will seek out individuals and groups who wish to express an opinion or grievance and propose a strategy for action. For example, the mother of the lost boy might have asked people to go to the local police precinct and sit there until the cops searched for her child.

One woman who is involved in planning the station observed, "Some people think their house is so bad, they're ashamed to let anybody see it. Why if we had a radio station maybe those people would find out there are lots of others like themselves." And perhaps they will find out that there are others who, like themselves, would like to do something about it.

Technical Aspects

NCUP Radio will broadcast on the AM band and will be heard by approximately 40,000 people on any conventional radio receiver. The station, known as a "carrier current" station, will use the public utility power lines to radiate within the delimited area. No FCC license is needed. The station, of course, must not interfere with other stations and must observe standards of propriety in broadcasting. The quality of sound produced is as high as any licensed radio station. There is no difference between the operation of a carrier current station and a licensed station up to the point of transmission. The FCC regulations related to permissable signal strength must be scrupulously observed. The carrier current transmitter is made operable by plugging it into a wall socket.

Preliminary Budget

Studio rent.....	$125 p/mo.	($1,500)
Telephone.....	$100 p/mo.	($1,200)
Office Supplies.	$ 50 p/mo.	($ 600)
Postage.....	$ 50 p/mo.	($ 600)
Misc.....	$ 50 p/mo.	($ 600)
equipment.....	$	$3,500
studio ren.....		$ 300
		$8,300 total

The station will begin operation with a staff of volunteers. NCUP is hoping to raise enough money to pay the salary of at least one of the professionals. It is also applying for a government grant to pay salaries to the apprentices.

Misc. Projects

Association of Fair Housing Committees

Affiliated with the AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

New York Metropolitan Region

15 RUTHERFORD PLACE (16 St. East of 3 Ave.) NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003 / (212) 777-4600

David Ludlow,
Program Secretary

DARE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

EAST ORANGE, N. J., April 8 -- Floyd McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), will speak at a "Rally for Rental Rights" here Sunday, April 17, when Project DARE (Drive Against Rental Evasions), makes its first expose of alleged discrimination. The rally will begin at 2:30 p. m. at the Elmwood School, 339 South Burnett St.

McKissick has just returned from Los Angeles, where he led a mass demonstration protesting mishandling of the anti-poverty program there. A few days before that he was in Bogalusa, La. leading a march against job discrimination.

A dynamic civil rights activist, McKissick defended countless demonstrators arrested during the Freedom Rides in the early 1960's and represented CORE in the 1963 March on Washington. The first Negro admitted to the University of North Carolina law sdhool, from which he was graduated in 1950, McKissick is a World War II veteran, serving in Europe as a technical sergeant. For three years he has been national chairman of CORE.

MORE

Eldridge Smith, DARE coordinator, announced plans for the rally today. He said its purpose was to dramatize the protest against alleged housing discrimination in the city, a major suburban apartment house center.

Project DARE was launched March 27 by the Oranges-Maplewood branch of the NAACP, the Association of Fair Housing Committees, the New York Regional American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker organization, and the Fair Housing Service Agency of northern New Jersey.

Mrs. Margaret Smith, local NAACP president, will outline campaign plans. Other rally speakers will be David Ludlow, program director of the Association of Fair Housing Committees, and Mrs. Irma Thexton, co-chairman of the Fair Housing Service Agency.

Members of Negro and white volunteer teams who tested the apartment buildings during the past month will recount some of their experiences. Petitions urging an end to differential treatment of apartment seekers will be circulated. The rally will end with a motorcade.

DARE attorneys have filed 82 affidavits with the Newark office of the New Jersey Division on Civil Rights, charging that violations of state laws against discrimination in housing were found in every building tested.

The three firms involved are Frank H. Taylor and Son, Inc., 23 South Harrison St.; C. E. and C. T. Shipman, Brick Church Plaza; and Philip Mandelbaum, represented by South Orange realtor Herbert Goldberg.

"Friendly negotiations are going forward with representatives of these firms," Ludlow said today. "We want to emphasize that the drive is aimed basically at compliance with the law by the more than 300 apartment owners and management companies in East Orange and surrounding areas."

MORE

PROJECT DARE

Drive Against Rental Evasions

GENERAL OBJECTIVES

1. Apartments For All

We aim to bring to a halt the humiliating and illegal practice which keeps many families from renting apartments outside the ghetto.

2. Renting Should Be Routine

We aim to give reasonable hope to Negro families that they can routinely rent apartments in previously white neighborhoods without going through long legal procedures and frustrating delays. These families do not wish to be pioneers but just want to find a place to live.

3. Opening Lower Rentals to Serve More Families

We aim to reach a much wider segment of homeseeking families than previously by focusing public attention on the fact that few Negro families now try to obtain medium price rentals outside Negro areas. Thus far well founded skepticism about the availability of "white" rentals has effectively kept the great bulk of lower-middle income families from even looking very far from ghetto neighborhoods. Mass awareness that all citizens can obtain apartments for reasonable rentals will come only when we break the widespread and organized evasions which have successfully kept non-white apartment seekers from even looking outside the ghetto.

4. Progressive Owners and Tenants Will Help

We aim to create a "climate of opinion" which will convince apartment house owners and management that their illegal discrimination is now questioned by an increasingly large number of people. It is hoped that many landlords will come to feel that catering to a few vocal, bigoted tenants would not be worth the glare of public notice. Some landlords, we feel, will change their evasive practicec because they are now convinced it is the right things to do. And some tenants may urge their landlords to accept Negro neighbors rather than face picketing and publicity.

5. Together We Stand

We aim to strengthen existing, and create new, friendships between the Negro and white volunteers who will be working on a shared project and facing the common foe of apathy and the cynical flouting of law. Volunteer workers for DARE, who come from local branches of the NAACP, CORE, the Negro churches and the fair housing committees, are striving side by side for a common cause.

6. Attracting New Volunteers

We aim to create a highly visible, challenging project that will bring new volunteers into the movement to put their beliefs into action. Any project which calls for immediate, tangible activities creates a sense of urgency. This urgency we feel will stimulate new people, and through their involvement, give them a sense of fulfillment.

7. Stronger Enforcement Agencies

We aim to strengthen the hand of the New Jersey Division on Civil Rights which has been hampered by lack of adequate staff, bureaucratic red tape, and sometimes the inexplicable foot-dragging of its personnel. There has sometimes been a lack of the kind of zeal necessary to expedite and vigorously process cases.

It is felt that stronger affirmative action and a larger staff would be made more likely by a massive attack on apartment discrimination. Demonstrations and public exposure of the need for more vigorous enforcement will make it easier for the Civil Rights Division and the New Jersey Real Estate Commission to hire more personnel. It is hoped this will spur the Division to more affirmative action since they will hesitate to lag behind the active pace of the civil rights and fair housing groups engaged in Project DARE.

8. Tokenism Has Had Its Trial

The slow, one-by-one efforts to test, conciliate, investigate, and persuade have seldom come to public attention. We feel it is now time to illuminate unequal treatment by a widely noticed mass effort to speed up the present creeping pace of token desegregation.

Eldridge Smith, Coordinator: Project DARE

Margaret Smith, President: Oranges-Maplewood Branch NAACP

Irma Thexton, Co-director: Fair Housing Service Agency

David Ludlow, Director:Housing Program:
American Friends Service Committee
and
Association of Fair Housing Committees

East Orange Record

P. O. Box 48, East Orange, N. J. — 07019 Phone ORange 4-8000

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OFF the RECORD

SPLIT OPINIONS — The advent of Project DARE in East Orange has evoked a great range of reaction. Some people sympathetic with the motives question the methods; some welcome it with open arms; others say, "Why don't they go pick on some other town?"

The reasons given for choosing East Orange above any other community for the project seem valid to us, and are flattering to the city and its officials. It remains to be seen whether the group's purposes are accomplished.

* * *

AMENDS TO EMOND — That spread we ran last week on the new women's recreation supervisor, Leo Emond, would have been a fine way for him to start an East Orange scrapbook except that his name was spelled wrong throughout. We are sorry, Mr. Emond, Emond, Emond, Emond . . .

* * *

IN THE WORKS—The theme for the 1966 Memorial Day parade has been selected: "Support our servicemen in Viet Nam." Organizations in town are being asked to work on a float for the parade Monday, May 30.

* * *

BABIES, WE GOT BA — Norman and Dorothy Scull had only one this time — the twins born 15 months ago have an eight pound, 10 ounce brother named Kevin John, born yesterday. We believe the doctor who told the father, an assistant city counsel, that the kid's a handsome one.

And Sheldon and Linda Smith's boy was eight pounds, one ounce. Now eight days old, he's named Brian Andrew. Daddy is assistant business manager-secretary

Learn To Lik

Pre-Sch Sta

A four-month Project Head Start for disadvantaged pre-kindergarten children will begin tomorrow, J. Garfield Jackson, director, said yesterday that the $47,506 grant from the federal government has come through.

Classes will begin initially at Elmwood school, Rowley field and Pickwick nursery, Jackson said, with three other centers being "phased in" during the next few weeks.

Jackson, the principal of Kentlop school said that some difficulty has been encountered in the field work due to strict federal criteria. "Recruiting has to be done very carefully, because we're required to take only those children who come from a home where the family income is $3,000 or less," Jackson said. "No credit is given for the number of children in the family; it simply must be a $3,000 income."

There are such families in East Orange, he said, but "there are many others who feel their children are eligible and we have to to turn them down. We'd like to take their child, but we can't."

Follow Up

A proposal for a $82,470 follow-up program for those tots who were enrolled in Project Head Start last summer has been submitted to the federal Office of Economic Opportunity by Jackson and Ralph L. Sims, Community Action Program director.

The program is to run during July and August. It would provide extra remediation and supportive instruction to the youngsters who were in kindergarten this year before they enter first grade, Jackson explained.

The summer program is budgeted at almost twice the year-round program. Sims said, because there will be a need for more staff, more rooms and more equipment, since they will be running concurrently during July. Instead of two sessions daily at each center, as the year-round program will provide, the summer program will furnish only half-day sessions. Ten to 12 classes are anticipated for the 180 eligible youngsters in the summer program, Sims said.

SCHOOL CAN BE FU
Head Start aims in the federally-s row. Roger Lee about the enrichr simplest materials

Form Law Subc

CAC 2 Rep

Dare

(Continued from Page 1)

worked for three weekends, about two hours each weekend, the project officials said. After compiling the information, they said, they sent rgeistered letters to the three landlords who manage or own a sizable number of apartment buildings in the city.

One of these landlords denied yesterday that he had received any notice prior to the publicity DARE received this week.

'I am only the registered agent for the buildings involved," Phillip Mandlebaum said in a telephone interview. "My client is the owner, I expect him there tonight (at NAACP headquarters) when I meet with the DARE people."

"I never received a letter from them," Mandelbaum said. "I want to see the receipt of the registered letter they say they'll show me tonight."

Frank H. Taylor & Son was another landlord named by DARE in their affidavits. This company responded promptly to the letter, and negotiations are continuing. DARE officials noted that Taylor owns or manges about 10 per cent of the apartment buildings in the city and is therefore of prime importance to them.

DOMINO EFFECT

"If the big landlords will negotiate with us and agree to end these practices, we think the smaller landlords will follow suit," Mrs. Margaret G. Smith, NAACP president, said.

A sheet distributed to the press entitled "Project DARE Proposed Plans and Procedures" indicated what the group wants the landlords to do.

"They will be asked to make known apartment vacancies as soon as they are aware of them," the DARE steering committee said. "Apartment owners would also be asked to post in lobbies a sign indicating that theirs is an "Equal Opportunity Apartment House" and to post "Vacancy" signs outside the buildings.

the building was in bad condition, below the standard of the average person DARE is interested in helping.

Arnold Mytelka, counsel for the group, said that buildings owned by other landlords in the city have also been tested, and some outside the city owned by those who play a major role in the East Orange housing scene have also been tested. A few of the affidavits so far submitted have dealt with buildings outside the city, Mytelka, a resident at 106 Harrison street, said.

"We aim to create a 'climate of opinion' which will convince apartment house owners and management that their illegal discrimination is now questioned by an increasingly large number of people" the DARE literature said. It is DARE's belief that landlords and their agents are the victims of an evil system just as surely as are these families whom they have denied equal opportunity."

They stressed that the mass approach to rental discrimination will not be confined to East Orange. "It is certainly exportable," said Eldridge Smith, project coordinator.

Ordinance W

tatives and research done by Edward E. Ruhnke, city clerk.

The text of Ordinance No 10 may be found in this paper. It raises the salary of the Mayor from $14,175 to $17,500. It sets the scales of the city counsel, engineer, comptroller and magistrate at $12,500 to $15,000. Formerly these officers received $10,625 to $13,125.

The Mayor is empowered b

(Continued on Page 4)

Mrs. Dowd Wins Sweepstakes Bit

She Is Consoled With Only $1,200

An East Orange woman won a consolation prize in the

'DARE' Seeks End To Alleged Rent Bias By 'Massive' Drive

What is described as an 'all-out drive to seek renting procedure agreements from landlords" was launched this week in East Orange. A total of 82 affidavits were filed with the State Division of Civil Rights in Newark as of yesterday, attesting to discrimination against Negroes in apartment houses managed or owned by East Orange realtors.

Leaders of the four nationwide groups cooperating in Project DARE (Drive Against Rental Evasions) said that more affidavits would be forthcoming.

David Ludlow a Summit architect who is director of DARE, stated: "Our target is not three landlords or 300. The enemy is apathy, the terrible refusal to see what is happening right in your backyard."

Ludlow is housing secretary of two of the four organizations collaborating in Project DARE, the American Friends Service Committee and the Association of Fair Housing Committees of Metropolitan New York. The other organizations are the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of Oranges and Maplewood and the Fair Housing Service Agency of Northern New Jersey.

The project was born last October, Ludlow said, when the AFSC and the housing committees associtaed with it began to look for an area where good apartments were available, in a price range of about $85 to $150, he said.

Pilot City

East Orange was chosen for three main reasons as the site for this pilot program, Ludlow told a press conference Monday. First, there are about 12,700 apartment units in this city, more than any other single city in the area.

Secondly, there is a strong local branch of the NAACP. The AFSC, a nationwide Quaker organization, had decided to work jointly with a civil rights organization, Ludlow said. The NAACP of the Oranges and Maplewood has its office at 565 Main street here.

Thirdly, Ludlow said, East Oranges is a city where high standards are maintained regardless of the racial composition of a neighborhood.

"The East Orange Civil Rights Commission is one of the better ones in the state," he said in a telephone interview. "It would be active and so would the Mayor and the City Council in trying to maintain the good services which are the only thing that will assure the city of a future."

It is not an influx of Negroes that causes a neighborhood to decay, but poverty, Ludlow maintained, and poverty comes when public services such as garbage collection, police protection and building standard maintenance are slack. This could never happen in East Orange, he said.

Beginning the weekend of February 19, teams of "testers" visited apartment buildings throughout East Orange. A couple of white people would precede or follow a Negro couple into a building to establish the availability of an apartment and its price, according to Irma Thexton, coordinator of the Fair Housing Service Agency.

Usually Bias

"In no case was non-discrimination the rule," said Miss Thexton, who works for CHOICE, a clearing house for minority families or individuals seekng housing. CHOICE has been located for two years at the Urban League office in East Orange, 589 Central avenue.

"We all know very well there are whole blocks that have all-white apartment buildings. How

Project Provokes Official Comment

CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

"The commissioners present (on March 24) voted unanimously that the Civil Rights Commission of the City of East Orange go on record as endorsing Project DARE, and participate wherever possible by using our influence as a city body to educate through conferences on the general objectives of DARE."

The commission sent letters to all clergymen and city officials yesterday inviting them to a "leadership conference" Tuesday in Council chambers at City Hall.

"Project DARE has shown

BABIES, WE GOT BA — Norman and Dorothy Scull had only one this time — the twins born 15 months ago have an eight pound, 10 ounce brother named Kevin John, born yesterday. We believe the doctor who told the father, an assistant city counsel, that the kid's a handsome one.

And Sheldon and Linda Smith's boy was eight pounds, one ounce. Now eight days old, he's named Brian Andrew. Daddy is assistant business manager-secretary for the school board, and a former purser in the Navy. Mom used to teach first grade at Elmwood school and remedial reading at Eastern before the baby girl came along a couple years ago.

* * *

PRO BRIDGE-NIK — Rochelle Rosler, 60 Parkway drive East, and her partner from Tulsa, Okla. won top score in

(Continued on Page 3)

Focus On *FEMALES*

BY HARRIET DAVIS

EXPERIENCE COUNTS

If experience in organizing is a requisite for the job, the choice of Mrs. Alice Murray by CAP in East Orange as delegate at large to the steering committee is a good one. Mrs. Murray was president of Lincoln PTA in the year 1960-61. It was during her incumbency that the PTA organized a parent group that met afternoons just to "hash over problems." She also organized a senior citizens group that met at the school for recreation and socializing, and a dancing-twirling class for youngsters after school.

Her present activities include teaching Sunday School at Elmwood Presbyterian Church and membership in the Women's Committee for Church World Service at Mt. Carmel Church. She also has a job as clerk typist.

Mrs. Murray came to this area from Pennsylvania during World War II, when the federal office of dependency benefits, where she was a supervisor, was moved to Newark.

She settled in East Orange and was married here. Now widowed, she is the mother

(Continued on Page 16)

grade, Jackson explained.

The summer program is budgeted at almost twice the year-round program. Sims said, because there will be a need for more staff, more rooms and more equipment, since they will be running concurrently during July. Instead of two sessions daily at each center, as the year-round program will provide, the summer program will furnish only half-day sessions. Ten to 12 classes are anticipated for the 180 eligible youngsters in the summer program, Sims said.

NY Stock Market Could Come Here?

Is East Orange the answer?

Mayor Kelly last week sent a brochure entitled "East Orange Invites You" to Keith Funston, president of the New York Stock Exchange which has threatened to move out of New York City because of a proposed tax on stock transfers.

"After you have reviewed the contents of the enclosed brochure," Mayor Kelly said in his letter, "I shall be very happy to discuss at your convenience the possibility of moving the New York Stock Exchange to one of the very favorable and convenient locations in our community."

The East Orange Mayor thus joined scores of leaders in New Jersey, Connecticut and Rhode Island in bidding for location of the market in their territory.

A Republican City Councilman, Fifth ward Councilman John R. Kidd, expressed the same notion at the City Council meeting Monday night, apparently without knowledge of the Mayor's letter.

"They don't need a great deal of land," Councilman Kidd said. "If we relocate the library you couldn't find a better site than

(Continued on Page 3)

in the federally-s row. Roger Lee about the enrichr simplest materials

Form Law Subca

CAC 2 Rep

Mrs. Alice Murray s mously elected to se at-large delegate to ing committee of the ity Action Committ plenary meeting last night. Eighteen citize on the anti-poverty body.

At the same meeti the East Orange Hi cafeteria, CAC mem to establish a perma Aid subcommittee to the need for legal ass the poor in East O county anti-poverty pects to be granted 000 for a legal aid and has designated F as one of the locat site office.

The city anti-pover tee also authorized it and steering body to people to represent th ange CAC on the Es Youth and Economic tion Commission. At Friday in the commi plans for a county body with direct re of each participating ity were confirmed.

The new commissio ted to be formed by federal deadline fo funds to the county ceiving assurance tha mission has been du ized. Other municipa represented initially Belleville and Montcl

A sheet distributed to the press entitled "Project DARE Proposed Plans and Procedures" indicated what the group wants the landlords to do.

"They will be asked to make known apartment vacancies as soon as they are aware of them," the DARE steering committee said. "Apartment owners would also be asked to post in lobbies a sign indicating that theirs is an "Equal Opportunity Apartment House" and to post "Vacancy" signs outside the buildings."

Harry A. Taylor, Jr., president of the Taylor firm and president of the state Association of Real Estate Boards, issued a statement in which he said:

"We are in the process of compiling a comprehensive account of the events and allegations which the DARE agency has made to date in an obvious attempt to cloud our reputation, and a full account will shortly be made available to press, radio and television services.

"The Taylor record with respect to apartment rentals in East Orange and elsewhere is based solely on an avowed policy of nondiscrimination by race, color, creed or national origin," he stated.

WILL TALK

A third major landlord named by DARE is C. E. & C. T. Shipman, 4 Brick Church plaza.

Shipman said yesterday that plans to meet with representatives of the group are being made. He said he has always instructed his employees to obey the laws against rental discrimination.

'As far as I know these are just trumped up charges," Shipman said. "I think they have no foundation or bearing."

A DARE spokesman said yesterday that 21 of the buildings visited by testers were owned or managed by one of these three firms. Affidavits have been or will be filed on 18 of these buildings, he said. Three were not included in the tests for different reasons: (1) no apartment was available, (2) rents ranged above $300 and (3)

(Continued on Page 4)

Mrs. Dowd Wins Sweepstakes Bit

She Is Consoled With Only $1,200

An East Orange woman won a consolation prize in the Irish Sweepstakes last week. Her horse Vijay didn't run, so they consoled her with $1,200.

"It's not much when you compare it with the other monies in the Sweepstakes," Mrs. Vera Dowd said.

Mrs. Dowd, a secretary in the city comptroller's office, said that she was grateful for a mix-up with the telegram notifying her of the windfall. "They sent the telegram March 17, but to the wrong address. I didn't receive it till the 23rd, and it was better that way, because if I'd received it on the 17th I'd have thought I had won the $140,000."

Even with these minor pickings, the mother of four said, was hard to take the news.

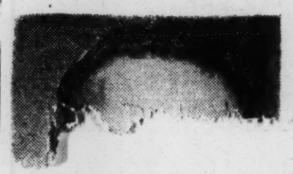
"You wouldn't believe it, was such a shock," she said. got such a pain in my chest."

The prize couldn't come at better time, for all the children are graduating this year. Mrs. Dowd, who lives at 82 Harrison street, has a son finishing St. Peter's College, a daughter at Oak Knoll School, Summit, a son at Our Lady Queen of Christians School and another son at Vernon L. Davey Junior High.

Though she has participated in games of chance before without success, Mrs. Dowd had the foresight to enter the Sweepstakes in the names of her four children. This will not only insure their getting the money for education it will also minimize the tax bite, she noted.

It's Official:

Drop 'Acting' From Title Of Planner



Mayor Kelly appointed Arthur S. Levy planning director of the city Monday.

The appointment of the young man who has served as acting planning director since July 1, was confirmed by the City Council in

Seniors' Is Subject

Representatives of the Housing Authority are scheduled meet with the City Council Monday to discuss the plans a proposed 174-unit senior zens' housing development Lenox avenue and Burnet str

Although the Council proved the two-acre site in executive director

500 Green Stamps Offered Free

A free offer of 500 S & H Green Stamps awaits our readers. All you have to do to get the 500 free stamps is sub-

dress, and telephone number of a responsible person be included when dates are sent in.

(on March 24) voted unanimously that the Civil Rights Commission of the City of East Orange go on record as endorsing Project DARE, and participate wherever possible by using our influence as a city body to educate through conferences on the general objectives of DARE."

The commission sent letters to all clergymen and city officials yesterday inviting them to a "leadership conference" Tuesday in Council chambers at City Hall.

"Project DARE has shown glaring inequities in the rental of apartments throughout our city . . . Any appraisal of the state of our city, however gloomy and however well — or badly — informed, is to be welcomed, if it has the healthy effect of alerting the citizens to the very real and very present problems of its survival."

Mayor Kelly

"I thought the city was already pretty well integrated.'

(The two Negro City Councilmen offered these remarks at the Council meeting monday night):

Councilman Thomas H. Cooke Jr.

"Without knowing all of the details concerning DARE's procedures, I am very happy to see them here . . . Comments you may hear concerning, 'Why East Orange,' are (answered) like anything else. First we should clean up our own backyard, and then go out to help someone else clean out theirs . . .

"There are many subtle ways to get around opening an apartment for a person, solely on the basis of religious or race background. There is legislation on the books for this, and once it is brought to the public, the good-thinking people will certainly come forth and support these efforts because they (DARE) are not a fly-by-night operation."

Councilman Alfred E. Brown

"I was surprised, not at the revelation of discrimination in apartment rentals in East Orange but that a group such as DARE was actually functioning. I have heard, 'Why East Orange and not surrouning towns?' but my answer is, 'Why not East Orange?'

"I am sure the Council is embarrassed by this condition of segregation and would like to eradicate it as soon as possible. The subtleties of Northern discrimination are no less hurtful to these discriminated against than the blatant discrimination in the South."

more than any other single city in the area.

Secondly, there is a strong local branch of the NAACP. The AFSC, a nationwide Quaker organization, had decided to work jointly with a civil rights organization, Ludlow said. The NAACP of the Oranges and Maplewood has its office at 565 Main street here.

Thirdly, Ludlow said, East Oranges is a city where high stand-

Registration Time For Public Schools

Registration of children who will enter East Orange kindergartens in September 1966 will be held Monday to Wednesday, April 11, 12 and 13, from 1:30 to 4 p. m., in all elementary schools.

Children who will be five years of age on or before December 31, 1966, are eligible for admission. No child will be registered, however, unless the following certificates are submitted:

Birth certificate, vaccination certificate, written medical evidence of immunization against diphtheria and poliomyelitis.

Thexton, coordinator of the Fair Housing Service Agency.

Usually Bias

"In no case was non-discrimination the rule," said Miss Thexton, who works for CHOICE, a clearing house for minority families or individuals seekng housing. CHOICE has been located for two years at the Urban League office in East Orange, 589 Central avenue.

"We all know very well there are whole blocks that have all-white apartment buildings. How could this possibly be so, after the law has outlawed it for five years?"

DARE officials say that the one-by-one process of adjudication of cases of housing bias which are brought to the attention of the state civil rights division is too slow and tedious.

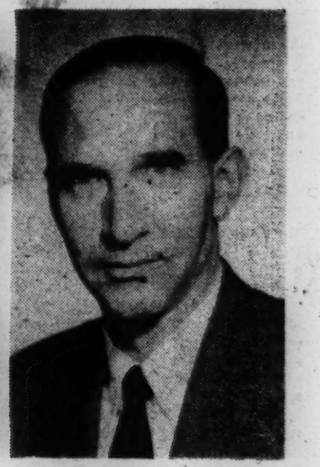
"We aim to give reasonable hope to Negro families that they can routinely rent apartments hoods without going through long legal procedures and frustrating delays, a sheet entitled "General Objectives" said. "These families do not wish to be pioneers, but just want to find a place to live."

Project DARE volunteers

(Continued on Page 3)

'Who's Who' Cites Two From College

MIRIAM GROSH



WOLFGANG M. ZUCKER

The names of Four East Orange residents — two of them Upsala College faculty members — are among the 8,600 new listings in the 34th edition of

was born in a town that no longer exists.

"Brandon, N.Y. was a lumber town," she explained this week. "Father was a home

Lynch

File
Misc. Projects

APR 19 1966

424 Waupelani Drive
O-205
State College, Pa.
16801.
April 18, 1966.

CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Due to your interest in the field of human relations, we have sent the enclosed material. This material exemplifies what we feel is a serious human relations problem at the Pennsylvania State University. Anything you feel that you can do about the situation here at Penn State will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,
Robert Gallagher
Robert Gallagher, Pres.
Student Union for
Racial Equality

File

Human Relations at Penn State

A questionaire was distributed to the Negro students at the Pennsylvania State University at the close of the Winter term 1966. In the fall term of 1965 a Student Opinion Survey was put out from the Office of Student Affairs Research. Because of the findings of these studies, the following policy is being inacted by the Student Union for Racial Equality: (SURE):

A. Educating the student about the problems of human relations. A program of education to include newsletters, lectures, and discussions at dormatories, fraternities, and sororities.

B. A program to foster integration in the social life of the University by encouraging greater participation by Negroes in campus activities. Thus hopefully paving the way to a stronger identification of Negroes with the University community.

C. A program to increase the number of Negro students at this campus. Projects are in the making to bring Negro high school students from areas such as North Philadelphia, the Hill and Harlem to the University Park Campus.

D. A program to bring about the elimination of housing discrimination in State College.

E. These programs will be extended to include foreign students.

The Student Union for Racial Equality distributed a questionaire to the Negro population at Penn State. Fifty two questionaires were returned. The basic findings and conclusions drawn from the evaluation of the questionaires were the following. Dissatisfaction was expressed about the small number of Negroes at University Park. The average estimate of the number of Negroes at University Park was 250. The results of a count taken by members of SURE <u>set the approximate number of Negro students at 208</u>.

The most "intolerable racial problem" given in answer on the questionaires was that of the social separation of the races, and as a result a general lack of communication between the races. The hypocracy of white students which is encountered by Negroes was stated as another "intolerable problem".

Other "intolerable problems" as expressed in the answers included: 1. the lack of Negro participation in campus activities; 2. the feeling of discrimination in such areas as grades, sports, and housing; 3. the ineffectiveness of civil rights advocates.

As a probable result of the above mentioned conditions, <u>approximately 70%</u> of those answering question #7 ("if you knew what you know now, concerning this university, would you still attend?") responded that they would not choose to attend Penn State. Seventy percent of these respondants said they would not want to attend a Negro college.

The Student Opinion Survey in the fall of 1965 from the Office of Student Affairs Research, indicated that thirty two percent of the student body would object to rooming with someone of another race. Seventy one percent of those responding to the questionaires did not feel that civil rights advocates were successful in reaching the student body.

Concerning foreign students this same survey found that 54% were not personally acquainted with a Penn State student from another country. Seventy three percent felt that a greater effort should be extended towards acquainting American and foreign students. Seventy three percent expressed a willingness to participate in a companion program in which they would serve as a general guide, advisor, and friend to a foreign student.

The feeling of the Student Union for Racial Equality is that the University has a responsibility in the field of human relations, especially as it effects the university community.

Therefore, we suggest that the University along with all other concerned organizations in the community establish committees to study the situation, and make recommendations to improve that situation. And further that such recommendations be instituted in workable programs as quickly as possibly.

However, due to the seriousness of the problem SURE feels that immediate steps must be taken by the University and other community groups.

Hal Koppersmith 304 E. 9th St
CA8-8969

Thursday April 21, 1966

Excerpts from remarks of Mr. Hal Koppersmith, Chairman of M.F.A-PACIQUE, MOBILIZATION FOR ACTION - POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE FOR INTEGRATED QUALITY EDUCATION; candidate for President of the U.F.T.-AFL-CIO, Local 2 and possible Reform Democratic candidate for State Senate, 24th District, Manhattan.

Among those who have commented favorably on his ideas for integrated quality education are: Dr. John Niemeyer-President of the Bank Street College of Education; Lloyd K. Garrison, Mrs. Rose Shapiro, Mr. Martin Mayer; Dr. Elliot Shapiro, Principal of PS 92 Harlem; whose biography appears in the Board of Education publication CALL THEM HEROES (Dr. Shapiro is a hero. This is about the only matter on which I and the Board agree);Charles Silberman, Editor of Fortune; Mr. Norman Thomas; the late Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt among others

Mr. Koppersmith is a teacher-in-exile since Dr. Bernard E. Donovan revoked his license last June despite pleas from the UFT and civil rights groups that it be restored, particularly in view of the drastic shortage of teachers in the ghetto and the hiring of inexperienced teachers. Mr. Koppersmith taught in ghetto schools for six years.

Mr. Koppersmith's license was revoked for attempting to protect the educational and human rights of 7 of his Negro students against an educationally unsound, illegal and discriminatory action of the Principal, Mr. Moses Lorenz of PS 138 Brooklyn, a MES school. Mr. Koppersmith played a significant role in writing the program for the UFT which was later adopted by the Board of Education and never carried out. Mr. Lorenz, Principal of this school does not understand either the letter or the spirit of the MES program.

****

Gentlemen: I am here today to accomplish three tasks:

1. Help you get reelected because the parents of schoolchildren will make you the fall guys for the coming failure of Dr. Donovan's so-called program of excellence.

2. Make this a free, safe and democratic city for my two young daughters and all children to grow up in

3. Save the city tens of millions of dollars

****

The present program of Dr. Bernard E. Donovan and his bureaucratic Bobbsey Twin, Al Shanker has resulted in the following:

1. deterioration of the quality of education in almost all High Schools; witness Taft High School

2. uncertainty and confusion throughout the system

3. little integration and where it has occurred we find integrated schools with segregated classes. This arrangement is far more damaging to all educationally and psychologically

4. Massive deterioration of ghetto schools

There is no general teacher shortage. Almost all of it is concentrated in the ghetto schools. It is worse this year than last year and will be even worse next year unless constructive steps are taken to avoid it.

Neither the Board, the Superintendent or the Union have a program to stop it.

The deterioration of quality education in ghetto schools is so great that even a sharp increase in tutoring and anti-poverty programs will not be able to repair it!

Since the Board contract with the UFT states that "the Board of Education has complete authority over policies and administration" these charges are directed first at the Board and its Superintendent.

If these policies continue the Harlems of New York will become Hues and Danangs.

Watts is waiting in the wings in Harlem and Bedford Stuyvesant. Violence will occur and the responsibility for this violence will lie with the Board and the political leaders charged with providing constructive solutions to the problems that face us today. Solutions presented in time.

***

KOPPERSMITH FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

In order to improve quality education for all children, we need the EYES of super vision- Independence, Integrity, Inspiration, Imagination, Innovation and Integration. KOPPERSMITH, THE FIGHTING TEACHER, the JOHN LINDSAY OF THE UFT has them all!

Dear Professional Colleague and Fellow UFT member,

As old timers in the UFT know, the last time I ran for President of the UFT, I received 123 QUALITY votes out of 10,000. Like Avis, I have to try harder-no ands, ifs or buts. I do not expect to win the election, but you and the UFT will win by voting for Koppersmith. I'd rather be right than President. A democratic President has to be somewhat wrong because he represents a consensus and not the truth. By voting for the loyal opposition candidate, KOPPERSMITH, you help the elected President become righter than he otherwise would become and this is necessary for the democrati growth of our professional trade union.

The present policies of Dr. Donovan and Lloyd Garrison are leading to:

1. deterioration of education in all schools
2. no significant integration
3. massive deterioration of education in ghetto schools

The failure of Dr. Donovan's policies has resulted in increased Hostilty between the white and Negro teacherbin the ghetto school, increased hostility of the ghetto community and the ghetto student toward the teacher.

The various anti-poverty programs are destroying the educational base- the regular classroom teacher in the regular day school-by pulling out hundreds of able classroom teachers for administration in these programs and for tutering which can well be done by someone else. Therefore, LIKE JIM CROW,DONOVAN MUST GO.

The problems raised here can only be solved by a constructive dialogue between the United Federation of Teachers which is approximately 90% white and all ghetto leaders plus a non-defensive attitude toward the complaints of the ghetto parent and the ghetto student.

As my personal contribution to the critical problems we face, I am writing two books:

UP THE UP STAIRCASE DOWN THE SUPERVISORS being the story of how bureaucratic supervision destroys educational democracy, teacher creativity and professional dignity- a major problem in all Big City public schools

ONLY FREE ENTERPRISE CAN SAVE PUBLIC SCHOOLS being a practical program for decentralized, integrated quality education without busing in New York

For a four page printed summary of the major ideasin these books send $1 to me at 309 East 4th St. N.Y. 10003, N.Y. It should be ready in a month.

What the teachers, parents and students in New York public schools need and want is CORRECT Vision not SUPERVISION! BAN THE BUREAUCRACY!

Dr. Donovan is busily building better mousetraps but neither the teachers or students in New York are rmats! What we need is better ideas.
VOTE FOR THE MAN WITH BETTER IDEAS KOPPERSMITH FOR PRESIDENT

****

Mail to Koppersmith Campaign Committee 309 East 4th St. N.Y. 10003, N.Y.
Enclosed find $1 for UP and ONLY
Enclosed find my contribution for $____to your campaign
I would like to help in the campaign:

Name_____

Home Telephone Number_____

School_____Boro_____

VOTE FOR THE MAN WITH THE BETTER IDEAS VOTE FOR THE LINDSY OF THE UFT

KOPPERSMITH IS THE MAN KOPPERSMITH with a K is the NAME!

Would like to discuss it
with you.
Only CORE can make this
work
Press won't touch it.

Hal K.

MCK

On May 11, 1966, Friends World Institute was granted tax exemption by the Internal Revenue Service. Tax-deductible contributions to the college project may be made as before to:

Committee on a Friends College
New York Yearly Meeting
Religious Society of Friends
East Norwich, N.Y. 11732

or if you prefer directly to:

Friends World Institute
East Norwich, New York 11732

sent for prospectus

COMMITTEE ON A FRIENDS WORLD COLLEGE

New York Yearly Meeting, The Religious Society of Friends

Harrow Hill, East Norwich, New York 11732
Telephone 516 MA 6-1310

Lee Haring
Chairman
Richard T. Lane
Vice-chairman
F. Robert Seaman
Treasurer
R. Ward Harrington
Secretary

Morris Mitchell
Director
Arthur Meyer
Assistant Director
Adolph G. Anderson
Director of Development
West European Center
Samuel Corson
Director of Development
East European Center
Robert Duckles
Director of Development
Latin American Center
Ruth Mary Hill
Director of Development
North American Center
Barbara Mitchell
Director of Studytravel
Mary-Cushing Niles
Director of Development
South and West Asian Center
Earle Reynolds
Director of Development
East Asian Center

Advisory Council
Horace Alexander
George Beebe
Clarence Q. Berger
Richard Broadman
Justus Buchler
Oliver J. Caldwell
Amiya Chakravarty
Jerome Davis
Gerard DeGre
Lawrence K. Frank
Edward G. Hefter
James C. Hill
John Hollister
W. Fontaine Jones
Franklin J. Keller
Thomas G. Lung'aho
Alexander T. MacNutt
Julius J. Manson
Sam Marble
William J. Meeneghan
Edwin C. Morgenroth
William S. Nelson
George D. Olds
Jean Picker
Alexander H. Prinz
Heberto M. Sein
Birgit E. Swenson
Raymond Swing
Harold Taylor
John A. Wallace
Roland Warren
Norman J. Whitney
S. Bernard Wortis

July 1, 1966

Dear Friend:

Your name has been suggested as someone who may wish to join in the formation of a new world college, concerned with human rights and peace. Sponsored by the Quakers of the New York Yearly Meeting, it is planned that students of all religions from all parts of the world will travel and study together at centers to be established on each continent.

The school opened last September in leased barracks at Westbury, New York, as Friends World Institute. It now has 51 students and 9 faculty. It is urgently in need of books for the library, science equipment, and expecially funds so that it may qualify for a college charter, acquire permanent centers, and offer scholarships to students of many races and nationalities.

This is a bold experiment in world education, a new approach to the understanding and solution of problems which lie at the root of war.

This venture is seeking support from people all over the world. For practical reasons, the initial thrust must come from the United States. Will you support this project?

Sincerely yours,

Ruth Mary Hill

Ruth Mary Hill
Director of Development

Spotlight on Education

Quakers Sponsor Unique Plan

By DR. BENJAMIN FINE
North American Newspaper Alliance

NEW YORK (NANA) — On Tuesday, 40 students enrolled in a unique international educational program will leave New York for Mexico where they will complete the second semester of their freshman year of college over the next six months.

After Mexico, the group will move on to Sweden, Russia, Japan, India, Africa, and Eastern Europe, spending six months in each country. The final semester will be completed back in the United States.

Started last September under the sponsorship of the religious Society of Friends, this ambitious, unprecedented undertaking in world education began with 40 students and nine faculty members as the Friends World Institute in a cluster of old, faded barracks at Mitchell Field, Long Island, a suburb of New York City. The installation will serve as a temporary campus until a permanent one is completed.

The objective of the program will be to learn how to understand the problems that man faces in a turbulent atomic era beset by wars, overpopulation, and poverty. The students will have the world as their campus.

When in full operation, the institute will enter 100 new students in regional centers in each geographical area. The faculty will remain the same at each center, but after six months the students will move by chartered plane to the next international campus.

In four years, there will be seven groups of 100 each at each center, making a polycultural group of 700 students from seven regions, living, working, studying and travelling together. The total enrollment around the world will be approximately 5,000.

Application is now pending with the New York State Board of Regents for status as a degree-granting college.

The second class of students, also expected to tal 40, will begin next week. Thereafter students will be admitted every six months. While the first group is in Mexico, the newcomers will spend a semester in this country. Six months from now the pioneer student body will go to Sweden, the class entering next week will go to Mexico, and the new group, yet to be admitted, will stay at Mitchell Field. In each country, students will be enrolled from that particular section of the world. Nothing like this has ever before been attempted in world education.

The students will not take any specific courses or credits. They will not be weighed down with quizes, term papers, grades, or report cards. The curriculum will consider the dangers of war, the cost of armaments, race prejudice, waste of natural resources, hunger, housing, education, population explosion, pollution of air and water, and poverty in the midst of affluence.

It is the search for the solutions of such problems the world around that comprises the heart of the world university program. According to Dr. Morris P. Mitchell, director of the institute and former president of the Putney Graduate School, this search leads toward a philosophy of education and of life "structured about emerging universal concepts of truth appropriate to resolving the terrible tensions of our time." Out of this problem-solving approach is expected to come a new and more potent scholarship.

During the first six months, the pioneer group of students found that learning could be exciting, stimulating and challenging, without coming from mummified textbooks. Seminars were conducted by visiting educators on housing, health, regionalism, arbitration, socio-economic planning, sexual morality, China, race relations, poverty, and the United Nations. A month ago, the students and faculty made an extended trip to Washington, through Appalachia and the Deep South, where they observed at first hand such matters as regional development, the T.V.A., civil rights, cooperatives, and Indian affairs.

While on their campus at Mitchell Field, each morning there is a one-hour study of Spanish to get the students prepared for their Mexican trip. A wide variety of evening classes has been organized to meet the interest of the students. Included are Spanish conversation, ceramics, photography, sculpture, painting; Quaker biography, poetry, music, and Shakespeare.

Since the college is under Quaker auspices, emphasis is placed on love of learning and moral and spiritual values. When I visited the institute one morning recently, the entire student body and faculty were engaged in silent devotion. We sat for half an hour, in silent contemplation. This was far removed from the over-eager hustle and rush found on the traditional campus. The simple peace and quiet were refreshing.

"You know, I wondered if I were really learning in this school," one of the students observed frankly. "But when I went home for a vacation after the first month I knew. My people and all my friends were just as they had been, while I was a different person!"

During the past five months, each student has kept a ":journal," describing step by step his intellectual and spiritual journal "into the frontiers of truth." On Saturday mornings, small groups of students with faculty assistance compare these journals and work on matters of content and expression.

At each center, the program will alter according to changed conditions. In Mexico, for example, groups of eight students will live in their tents while, under the direction of Terascan Indians, they learn to build adobe houses to be used for the six-month period. In Scandinavia, the students will attend school with students of their age. But they will also travel over much of Scandinavia, observing and studying social institutions, scientific developments, and the arts. In the Soviet Union, the students will not remain on one campus, but will travel throughout the country.

In four years spent traveling around the world, concentrating on seven of its vast regions, meeting everywhere the reality of local problems, seeing at first hand the advances or deterioration of 20th century civilization, the students should emerge internationally-minded, ready to work for a better world. That, at least, is the hope of those sponsoring the first world university of our time. May it succeed in its worthy goal.

Incidentally, the total annual cost, including travel, tuition and books, amounts to $2,625, or just about what it costs at a good campus college.

Dr. Benjamin Fine's article appeared February 26 and 27 in over 100 newspapers throughout the United States. It has been reproduced and is being distributed to our friends by the Committee on a Friends World College, East Norwich, New York, with the kind permission of Dr. Fine.

Legal Services for Poor

JEAN CAMPER CAHN
Attorney-at-Law
2900 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Tel: (202) 333-5468

May 18, 1966

Mr. E. Clinton Bamberger
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 19th Street, N.W.
Room 324
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Bamberger,

I have read the memorandum that Charles Edson sent to me enclosing the Tennessee and Florida Bar Resolutions.

As I read these Resolutions, they are an attempt to restrict the operation of extended Legal Services through the Office of Economic Opportunity by providing that each of these "Bars" and that the "Bar in general" be given a monopoly on all Legal Service Programs in this country. Not only do they want a monopoly in terms of running such a program, but they want basically the equivalent of the Governor's Veto that is provided in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 as regards the use of any funds of the Office of Economic Opportunity in their States. These Resolutions appear to base this claim to veto power on the absence of any mention of legal services in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 as amended. Based on these understandings, I am making the following statements in order that my point of view be made clear with regard to the Resolutions of these Bar Associations or any similar Resolutions which may be passed in the future and the attitude of the Office of Economic Opportunity as regards the so-called "organized Bar".

I strongly urge that the National Advisory Committee formally adopt a statement of policy rejecting the positions contained in the Tennessee and Florida Bar Resolutions.

I base this recommendation on considerations of legislative history and administrative practice -- on consideration of policy -- and on the practical lessons of experience.

Legislative History and Administrative Practice

The Legal Service Program was one of a number of programs launched by the Office of Economic Opportunity without any specific legislative mandate other than the general authority contained in Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act. It

shares this feature in common with Headstart, Upward Bound, Medicare Alert, Foster Grand Parents and other national programs.

It is subject only to the general mandate that there be maximum feasible participation of the groups or residents of the areas to be served in such programs. If anything, such a mandate militates toward giving the consumer of the service rather than the provider of such service a say. It hardly supports giving the "organized Bar" an initiating role or a veto power. If anything, it is the poor who, under the legislation, are to be encouraged to exercise an initiating power or in the alternative, a negative veto.

Apart from the actual statutory wording, the origins of Bar involvement in the Legal Service Program are particularly instructive with regard to the role which the Bar might properly and reasonably play.

As the person designated by Mr. Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Jack Conway, then Director of the Community Action Program, and Richard Boone, then Deputy Director of the Community Action Program, to seek the support and involvement of the American Bar Association I think I can say with authority that it was never contemplated that the organized Bar -- or any sub-group in the organized Bar -- would be given monopoly power, a veto, or automatic preference with regard to Legal Service Programs.

Initially such a monopoly was sought by the NLADA and promptly rejected.

Originally, it was thought by Messrs. Shriver, Conway and Boone that the academic world would provide the central direction for this program with eventual inclusion of practitioners and perhaps distantly, the inclusion of the power structure of the Bar. This seemed logical insofar as the impetus for Legal Service Programs had stemmed from an article in a scholarly law journal and subsequently from a series of meetings held with law professors.

However, it seemed clear to me, at the outset, that it would be necessary to involve the Bar. But this did not mean control by any particular State Bar organization, national organization, local, state or national legal aid agency or organization or any other single group -- whether judges, or prosecutors or defense attorneys or trial lawyers.

In short, we moved to secure both the support and endorsement of both the American Bar Association, the National Bar Association and the National Legal Aid and Defender Association. But at no time in the early days of the program was there any

mistaken belief about the existence of a monolithic "Bar" in the United States. In short, the task of involving the "Bar" was a problem of involving as many elements of the legal community as necessary and desirable in order to get a successful program off the ground.

Experience

Today in city after city and state after state, white Bar Associations (so classified regardless of whether there are some Negro members because of their disdain for the Negro practitioner and the quality of justice they have characteristically meted out to minority groups) are now declaring themselves as the appointed guardians of law and as the only fit body to control the creation or running of Legal Services Programs.

In this context, it is interesting to note most of the white Bar Associations from the South refrain from asserting their monopoly in such a way as explicitly to include minority "Bar" groups. It is only in the North that we see white Bar groups acting explicitly to exclude the minority Bar groups and to exclude minority Bar Associations from a significant role in the design and operation of legal service programs.

Experience reveals that Bar groups have acted to exclude minority practitioners -- and minority Bar Associations from major roles in the design and administration of legal service programs.

Experience further reveals that Bar groups have acted to exclude young practitioners of all races who show a commendable and individual zeal and a progressive spirit from designing programs which give the poor a significant voice and which promise to effect significant change.

Further experience shows that given a choice between utilization of the traditional legal and public defender organization (controlled by conservative elements of the Bar) and new organizations designed around client need and consumer demand and pushing for consumer control or an active consumer role, the organized Bar has tended consistently to favor the traditional agency -- legal aid agencies.

I hope I make it clear that I suspect the Tennessee and Florida Bar Associations were not simply aiming at keeping the people to be served from being involved in the program but they were also aiming at keeping control in their hands and making certain that other parts of the legal community would have to be second class citizens as regards their rights to participate in, to conduct, to control or initiate Legal Services Programs. I think that the racial issue has remained unstated for too long, therefore, I hope that you take this as a clear-cut statement from me that I find the attitude of the white "Bar" in this

country to be intolerable. And that further, if it ever came to an issue calling for judicial resolution, before the Supreme Court of the United States, I think that court might find that the support by the OEO of primarily white Bar Associations (as against other elements in the legal community) raises a great number of constitutional difficulties.

In addition, under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 which prohibits the use of financial aid or any other benefit under a federally aided program to any organization which carries on discrimination, some very specific practices are denoted which I think are particularly applicable to the present problems presented by the Florida and Tennessee Bar Association Resolutions:

* "Any difference in quality, quantity or the manner in which the benefit is provided

* Restriction in the enjoyment of any advantages, privileges or other benefits provided to others

* Different standards or requirements for participation

* Methods of administration which would defeat or substantially impair the accomplishment of the program objects."

In addition I think that we might well note that it is significant that these resolutions come out of Florida and Tennessee where there has been both total exclusion of minority groups or open opposition by the local Bar organizations even where a State Bar Association allows participation.

C.B. King in questioning Mike Rauh, a one time member of the staff of OEO on Legal Services Programs, called Mr. Rauh unrealistic in his failure to recognize that there were twin worlds in the legal community existing in the South that had no communication whatsoever with each other. I might add that Mr. Rauh's lack of realism is not peculiar to him.

Therefore, the call to ask for the sponsorship of many of the Southern Bars could do nothing but increase the problems of discrimination faced by Negro lawyers in the South.

The President of the NBA and all minority group members of the National Advisory Committee have been constantly relegated by the Director of the Legal Services Program to a position of exclusion or sitting on the sidelines with regard to all public presentations and determination of OEO Legal Services.

Policy

The purpose of the Legal Service Program was to break the barrier of poverty. President Johnson apparently intended that the strategy of the War on Poverty was going to be shaped by both an awareness and the use of the inter-relationship of social, economic, legal, educational and psychological tools. This program, in turn, was supposed to increase coordination and communication among all the various helping services including Legal Services. Accession to the Florida and Tennessee Bar Resolutions would strengthen the isolation and insularity of the legal profession and the rule of law.

To hand over control to the so-called "Bar" would be at odds with the purposes of the Legal Services Program. A monopoly of power in this area would tend to limit the main thrust of the Poverty Program to an attack on the economic dimensions of poverty and to divorce those attempts from an attack on the helplessness, and lack of effective representation of the poor. Such a polarization would be catastrophic. Both aspects of poverty go hand in hand and neither can be ignored nor separated.

In short, legal services which are intended, through vigorous advocacy to place the control of society in the hands of the people, should not be perverted into monopoly strengthening anti-democratic, elitist instrumentalities. This means that the legal services program, viewed as an integral and indeed central part of the War on Poverty, is intrinsically inimical to any form or degree of monopoly or automatic preference by Bar Associations.

In addition, one of the problems confronted by laymen in need of legal services is the necessity to increase the supply of legal services and increase the manpower supply. For the last 100 years the Bar Associations of the United States have controlled Legal Services and today both manpower and service for the poor of our society are in peculiarly short supply.

Nonetheless OEO has consistently refused to face up to the problem of the marginal lawyer and consider whether subsidization might raise both the quality of legal services and at the same time provide the poor with a greater supply of quality legal manpower than they can presently command either from the legal services program or from other existing institutions.

A grant by OEO should not strengthen the restrictive tendencies which inhere in the present structure of the organized legal profession. It should, if anything, have the opposite effect. It should be said again, that as a matter of policy and as a matter of constitutional and statutory interpretation, the support of legal services by OEO must not be carried out in

such a way as to subjugate any portion of the legal community or to create second class citizens within this community.

And, finally, legal services provided by the OEO must be at odds with any presumption in favor of any group so constituted as to be basically anti-democratic, non-responsive to new trends and respectively immune from pressure of the poor such as the legal profession as a professional guild happens to be.

Legislative History, Administrative Practice, Experience and Policy all support against giving any consideration to resolutions such as the ones passed by the Florida and Tennessee Bar Associations.

Sincerely yours,

(:Signed) Jean Camper Cahn

JCC:ng

Miss Pamela Reeves

May 21, 1966

Alvin E. Echols, Esq.
Executive Director
North City Congress
1616 North Broad Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19121

Dear Mr. Echols:

We have your letter of May 11, 1966 in which you requested our assistance in securing young men as instructors for your Police-Community Program.

We are passing this information on to our various chapters. We recently referred two good men to tother CEO programs and for this reason we are unable at this time to refer anyone to you.

You have a very good proposed program and I would be interested in knowing how things turn out.

Very truly yours,

F. B. McKISSICK
National Director

FBMcK/es

NORTH CITY CONGRESS

~~THIRTEEN FORTY-SIX~~ 1616 NORTH BROAD STREET • PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19121 • CENTER 2-6343

AUSTIN W. CULMER, JR. — *President*
MARY NEWTON — *Vice President*
KARLTON WILLIAMS — *Secretary*
EUGENE D. BROCKINGTON — *Treasurer*
ALVIN E. ECHOLS, ESQ. — *Executive Director*

LIVING · AND · WORKING TOGETHER

May 11, 1966

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. McKissick:

I write to seek your assistance in locating personnel for our forthcoming police-community relations Program, scheduled to start in June of this year.

The North City Congress is an independent community organization operating in North Philadelphia. It is formed of a large number of neighborhood groups and agencies desiring social change and community improvement. Our Police-Community Program, funded by the U.S. Department of Health, Education & Welfare, is a community-based approach to a problem which plagues us and all other large-city ghettoes.

Our Program consists of several major elements: (1) a Community Organization Component, operated by two professional and 12 indigenous field workers, which will establish and support Police-Community Relations Committees in six police districts. The Committees will have official recognition by the Police Department, and will have access to the local police command on matters of policy, inflammatory incidents, and general relations. The Committees will also sponsor and conduct police-community interaction at the neighborhood and block level. (2) A Training Component, which provides (a) an Institute for Policemen on community problems and social patterns; (b) a series of Workshops for neighborhood leaders in police structure, methods, responsibilities, etc.; and (c) a series of structured Intergroup Sessions between Institute-trained policemen and Workshop-attending neighborhood residents.

It is the Institute for Policemen which is of chief concern to us at this time. We have to find three excellent instructors for this training course. The individuals hired would have to be well grounded in the subject matter, intelligent, able to think fast on their feet, handle a sometimes tense small-group (classroom) situation, and be versed in effective adult education techniques. I have enclosed a copy

of the curriculum outline of the Institute, to give an idea of the range of material to be covered. The subject matter alone should indicate the basis for our need of "excellent" instructors, when considered in the light of fact that classes will be composed of groups of ten to fifteen police patrolmen.

We are also seeking a competent individual with some administrative experience and graduate-level education to administer the Training Component of the Program.

Employment for instructors is guaranteed for twelve months, and may be extended (depending on the success of refunding efforts at the end of the initial term of the Program); salary is $9,000.00 per year. Employment for the Training Component Director is guaranteed for fifteen months, with possible extension; salary is $10,500.00 per year.

I have written to you, among others, in the hope that you may know of some individuals--particularly young men--who might be interested in participating in this experimental Program. I should note that Police-Community Relations is by far not the only interest or activity of the North City Congress, and that anyone working in the Program would not have to feel isolated from more direct social action. Among other things, we are presently working to create a citywide coalition of independent neighborhood leaders (from the block level up) which could operate most effectively to change the face of things in this city.

Please ask any interested parties to contact me directly.

Thank you for your attention and consideration. I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Alvin E. Echols, Esq.
Executive Director

Encl: One copy, Institute Curriculum

AEE:vad

Police Brutality

NORTH CITY CONGRESS POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAM

EDUCATIONAL COMPONENT

CURRICULUM SPECIFICATIONS FOR THE COMMUNITY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR PHILADELPHIA POLICEMEN

DAY ONE

A. First Period: Background. (100 minutes including a 10-minute break)

1. Section One: Introduction to the history of the urban Negro ghetto. Similar trends in poor-white migration. (Approximately 55 minutes).

INSTRUCTIONAL METHOD: Lecture.

PURPOSE: The purpose of this section will be to establish the fact that Negroes have lived and worked in the North (and its cities) since the earliest days of American history; to limn briefly the socio-economic-political situation faced by Negroes in the South after the Civil War; to point out periods of greatest Northward Negro migration, and explain the economic causes therefor; to point to the (Primarily economic) similarities which have produced migratory movements of poor whites and Puerto Ricans to Northern cities; and to describe the situation and process in those cities which has effectively concentrated all three groups in their own ghettoes.

CONTENT: Materials and documentation available in The Newcomers, by Oscar Handlin; The Negro in the United States, by E. Franklin Frazier; and The Philadelphia Negro, by W.E.B. DuBois ** will be used to demonstrate the number and location of Negroes--slave and free--in Northern urban areas prior to 1865 (e.g., the fact that 5% of Philadelphia's population in 1790 were Negroes; Frazier, p. 190). Significant points derived from these sources will include: (1) earliest Negro residents of Northern areas were mostly slaves, and their locations within cities were determined by that of their owners; (2) the small size of Northern cities in the early 1800's determined that Negro residents lived, as did their owners, in fairly small areas; (3) that voluntary and legally required manumission (dates of relevant Pennsylvania laws will be supplied) produced a relatively substantial population of free Negroes in the North prior to 1865; (4) these Negroes, while limited in choice of occupation and residence, started, owned, and operated entrepreneurial enterprises of all sorts. Special attention will be paid to the situation in Philadelphia.

b. Materials and documentation available in An American Dilemma, by Gunnar Myrdal, and The Negro in the United States, by Frazier, will be used as resource backup to describe briefly the situation of the Southern Negroes after the Civil War: uneducated; family system impaired by the processes of slavery; without the means to buy land; untrained for any but agricultural labor; forced in large measure to return to dependency on landowners in the sharecrop system, or to become wards of the Federal Government through the Freedmen's Bureau.

c. The Strange Career of Jim Crow, by C. Vann Woodward, will be digested to provide a brief description of up- and down-swing of post-Civil War Negro participation in Southern society: the essential absence of Jim Crow laws and system until after 1877; the legal doctrine of "separate but equal" not established finally until 1896 (Plessy v. Ferguson); the fact that Negroes played an important political role until disenfranchisement began in earnest in the late 1890's and early 1900's. Information in The Negro in the United States and An American Dilemma will be used to describe briefly the prevalence of discrimination and segregation in the Northern States at this time.

d. The general pattern of Northward Negro migration will be described and illustrated with statistics in The Philadelphia Negro; The Negro in the United States; Crisis in Black and White, by Charles Silberman; and other sources; migration began from the border States; intensified as Jim Crow laws and systems grew in number and strength; but occurred in mass fashion primarily in certain periods for basically economic reasons; the first wave, from 1910 to 1920, was pulled by industrialization in the North, demands on industry and demands for labor caused by World War I and the Draft, and the boll weevil plague which ruined the cotton crop in the South in 1915-16; the tapering-off during the post-war depression; the resurgence until the Great Depression, and the tapering-off and reverse migration which took place during that period; the second great wave brought on by the industrial and labor demands of World War II; post-war migration drawn by continuing promise of well-paying industrial opportunities.

e. Economics-based analogies will be drawn with the waves and rates of Puerto Rican migration, and the increasing migration of poor-whites to the cities pro-

** To conserve space in this draft, full source references are contained only in the Bibliography, which follows the text.

duced by the increasing impoverishment of the Appalachian coal fields, etc. Materials from The Newcomers, by Handlin; and articles such as "Chicago's Hillbilly Ghetto," by Hal Bruno, and "The Hillbillies Invade Chicago," by Albert N. Votaw; and other sources will be used for this purpose.

f. The pattern of migratory urban settlement will be discussed: the fact that all migrants into American cities have settled near the "ports of entry" in the oldest parts of those cities, where housing has deteriorated to the point where original settlers have moved out and real estate values allow cheap rents; the changing residential pattern followed by European immigrants--out of the worst slums as income and social acceptance grow, leaving those slums for the next migrant wave; the fact that the Negroes and Puerto Ricans are the last migratory wave into the cities, and hence are inhabiting the oldest and worst housing "bequeathed to (them) by the Italians and Poles, the Slovaks and Jews of yesteryear who have left for greener pastures." (Silberman, Crisis in Black and White, p. 42); the fact that unlike other migratory groups, discriminatory patterns in housing and employment have caused this situation to become perpetual for non-whites, who may only live where other poor groups have lived already, and whose economic level precludes financial support or market for even segregated new housing.

This pattern will be specifically tied to Philadelphia through materials in The Philadelphia Negro; "Case Study of a Riot: The Philadelphia Story," by Lenora E. Berson; and materials from the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations (such as "Philadelphia's Non-White Population 1960," Report No. 1, Demographic Data), which show that the Negro population in Philadelphia was initially concentrated in South Philadelphia, and spread behind the movements of other immigrant groups. The primary direction of this spread was North across Market Street (remaining East of Broad Street), and then to the West and North throughout the North Central area of the city (a fringe of white residents still remains along both the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers which delimit this area on the East and West).

USE OF SPECIAL EFFECTS: The growth and spread of the Negro and Puerto Rican population in Philadelphia will be illustrated by the use of projected transparencies of charts prepared for the purpose. Slide projections of appropriate paintings, drawings, and old photographs will be used to illustrate various points brought out in this period--particularly stages in the Negro history under discussion. To further illustrate the Southern situation which Negroes sought (and seek) to leave behind, tape recordings of appropriate readings and quotations may be played. (An example of such material is found in the following letter from a would-be migrant in Granville, Miss., on May 16, 1917, as quoted by Silberman on page 27 of Crisis in Black and White:

Dear Sir:

This letter is a letter of information of which you will find stamp envelop for reply. I want to come north some time soon but I do not want to leve here looking for a job where I would be in dorse all winter. Now the work I am doing here is running a gauge edger in a saw mill. I know all about the grading of lumber. I have been working in lumber about 25 or 27 years. My wedges here is $3.00 a day, 11 hours a day. I want to come north where I can educate my 3 little children, also my wife. Now if you cannot fit me up at what I am doing down here I can learn anything any one els can. Also there is a great deal of good women cooks here would leave any time all they want is to know where to go and some way to go. please write me at once just how I can get my people where they can get something for their work. There are women here cookeing for $1.50 and $2.00 a week. I would like to live in Chicago or Ohio or Philadelphia. Tell Mr. Abbott that our pepel are tole that they can not get anything to do up there and they are being snatched off the trains here in Greenville and a rested but in spite of all this, they are leaving every day and every night 100 or more is expecting to leave this week. Let me here from you at once.

2. Section Two: The Urban Trap, Part I. Physical and environmental aspects of the ghetto--decay, non-conforming land uses, code violations, vacant properties, recreational facilities, taprooms, slum rents, overcrowding, etc. (Approximately 35 minutes).

INSTRUCTIONAL METHOD: Lecture with questions following.

PURPOSE: The purpose of this section will be to show the real effects of the non-white migrants' "last-in-line" position in terms of the poor quality of housing and community facilities that are left for them, and the governmental sins of ommission and commission which have worsened their environment.

CONTENT: The primary source material for this section will be abstracts of Philadelphia data from the U. S. Census for 1960, interpretations of that data such as found in "Case Study of a Riot"; the City's "Community Renewal Program"; Bulletins of the Commission on Human Relations, etc.; and the official tabulations and records of the Liquor Control Board, the Department of Licenses and Inspections, the Board of Education, the Philadelphia Housing Authority, etc.

b. The specific points which this section will bring out will include: the fact that few residential buildings in the area of concern are less than thirty years old, and many are close to 100 years old; that the greatest majority of these buildings were used by their original occupants as single-family dwellings, but that close to one-half were cut up into apartments by owners and real estate men who sought to realize the greatest possible profit from the in-migrant non-whites, and that the resultant increase in population density has been quite detrimental to the environment in terms of space for living and load on community facilities; that nonexistant, unrealistic, or unenforced population density and space-per-person-ratio standards have allowed such things as the creation of six apartments which may rent for as high as $18.00 per week in houses built for one family (present city standards will be defined, and examples of such "human storage" buildings will be listed and described); the number of recreation centers, parks, libraries, swimming pools, etc., in the area of concern will be shown to be inadequate by comparison to the amount of similar facilities available (on a percapita basis) to residents of other areas of the city.

c. The inadequate role of ameliorative governmental efforts in the area will be demonstrated through the following categories of factual information: the continued existence of overcrowded, dilapidated school facilities in the ghetto matched by the production of new schools in other areas which are not used at full capacity; the shortage of standard low-income housing (set at 60,000 units by the city's Community Renewal Program study) paralleled by the overabundance of high-income housing; the location of large public housing projects in densely populated neighborhoods with overcrowded schools and community facilities; the absent or inadequate standards, and fragmented enforcement situation whcih have allowed bars and taprooms to establish in the area of concern in numbers in excess of the prescribed limit (i.e., the law now requires that the rate of bars per number of people in any area not exceed 1,500 to one; in the 22nd and 23rd Police Districts, the actual rate is 855 residents for each bar); land formerly occupied by low-income housing cleared for middle-income housing with no parallel production of new low-income housing; zoning variances which have allowed small factories, sidewalk garages, etc., to locate on residential blocks; a trash collection system which needs review in light of the generally dirty and littered appearance of the ghetto; the prevalence of abandoned cars and trucks which the city is supposed to take away but does not.

USE OF SPECIAL EFFECTS: Specific examples of poor housing, non-conforming land uses, and other blighting influences, poor trash collection, etc., will be or have been gathered by means of North City Congress staff activity and efforts of member community organizations. Slide photographs will be made of certain of these examples, and the slides will be projected as appropriate during this section. For instance, on the 700 Block of N. Uber Street, all but one of the houses are single-family dwellings. Sharing the block are one "sidewalk garage," one small factory, and a truck loading dock for another business. At 22nd and Jefferson Streets, a high- and low-rise public housing project is going up; across the street on one side is an old, overcrowded elementary school; another side faces a block of largely vacant stores; another, a block with much derelict housing; and one block away is a strip of speakeasies and numbers establishments. Also, many examples can be found of four-corner taproom intersections. Transparency charts of the locations of community facilities will also be projected.

B. Second Period: The Urban Trap, Part II (160 minutes, including 30-minute lunch period and 10-minute break)

1. Section One: Urban society and the ghetto dweller--the cycle of failure. The interaction of poor education, poor housing, and poor employment opportunities, intensified by racial discrimination. The failure and inadequacy of welfare measures to break the cycle. (Approximately 50 minutes)

INSTRUCTIONAL METHOD: Lecture and discussion

PURPOSE: The purpose of this section will be to show how the "trap" of essentially permanent lower-class status is closed around the non-white and the poor migrant to Philadelphia and other urban centers, and his descendants, by the interaction of physical and social factors.

CONTENT: This section will trace the probable path of development of the Negro child of low-income parents who reside in the ghetto: the child attends a de facto segregated "neighborhood" elementary school; the school is old, lacking adequate play space; school equipment is old; textbooks are old, and in short supply; (examples will be drawn from present situations in Philadelphia schools); the textbooks do not apply to his environment--they may even be about white children in the suburbs; the child's home is small, probably crowded; at any rate there is no money at home to provide adequate study facilities, least of all a home library; the school has no library, and the branch public library is many blocks away; the parents in all likelihood have less than a high-school education; there is a 33.7% chance that his father will be absent from his family (Pettigrew, A Profile of the Negro American; p. 17); his parent(s) are not prepared to advise and direct their child in his education; by the end of elementary school, the child is behind his white peers by two or more years in general education; (studies produced by Dr. Kenneth Clark and others, such as the following cited by Hentoff, in The New Equality, will be summarized here in support of the likelihood of this contention:

> In 1955 . . . a Public Education Association study revealed that sixth-and eighth-grade pupils in predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican schools (in New York City) were more than two grades behind their equivalents in largely white schools. By 1962, according to a follow-up study by the Urban League of Greater New York, that gap had widened. In some cases the Negro children were at least three grades behind. (p. 139).);

but the school system passes the child on, since it does not have proper facilities to give him (and all the others like him) special treatment; as the child progresses into Junior High School, the educational equivalency gap can only widen; at this point in time, the child enters the bottom fringe of the world of the gang and corner group; previously, he has played in the street or on vacant lots, in alleys; now he is old enough for organized sports--too old to play with children--but he has few if any places to go; there are no parks in North Philadelphia, and relatively few recreation centers; if the nearest recreation center is more than a few blocks from his home, it may be out of his "territory", and he is at the age where he will risk a fight merely by going into the place. Settlement houses, other agencies, PAL gymnasiums offer opportunities for sports and supervised recreational activity, but they cannot handle everyone--especially boys from outside their neighborhood.

At any rate, the boys on his corner, or on the next corner(s), are the most important of his peers--he must either be accepted by them, prove himself to them, or they will devil and fight him; his parents, involved in their own concerns, have little active communication with him--they want him to do well, make out well, but their lives are centered in the adult world and their circle of friends and acquaintances; in the end, the strongest feeling they pass on to him is their desire that he give them no trouble, act "right," and stay out of trouble himself; and so the corner group (whether hostile gang or not) becomes the most important focus of the boy's life.

At this stage of life, when the boy is involved in establishing himself on the street, learning to be tough enough to stand up (and if possible, stand out) in "the dozens," and in the physical testing and general ranking which establishes status on the corner, he begins to come under the close watch of the police; even if he has learned from his parents to respect the police, his peer-group environment almost demands that he reject and revile them now--they are one form of challenge to him on his "claim," his group's corner or hanging place; and with the scarcity of recreation areas, the smallness and crowdedness of houses, there is a real meaning to this claim of space on the street by juvenile groups--where else is there to go? His first contact with the police, for whatever reason, is likely to be colored "bad" from his point of view.

At this stage in life, also, the boy begins to notice the large number of older boys and adults who also hang around; he begins to learn that there are somehow not enough jobs available for those who want them; he sees older boys with high-school educations, and men with work experience, who cannot get work with decent pay (Commission on Human Relations studies put the Negro unemployment rate at 30% or higher; the Negro juvenile rate higher still); he hears about "last hired, first fired"; he learns that various trades, businesses, and unions are closed to him because of his color (cases and statistics from the Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations will be cited in support of this point); he begins to appreciate fully who "Mister Charlie" is, who "The Man" is; he learns that unless he can somehow begin to perform excellently in the school which is by now almost meaningless to him, he cannot expect to win any economic status on the basis of his diploma; he learns that older boys revile the school, that many have dropped out because it means nothing to them in real terms; he

learns that the vocational education courses open to him are relatively few and behind the times (examples will be cited from the Philadelphia vocational education situation); he learns that the great majority of the jobs which he can count on qualifying for are low-paying and menial; and he must impress the older boys with his savvy and "worldliness"-- must accept their views of things, and perhaps even attempt to "go them better" in rejecting adult institutions set up to assist him.

Growing up on the street, he is likely to notice that the most prosperous individuals around on the local scene have some sort of shady connection--numbers, illicit liquor, etc. He will find that liquor and drugs are available for him if he wants them, and that on the street, not to use them is perhaps not "cool". He will see that, contrary to what teachers and preachers have told him, the so-called "bad" things in life can be rewarding in money and status. He respects his elders--not in a "yessir" fashion, but because they got there before him, and he will learn how to get along by watching and emulating them. He will be torn between the rough, cynical values of the street and the more usual values of the home. In the end, he will accept both in some measure. (It will be emphasized that in a milieu where verbally administered education fails as a socializing force, both in the family and in the school, children learn most of their values and behavior patterns by watching and emulating "respected others.")

Because he accepts both, and because his parents will urge him strongly either not to drop out of the high school he has entered, or to transfer to a vocational school, he may go either way at this point in his life. The determining factor is simply where his strongest attachments lie--in his group or at home--and the prevailing opinion on the subject which he encounters there. Many go both ways, but even those who learn a trade, marry, settle down to a relatively stable life, and produce a family, have not necessarily escaped the trap: their educational skills are lacking, and this lack will prevent them from rising to the top of their trade; they have no source of savings or credit with which to start their own business; they are subject to "last hiring, first firing" in many places of employment; they will not qualify for steady advancement on jobs (such as civil service) which require language and mathematical skills; they will find that their low income, in conjunction with discriminatory real estate practices, prevents them from living elsewhere than in the ghetto; they will pay higher rent there for relatively less space--and they will likely pay rent all their lives, for if they seek to buy a house, they will find that mortgage money and fire insurance are often not available in their residential area; they will buy low-quality goods at inflated installment interest rates; they may be forced to buy low-quality foods for standard prices; and throughout all the time, they will see the television, the movies, the magazines, that advertise and praise the middle class, white, style of life--the suburb, the tidy new house, the car(s), the drinks and (apparent) easy times, the vacations, the friendly insurance men, bank officers, etc. They will see what they have, where they have to live--and they will compare it with what the outside world appears to have and to value, and they will be dissatisfied, and in all likelihood permanently frustrated because it is not in their power to move up and out, and it is in the power of the white majority to stop them if they try. And those who dropped out, who are spending their adult lives as sweepers, delivery "boys", etc., will feel this pressure even more.

And because they live where they live, and have the poor education that they have, and are served by the poor schools and inadequate facilities that mark the ghetto, and because they are still affected by racial discrimination, they will be essentially helpless to prevent their children from entering into the same cycle and growing up into just one more ghetto generation.

Finally, it will be noted that welfare measures (such as ADC, unemployment compensation, social security, and public assistance) do not solve the problems at hand nor break the cyclical pattern for those most in need; instead, they provide a bare subsistence (albeit sometimes in excess of the low wages available to people such as deserted mothers with no work training) which has the net result of making recipients dependent on the government rather than enabling them to better their own situation.

USE OF SPECIAL EFFECTS: Appropriate slides and transparencies will be shown, including projections of statistical charts showing incidence of unemployment by area of the city; diagrams showing the locations of recreational and other community facilities; locations of schools accompanied by their enrollement figures, etc.

2. <u>Section Two: The effects of the cycle of failure on family structure</u>

and cultural values. The generation of working- and lower-class subcultures. The peer-group society. (Approximately 50 minutes).

INSTRUCTIONAL METHOD: Lecture and discussion.

PURPOSE: The purpose of this section will be to show the real social effects of life on the bottom of society, especially as they concern Negroes, and to demonstrate that the pattern involved is pervasive in all groups with the same relative amount of income and social status. The focus will be on the somewhat differentiated value system of the lower class, and peer-group dependencies which supplant to some extent familial socialization functions. In regard to lower-class Negroes, additional emphasis will be placed on the historical patterns and continuing employment situation which determine the often observed pattern of matrifocality in the Negro family.

CONTENT: Basic source materials for this section will be: The Urban Villagers, by Herbert Gans; "The Lower-Class Value Stretch," by Hyman Rodman; and "Lower-Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," by Walter B. Miller. Socioeconomic class structure will be defined according to Gans, i.e.: classification is established on the basis of observed behavior patterns and intrafamilial parent-child relationships rather than by income levels, place of residence, etc. In short, the lower and working classes are characterized by complete attachment to age- and sex-graded peer groups--families are essentially physical loci in the circles of various separate peer groups; the middle class is characterized by child-centered family patterns, and by more discrete family units; the upper class is characterized by adult-centered, child-oriented family patterns, and discrete family units. It will be pointed out that the peer group functions as a basic part in the ego (self-evaluating psychological aspects) of its members, as well as a communal superego (general opinions, behavior controls, etc.). Peer group members are thus dependent on their group membership for a fair part of their mental stability; hence, non-members of the peer group, and particularly non-members who do not support its values, are "outsiders"; the world of the middle class, whose values are those on which government is largely based, is an "outside world" which the lower class regards with suspicion and potential hostility as a world which will take advantage of, attempt to control, and attempt to change the peer group and its members.

It will be pointed out that lower- and working-class life generally takes place in a manic-depressive (up and down) pattern: the long wait, or period of work, during which the individual moves with little money through the narrow range of gratifying activity afforded him by his milieu, followed by the brief "blow-out", the party, etc. (Documentation for this point is provided by Miller and Gans).

It will be pointed out that matrifocality is a feature of lower-class life everywhere, i.e.: when the husband/father is uneducated, unskilled, etc., and is at the mercy of the vagaries of the low-income job market, the similarly uneducated, unskilled wife/mother often has better opportunity for steady employment in domestic service; that at any rate, the values attached to marriage in lower-class life are not as binding and restrictive as in the middle and upper classes (i.e., the pattern of serial monogamy); that the net result of these patterns is that the mother becomes the dominant family personality, and her maternal functions become the greatest force for stability in the family structure; the father in many cases may be absent, or an infrequent visitor to the home. It will be reemphasized that the effects of the slavery system, discrimination against Negro males in most non-demeaning forms of employment, the traditional high acceptability of Negro women as domestic workers, etc., has made this pattern particularly true of the Negro lower class.

Discussion of the value-patterns of the lower classes as they differ from those of the middle class will be initially drawn from the previous discussion of the "cycle of failure": the fact that life in the ghetto requires a good deal of toughness, resiliency, and cynicism of those who wish merely to get along; that the obvious difference between America as advertised and America as experienced in the ghetto produces a natural dislocation of attachments: ghetto residents are Americans, sharing the basic and general American ideals and values (freedom, democracy, etc.), but they are also acutely aware of the fact that theirs is another America than that gleaming picture which is most frequently touted. The theoretical construct for this dislocation of values is expressed and expanded in "The Lower-Class Value Stretch" by Hyman Rodman:

> Lower-class persons in close interaction with each other and faced with similar problems do not long remain in a state of mutual ignorance. They do not maintain a strong commitment to middle-class values that they cannot attain, and they do not continue to respond to others in a rewarding or punishing way simply

on the basis of whether these others are living up to middle-class values. A change takes place. They come to tolerate and eventually to evaluate favor--ably certain deviations from the middle-class values. In this way they need not be continually frustrated by their failure to live up to unattainable values. The resultant is a stretched value system with a low degree of commitment to all the values within the range, including the dominant, middle-class values. This is what I suggest as the major lower-class value change, rather than a change in which the middle-class values are abandoned or flouted. (p. 209)

Miller, in "Lower-Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency" identified the following "focal concerns" of the lower class, which constitute the values, or value-forming forces which cause the "stretch" described by Rodman:

1. "Trouble"	"law abiding behavior"	(or)	"law-violating be-havior"
2. "Toughness"	"physical prowess, skill; 'masculinity'; fearlessness, bravery, daring"	(or)	"weakness, ineptitude; effeminacy; timidity, cowardice, caution"
3. "Smartness"	"ability to outsmart, dupe, 'con'; gaining money by 'wits'; shrewdness, adroitness in repartee"	(or)	"gullibility, 'con-ability'; gaining money by hard work; slowness, dull-wittedness, verbal maladroitness"
4. "Excitement"	"thrill; risk, danger; change, activity"	(or)	"boredom; 'deadness', safeness; sameness, passivity"
5. "Fate"	"favored by fortune; being lucky"	(or)	"ill-omened; being unlucky"
6. "Autonomy"	"freedom from external con-straint; freedom from super-ordinate authority, inde-pendence"	(or)	"presence of external constraint; presence of strong authority; dependency, being 'cared for'"

Finally, the concept of a lower-class culture, or subculture, will be de-fined and discussed as a social manifestation removed from the realm of guilt and blame; it will be emphasized that the term subculture describes a social system which (in this context) has developed in response to relative deprivation; ever-present threats of having less means than subsistence requires; inescapable dis-crimination and segregation; inadequate education; little or no control over phys-ical or social environment; etc. It will be emphasized that the focal concerns described above, and other aspects of lower-class life which are at variance with the standard middle-class picture, are not negative, hostile attachments: that people exist in the best way that they can in even the most unfortuante situations, and that values ascribed to the lower class such as "toughness," "authonomy," etc., represent positive attachments on the part of their holders. The system is not a deliberate, spiteful, "lashing-out" at the middle class.

3. Section Three: The color-blindness of the cycle of failure; urban poor-white problems in urban areas. Race as an ancillary, rather than basic factor in ghetto problems. (Approximately 20 minutes).

INSTRUCTIONAL METHOD: Lecture

PURPOSE: The purpose of this section will be to reinforce the contention that lower-class subcultural patterns are "natural," in that all types of people (in-cluding foreigners) are bound up in them, and to establish definitely that this subcultural pattern has nothing to do with racial characteristics.

CONTENT: The Urban Villagers, by Gans; "Chicago's Hillbilly Ghetto," by Bruno; and "The Hillbillies Invade Chicago," by Votaw, will be digested to produce a picture of the ghetto life of white Americans, and to demonstrate that in all important respects, its behavioral aspects are like ghetto life among Negroes. All

specific examples of lower-class value and behavior patterns described or discussed in relation to the Negro ghetto will be matched with similar examples from the white ghetto.

USE OF SPECIAL EFFECTS: For Sections Two and Three. Again, the use of specially prepared slides to emphasize, clarify, or illustrate teaching points will be made. Additionally, appropriate tape-recorded descriptions of ghetto life, local opinions, etc., may be used if obtainable and appropriate.

C. Third Period. Class, Subculture, Crime and Delinquency. (130 minutes with a ten minute break).

1. Section One: Gang delinquency as one natural result of lower-class values and ghetto social patterns. The effect of family structure on youth development; absent fathers and delinquent sons. Rejection of governmental authority (as well as other authority) which makes law enforcement difficult. (Approximately 90 minutes)

INSTRUCTIONAL METHOD: Lecture and discussion.

PURPOSE: The purpose of this section will be to throw light on those processes and patterns inherent in lower--class and ghetto society which contribute heavily to the formation of delinquent individual and group behavior patterns, and those aspects of the social atmosphere which support or ignore some forms of delinquent and criminal behavior.

CONTENT: The primary sources for this section will be: "Lower-Class Culture as a Generating Milieu of Gang Delinquency," by Miller; "The Lower-Class Value Stretch," by Rodman; The Urban Villagers, by Gans; and A Profile of the Negro American, by Thomas F. Pettigrew.

Principal points of these works will be coordinated in the following manner: the functional nature of the peer-group society determines that it will tend to reject values (and holders of values) not included in its purview; since lower-class values do include basic elements of standard middle-class values on a generalized plane, rejection only applies to those agencies and persons who enforce (or who have the power to enforce) strict middle-class values on the lower-class; preeminently included in this category is the police department and individual policemen. The self-centered lower-class outlook, in combination with the value stretch described by Rodman, results in a bifocalized view of the policeman at work in the ghetto: when he is needed for assistance, to catch or restrain someone who has injured a peer-group member, then he cannot do enough (including physical violence to the suspect) and may well be suspected of not exerting himself; when the policeman is not needed, then he will be viewed as a potential threat to the status quo, who will hand out parking tickets, arrest people for being drunk, and who will support repossession and eviction activities. The fact that the policeman is not legally empowered to help the lower class fight off the things which the "outside world" does to it (merchandising overcharges; landlords who will not exterminate rats or fix plumbing; too-high rents for too-small space; etc.) but can and does prevent peer-group members from striking back at outsider oppressors in lower-class ways, guarantees that he will be looked at as an outsider agent. General attachment to the value of "law-abiding behavior" and respect for the law determine that the policeman will not usually be purposefully hindered in performance of his duties (except when racial hostility enters the picture); but lower-class views generally determine that he will not be purposefully helped. The net result, including such phenomena as the withholding of information by those not personally involved in the effects of a crime, is often detrimental to law enforcement.

The peer-group society is marked by an absence of communication and empathy between adults and children, except in the ramifications of matrifocality which establish (especially oldest) daughters as surrogate mothers. Male children in particular are left to find and establish their own place in society--in a world dominated by adults who look on them as immature and unworthy of equal consideration. Thus gangs, or hanging groups, find it necessary to try to play the "game" of the older men, as they view and understand it, better or more strongly than the older men do. In this context, the focal concerns of "toughness," "smartness," "autonomy," "excitement," etc., have very important bearing on the behavior of juvenile groups. Trying to be tougher, smarter, more autonomous, and find more excitement than the older men around almost guarantees that the young male groups will come in the way of "trouble" with a fair amount of frequency. Miller emphasizes that for lower-class youth, decisions on whether or not to engage in various forms of marginally licit or illicit behavior (as well as genuinely delinquent activity) are made on the basis of whether or not such behavior will bring "trouble"--arrest, punishment, etc.,

rather than on the basis of the "morals espoused by the middle class."

Miller and Pettigrew also emphasize the sex-role difficulties visited on many lower-class boys by the prevalance of absent fathers and the matrifocal patterns of their society. Male juvenile groups, whether "fighting" gangs or not, are continually engaged in establishing masculinity. Miller describes such groups as often the most stable and solidary groups adolescent males have belonged to, and finds that they often provide the first real male role-learning experience. Pettigrew, in A Profile of the Negro American, describes the sex-role confusion which often attends growing up in the ghetto:

> Sex-role adoption is a second personality area which distinguishes children from intact homes from those in homes without fathers. One study found that five-to-fourteen-year-old Negro youths without fathers experience unusual difficulty in differentiating between male and female roles. Thus, boys and girls without fathers described themselves in very similar ways, while boys from whole families described themselves in considerably more masculine terms than girls from whole families. . . Another investigation of high school students reported far sharper differences between the sexes in their values among white than among Negro children. This occurred primarily because the Negro children more often came from families without fathers than did the white children.
>
> Studies of white American boys whose fathers left them during World War II and of Norwegian boys whose sailor-fathers ship out for years at a time report related phenomena. These father-deprived boys are markedly more immature, submissive, dependent, and effeminate than other boys both in their overt behavior and fantasies. . . . As they grow older, this passive behavior may continue, but, more typically, it is vigorously overcompensated for by exaggerated masculinity. Juvenile gangs, white and Negro, classically act out this pseudo-masculinity with leather jackets, harsh language, and physical "toughness." (pp. 17-18)

Miller, additionally, found a correlative general extension of dependency among members of the lower class:

> On the overt level there is a strong and frequently expressed resentment of the idea of external controls, restrictions on behavior, and unjust or coercive authority. (p. 12) But Many lower class people appear to seek out highly restrictive social environments wherein stringent controls are maintained over their behavior. (p. 12)(e.g., mental hospitals, armed forces, prison, etc.)
>
> Since 'being controlled' is equated with 'being cared for,' attempts are frequently made to 'test' the severity or strictness of superordinate authority to see if it remains firm. If intended or executed rebellion produces swift and firm punitive sanctions, the individual is reassured, at the same time that he is complaining bitterly at the injustice of being caught and punished. Some environmental milieux, having been tested in this fashion for the 'firmness' of their coercive sanctions, are rejected, ostensibly for being too strict, actually for not being strict enough. This is frequently so in the case of 'problematic' behavior by lower-class youngsters in the public schools, which generally cannot command the coercive controls implicitly sought by the individual. (p. 13)

Thus, the combination of the "value stretch" and the defensiveness of the peer group (at all levels) combine to create a situation in which forms of delinquent behavior are tolerated more readily than in the middle class, and their perpetrators may be "protected" from the law because they "haven't done anything really wrong."

The adolescent ghetto youth, whose chief parental reference is often female, whose place in society is left for him to define, and who must struggle to establish his masculinity, is driven to exaggerate the general "toughness" he so often sees exhibited by adult males around him. In the course of the strenous pursuit of the status and belonging which "valued" behavior will bring, he is often brought close to the edge of "trouble" in the form of punishable delinquent or criminal activity. Whether or not he indulges in such activity (aside from situationable variables) depends on the attitudes and common purpose of his primary reference group, which is as likely (or more likely) to be his corner gang as it is his family. The hostility range of juvenile gangs is great--not all by far are aggressive, fighting groups. Their prevalence, however, is guaranteed by the extensiveness of the impoverished environment and peer-group society in the area in which they proliferate, as is their attachment, albeit with varying intensity, to the visibly glamorous "tough" lower-class values which are sanctioned in the street

where they "live." But a most significant point about this attachment, in terms of possibilities for redirecting gang behavior, is that it is positively directed and hence is subject to refocussing if opportunities and contacts can be provided which establish the attractiveness and worth of other values in terms meaningful to the boys involved.

Adding to the natural latent hostility toward authority contained in lower-class values is the weight of racial antipathy generated by the traditional pattern of white suppression of Negroes. The white policeman operating in the ghetto suffers in his community relations from both sources of hostility. The Negro policeman may be looked upon as a traitor.

Finally, a point to be emphasized in terms of police work is Miller's observation that lower-class people, while protesting the exercise of authority upon them, tend to seek out restrictive environments in which they will be "taken care of." (i.e., if nothing else, the policeman can at least know that many people who revile him while being arrested in all likelihood are compensating for a repressed desire to be controlled).

The section will be completed with a formulation by the instructor and the class about the meaning of such class value patterns for the ghetto policeman. The instructor will seek to establish the following basic points in cooperation with the policemen present:

(1) The policeman working in the ghetto should take care in his speech, behavior, appearance, etc., to exhibit calmness, strength, and readiness rather than fierceness, toughness, and knowledge of his role-vested power.

(2) Under no conditions should the policeman retaliate in kind to verbal abuse, since such retaliation will project him into a personality contest on the citizen's home ground; he will seem to observers (and will in fact be) out of his element, and he will be more likely to lose crowd support.

(3) Under no conditions should the policeman retaliate to verbal abuse with physical violence, as such retaliation will fit not only the pattern of the loser in "the dozens," but the expected pattern of arbitrary exercise of authority by the outside world on the peer group, and the traditional exercise of power by whites on Negroes. In any case, the policeman concerned will appear to onlookers to be weak, to be hiding behind his badge, and he will be more likely to lose crowd support.

(4) Initial approaches to crowds, routine approaches to possible suspects, juvenile gangs, etc., should be carried out in calm, confident, polite tones of voice; orders should not be snapped out harshly; approaches should not register suspicion and contempt. A hostile challenge by a policeman is like a hostile challenge by a gang.

USE OF SPECIAL EFFECTS: No special effects other than possible use of transparency charts to record and emphasize theoretical points are planned for this section.

2. Section Two: The Indeterminate relationship between class values and specific behavior. (Approximately 30 minutes).

INSTRUCTIONAL METHOD: Lecture and discussion.

PURPOSE: The purpose of this section will be to emphasize the fact that the lower-class values discussed, regardless how thoroughly applicable to any individual, are not absolute behavioral determinants; that "lower class" in the sense discussed is a term which only measures people on the basis of observed behavior or expression, and cannot be used freely to describe the residents of North Philadelphia; that the prevalence and operations of Civic Neighborhood organizations is evidence that many residents do not subscribe at all to the detrimental aspects of those values; that hostility toward authority does not equate to disrespect for law and order; that the desire for law and order in the North Philadelphia community is strong and pervasive; that lower-class values are perhaps most significant in police-community relations in terms of the effect they have on public opinion in times of stress.

CONTENT: Stress will be placed on the situational variables which determine behavior in typical situations, with a primary focus on the effect of advocates and onlookers; the respected advisor; the presence of strangers as a deterrent to self-centered behavior; anticipatory acquiescence; lack or presence of physical or mental

strain; and in all American value systems, a basic undercurrent of knowledge of individual responsibility to obey the law and keep order; the effect that the respected policeman, the respected parent, the respected peer in influencing the commitment of an individual to a certain value in a certain situation.

The number of North Philadelphians who are members of, or are reached and influenced by neighborhood and civic organizations is over 50,000. A careful estimate of the true figure will be obtained, and used as a basis for demonstrating that many of the areas's citizens devote their activities to offsetting the effects of poverty, and deprivations in physical and social environment; the expressed desires of these people for improved law enforcement and police-community relations will be documented by petitioned signatures, quotations from citizens, etc. Officers will be reminded of the vastness of the majority of North Philadelphians with whom they never have official contact; the total number of individuals arrested will be compared with the area's total population.

It will be pointed out that the anger bred by tension and frustration supports the cynical evaluation of police-community situations which lower-class values naturally support; examples of absurd rumors which are believed when violence has erupted between police and community will be discussed in light of the fact that constant tension marks police-community relations in North Philadelphia, and people generally are prepared to believe the worst; examples of the fast spread of stories and rumors through the ghetto will be discussed (e.g., when a big "rumble" is set for a certain time, most organized gangs--and interested adults--throughout the North Central area are aware of it).

In general, the Instructor will emphasize the fact that the concept of value stretch (involving a lower level of commitment to a wider range of values than, e.g., the middle class) means that certain value attachments will operate at certain times, and that even the poorest, least-educated wino will respond to a situational variables and significant actors in the situation. Thus, the policeman stands a far better chance of evoking a reasonable response from a subject if he conditions his behavior and approach to avoid the pitfalls of racial insult, arbitrary exercise of power, contempt, apparent weakness, etc., which tend to "trigger" hostile response from the so-called lower-class elements of the stretched value system, or its equivalent (in terms of potential hostility) in latent racial hostility.

USE OF SPECIAL EFFECTS: No visual or aural special effects are planned for use in this section.

D. Review, Question and Answer (Approximately 70 minutes).

This period will be used to reemphasize or cover points inadequately discussed during the first day, and will include as long a question and answer session as possible.

DAY TWO

E. Fourth Period: Intergroup and Intragroup Relations in North Philadelphia (90 minutes including a 10-minute break).

1. Section One: Brief Review of Day One (approximately 15 minutes). An outline summary of materials covered during the first day will be presented by the Instructor, and a brief question and answer session will be held.

2. Section Two: Ethnic politics and the Negro Leadership struggle in the context of urban politics and segregation. (Approximately 30 minutes)

INSTRUCTIONAL METHOD: Lecture.

PURPOSE: The purpose of this section will be to extend the social patterns discussed in their effects on individuals to representative groups within the ghetto, and to demonstrate the effects of segregation on the leadership elements in the ghetto.

CONTENT: The typical pattern of "ethnic" politics is described historically by Handlin in The Newcomers, and functionally by Gans in The Urban Villagers. Thus all ethnic groups--Jews, Irish, Poles, etc., have passed through the political situation the Negroes now find themselves in. In areas where low-income groupings of such ethnic groups (such as the Italian settlement in South Philadelphia, and that in Boston's West End discussed by Gans) are still concentrated, the pattern

remains the same. The peer-group society does not trust advocative leaders--they are automtically suspect of seeking selfish gains because they have, by their behavior, removed themselves from the leveling interplay and control of the peer-group structure . Therefore, the politician most acceptable to the lower social strata is the traditional "pol" who impresses his constituency with his ability to talk the language of the outside world while remaining loyal to the values of the local scene. The politician is expected to do well for himself, but he is also expected to do well for his loyal supporters. He is the go-between for his constituents and their government; in effect, an ambassador from the peer-group society to the outside world. He must know the angles, and if he can demonstrate that he has the power and willingness to help when help is needed, he will be reelected. Substantive issues which do not directly affect the welfare of his constituents need be of little concern to him. It will be pointed out that while this pattern on a large scale is a thing of the past for most American ethnic groups, the cycle of failure which has pinned the Negro to the bottom of society has also locked him into the peer-group political pattern. The effect of this pattern in terms of fragmented, disorganized political strength will be emphasized. But it will also be emphasized that the question of racial discrimination, and the unifying force of the civil rights movement has begun to overcome this disorganizational barrier without the benefit of economic improvement which lifted it for other ethnic groups. The essential tragedy of this situation will be pointed out: the Negroes were never put into the so-called "melting pot," but were in fact frozen away from the fire; now they are beginning to freeze solid. While this development is likely to benefit them in terms of attainment of fuller rights and opportunities in the society, they have been forced to fend for themselves as a minority group in the political arena, rather than as individuals with a wide choice of political and pressure groups as other Americans do, and the net result is a perversion of individual-based democratic government which the general society has brought on itself.

USE OF SPECIAL EFFECTS: No special effects are planned for this Section.

3. Section Three: Ethnic Demography of North Philadelphia. (Approximately 15 minutes).

INSTRUCTIONAL METHOD: Lecture.

PURPOSE: The purpose of this Section will be to show the distribution of ethnic groups (which include Slavs, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Lithuanians, and assorted, ethnically mixed whites) in North Philadelphia, in order to emphasize the pattern of residence and to show where integration is possible in the present situation, where it is practiced, and where it is impossible.

CONTENT: The source material for this Section will be the U.S. Census for 1960, population data for Philadelphia. Transparency charts of the area of concern, appropriately marked with type and number of people living in each census tract or group of tracts. Special attention will be focused on areas such as Fairmount (the lower Southwest portion of the North Central area) in which whites, Puerto Ricans, and Negroes live with some integration, and where more integration is possible. Evidence of intergroup cooperation (such as in police-community relations activities) in such areas will be discussed.

USE OF SPECIAL EFFECTS: as noted.

4. Section Four: The Operation and Language of Prejudice, and Minority-Group Ego-Defense Mechanisms. (Approximately 30 minutes).

INSTRUCTIONAL METHOD: Anecdotal lecture.

PURPOSE: The purpose of this Section will be to acquaint attending officers with the psychological determinants of behavior specifically related to the effects of prejudice and discrimination, and to note the conscious and unconscious expressions and patterns of speech employed by whites which are offensive to Negroes.

CONTENT: The primary source for this Section will be The Nature of Prejudice, by Gordon Allport. On page 139 of that book, Allport notes that "since no one can be indifferent to the abuse and expectations of others, we must anticipate that ego defensiveness will frequently be found among members of groups that are set off for ridicule, disparagement, and discrimination. It could not be otherwise." (emphasis his). It will be stressed that members of minority groups subject to disparaging majority-group opinion and belief must balance their ego (i.e., self-evaluating mental mechanism) by defenses which shore it up from the inside. "The way an individual reacts to his membership will depend on his own life-circumstances: how he was trained, how severe his suffering from persecution, how detached his own

philosophy of life." (Allport, p. 140). The assumption that most members of majority-disparaged minority groups will display some form of ego-defensive behavior does not guarantee that any particular form of behavior can be predicted. But some observed forms of minority-group behavior can be explained on the basis of the following ego-defense patterns:

(1) basically extropunitive individuals may display:

a. obsessive concern and suspicion
b. slyness and cunning
c. strengthening of in-group ties
d. prejudice against other groups
e. aggression and revolt
f. enhanced striving

(2) basically intropunitive individuals may display:

a. denial of membership in own group
b. withdrawal and passivity
c. self-hate
d. clowning
e. in-group aggression
f. sympathy with all victims
g. symbolic status striving

- Extracted from Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, p. 157

Each type of ego-defense pattern discussed will be illustrated by an anecdote (true or devised) relating to its potential effects on an arrest situation or on normal police-community contacts where policemen and subjects are from different groups.

Additionally, typical words, phrases and speech patterns which, used unconsciously or consciously, reflect prejudice (or lack of empathy) on the part of the user will be discussed, and their potential effect on police-community situations described. Examples of such usages are: "You're as good as me"; "That's white of you"; "that was a black day"; "nigger, nigra"; "boy"; use of first name only, and non-use of normal titles of respect (Mr. and Mrs. or Miss); use of patronizing titles such as "uncle", "professor," "preacher," "reverend," etc.

USE OF SPECIAL EFFECTS: No special effects are planned for this Section.

F. Fifth Period: The Way Out. The effect of superordinate goals in terms of social change: Civil Rights; Community Organization; Political Participation; their effect on crime and delinquency; inter- and intra-group race-class patterns. The role of Government in the process. (120 minutes, including 10-minute break. Followed by lunch period.

INSTRUCTIONAL METHOD: Lecture and discussion.

PURPOSE: To discuss the future in terms of needs generated by the past: ways available to break the cycle of failure, to racially integrate the city, to provide means of escape from the ghetto, and to make what remains into a livable place; to point out the benefits of community organization in supplanting peer-group society and improving the community's capacity for self-government; to investigate the role of the police and other government agencies in the process.

CONTENT: A brief review of the ghetto as a set of interlocking problems--poor schools, poor housing, poor education, lack of employment opportunities, de facto segregation, racial discrimination. Consideration of the fact that the Negro unemployment rate in Philadelphia is about four times as great as the white rate of unemployment in the city, and the gap shows no real sign of narrowing; the fact that percapita Negro income is not only below percapita white income, but is rising less slowly (documentation from labor department studies); the fact that the Negro birth rate in Philadelphia outstrips the white, and that the birth rate (as well as the infant mortality rate) is highest in the ghetto; the fact that old housing is deteriorating faster than new housing is being built for low-income families; will be projected into the future with the hypothetical assumption that no change in the social, physical, and governmental processes will occur in 20 years, and will show an ever- larger, ever-younger Negro ghetto, in which the percapita rate of unskilled, unemployed males is increasing; in which the need for low-income housing units is greater; in which crime rates are likely to be higher; in which an increasingly large minority (close to a majority) of

the citizens of the city of Philadelphia are seething, stifling, and rotting. The point will be made that to allow this to happen would be criminal folly of a magnitude greater even than the hundred years which have gone into the creation of the situation today. It will be pointed out that the hope for future progress and beneficial development of the city depend on significant integration of races and socio-economic classes in all areas of the city, and significant improvement in the economic situation of the Negro. It will be pointed out that the city government, in coordination with the State and Federal governments, must devise and implement active policies and programs to accomplish these tasks. And it will be pointed out that a large measure of the citizen pressure required to cause the city to form such policies must and will come from the ghetto. The question will then be raised, in light of the social patterns discussed as characterizing the ghetto, how can this sort of pressure be expected to develop there? Is the inarticulate riot the only real form of pressure which can be expected from the ghetto?

History (c.f., Handlin) has shown that segregated urban minority groups are politically fragmented, and must depend on strength of numbers (of registered voters) alone to influence the political scene. Gans' analysis found that the lower socio-economic classes, bound by their peer-group suspicions and hostilities, were unable to organize effectively because they would not and could not select true leaders, and felt disarmed in advance by the entrenched power of the political machines they had to battle.

But the history of the Civil Rights movement in the past 15 years has shown that with the proper goals clearly set and defined, that Negro leaders can lead and organize , and Negro followers and workers will be organized and will work and follow. Dr. M. L. King's present activity in Chicago, the Girard College Demonstrations, and other examples will be cited to demonstrate that "the Movement" has begun to reach down even to the lowest levels of the socio-economic strata within the ghetto. That this involvement is beginning to spill over into political activity is obvious in recent voting trends: the New York Negro vote for Lindsay; the Negro voting pattern in the Specter election in Philadelphia; the election of men such as Julian Bond in Georgia; and other examples will be cited to demonstrate the increasing trend of the Negro vote to swing quickly as a self-interest bloc.

Although the lower-class social and cultural patterns will not be eradicated without serious alternation of the general deprivation which caused them, the problems of disorganization and incapability of organization may be viewed in good measure as being simply problems of undefined or improperly defined goals. The social and environmental problems of the ghetto are as basic and massive as problems come; when it can be demonstrated that candidates, programs, movements promise some alleviation of these real and heavy-pressing problems, then support is forthcoming from those who are experiencing them first hand at their worst. Another aspect of the much-discussed apathy of ghetto residents is the inability of organizing agencies to communicate with those whom they would organize: the undereducated man does not read newspapers, and does not listen terribly closely to political broadcasts; the poor man may not buy newspapers and may not own a radio. Increasingly, however, the concept of the paid or volunteer door-to-door, low-level-meeting worker is catching on; and as such workers bring news of truly promising programs and leaders, widespread low-level support is more readily forthcoming. (The example of one organizing drive for the Police-Community Relations Program will be cited, where over 100 people signed up to participate in and/or support the Program in three blocks alone).

The point will be made and documented that attachment to, and active pursuit of such superordinate goals as "civil rights"; active participation in political activity, etc., has a salutary effect on the criminal and delinquent elements in the ghetto: thus, the police records of various Southern towns clearly show that increase in civil rights activity is accompanied by a drop in Negro crime; Washington, D.C., police records show that the period immediately following the massive 1963 March on Washington was marked by great reductions in the ghetto crime rate; members of one of the largest and roughest of juvenile gangs participated under their group name in the Girard College demonstrations and the M.L. King visit, and their record as a gang indicates a drop in hostile, delinquent, and criminal activity during and after that involvement (and members continue to be involved in civil rights activity). Thus the giving of hope to those who had little or none, and demonstrating the strength and potential for change in a formerly splintered community can work small wonders itself in terms of change in the social climate of the ghetto. Those inside the ghetto have for long been on the outside of political power; they have felt helpless before the power of agencies--including the police--which they nominally have had control over. If and when it can be demonstrated to them that there are ways and means by which they actually can control these agencies, then they jump at the chance to participate--and they participate intelligently and purposefully (witness

citizen participation in the Police-Community Relations Program).

The role of government in fostering and leading the process of social change will be investigated in terms of past developments, projected future activity, and ideal future activity. Recent developments in housing programs, including Public Housing progress in the field of used-house rehabilitation and low-rise, scattered-site projects will be examined; new directions in civil rights law, liquor control, housing control, law, etc., will be discussed. The role of the Police Advisory Board as a confidence-building agency will be discussed; the probable effects of the "Demonstration Cities" act as it operates in Philadelphia will be examined; government approaches to improvement and integration of education, job and skills training, employment will be examined. Means by which government could move further and faster in all these areas--especially in regard to centralization of the planning function, and expansion of that function to include social as well as environmental change--will be aired and discussed, with description of North City Congress and other agencies' experience in the field offered as basis for the discussion.

Finally, the role of policeman as agents and assistants of the process will be examined. It will be pointed out that the whole North Philadelphia community pays a high price in suffering and retardation due to the high area crime, and fear helps to retard the organization process. The large bill for police, judicial, and penal services and facilities eats up money which otherwise might be put into remedial and progressive programs. The prevalence of criminal influences adversely affects the development of many area youth. In this light, good police service becomes a positive and necessary factor in the acceleration and maintenance of progress toward necessary social change. Further, improvements in police-community relations, including closer police-citizen interaction and cooperation, will help to increase the confidence of the community in its ability to control its service agencies; friendly police-community relations also relieve the cloying and stultifying burden that hostility places on those who could better devote energy wasted on anger to organizational participation. Finally, the policeman who exercises his authority knowingly in the context of the social forces at work around him in the ghetto becomes a very important form of "social worker," particularly with regard to juvenile gangs. The respected policeman becomes an effective arbiter of disputes, a mainstay of troubled neighborhoods, and, with care, an attractive and trusted focus of adolescent hanging groups. It will be emphasized that there is no surer and faster way for a policeman to win the respect of the community than to show that he understands, appreciates, and wishes to help the community he serves.

USE OF SPECIAL EFFECTS: Appropriate slides, tapes, and transparencies (including scenes of demonstrations, meetings, etc.; charts showing the effect of organized protest activity on crime and delinquency rates; tapes of statements by leaders etc.) will be employed in this section as appropriate to dramatize, clarify, or emphasize points of instruction.

G. Sixth Period: Law Enforcement in the North Philadelphia Community. (120 minutes including a 10-minute break).

INSTRUCTIONAL METHOD: Special lecturer; brief lectures by Instructor; guided discussion.

PURPOSE: The purpose of this period will be to serve as a wrap-up in which the theoretical and ideological "threads" of the Institute are tied together and attached to practical considerations involved in police role and duties. It will also provide an introduction to other elements of the Police-Community Relations Program, and especially the intergroup session in which the policemen will be involved.

CONTENT: The period's program will have the following areas of emphasis:

1. Police-Community Attitudes and the need for Change Therein.

Materials collected by North City Congress staff and members of constituent community groups, including taped and written statements by local citizens, will be compiled to present a clear and forceful picture of the present community attitude toward the police. Records (written and taped) of incidents involving police hostility and abuse toward citizens will also be produced to substantiate the contention that police-community hostility is reciprocal. Additionally, community spokesmen will be invited when available to present the policemen with a first-hand evaluation of police-community relations in the area from the "other side." (Use of community spokesmen in this fashion will be on an "experimental" basis: those invited will span the range of classes and professions existing in North Philadelphia; they may be invited singly

or in panels; various time limitations and presentation formats will be tried until the most effective result is produced). It will be emphasized that since the policeman is the most visible and ubiquitous representative of the city power, he is the target of displaced hostility which results from the generally bad situation. He "is" the landlord, the constable, the magistrate, etc. It will be emphasized that in light of the fact that the ghetto physical and social environmental situation will not change drastically for the better in the near future, continuation of police-community relations on the present low level, or further deterioration of those relations will in all likelihood produce more police-community violence (or overt hostility) which can only be dangerous to both groups and deleterious to the needs of both.

It will be stressed that police and community have a common, superordinate goal: the reduction of crime and delinquency, and the maintenance of public order. It will also be noted that the ubiquity of police can work in their favor in terms of improvement of relations: they, of all governmental agencies, are in the right places and working at the right level to make meaningful contact with the "grass roots" citizenry of the ghetto. It will be discussed how the Police-Community Relations Program is designed to facilitate rapprochement from both sides, including the fact that the Workshops for Neighborhood leaders are attempting to remove the onus of general blame from the back of the policeman by explaining to the public the legal limits on his range of duties and responsibilities, and especially the areas (such as liquor law) where his legal capabilities are much less than he wants them to be.

2. The role of the policeman in the North Philadelphia Community. The instructor will then reintroduce points previously made concerning social and cultural patterns, questions of racial antagonism, etc., for the purpose of a group discussion of the most effective and meaningful role a policeman can play in the situation. The instructor will guide and monitor the discussion to ensure that it stays in practical channels, and will introduce as topics for discussion the types of police behavior most frequently complained of by area citizens. It will be emphasized that the policeman must be both firm and flexible, and his flexibility should be based on an understanding of the ways, why's and wherefore's of the community in which he works. The use and abuse of force will be discussed inlight of likely community reactions (e.g., the charge of "police brutality" reflects history and the generalized frustration of the ghetto as well as specific objection to certain police activities). Community attachments to the goals of civil rights and liberties will be recalled, and it will be emphasized to the police that their support of, and participation in legitimate protest activity against long-standing abuses could be an important step in effecting good police-community relations. Finally, it will be emphasized that there is a large need and opportunity for police participation in community organization and youth activities.

3. Introduction to other elements of the North City Congress Police-Community Relations Program. Workshop curriculum and attendance; Intergroup Session intent, format, and attendance; other forms of police-community interaction (especially on the neighborhood level); the formation, operations, responsibilities, and status of the Steering and District Committees will be discussed. Preliminary discussion of items the policemen wish to take up with community members will be conducted.

USE OF SPECIAL EFFECTS: As noted under 1., above. No special effects are planned for section 2. Appropriate transparency charts and/or slides explaining the Program will be used in section 3.

H. Summary, and Discussion of Forthcoming Police-Community Session. Question=and=Answer Session. (Approximately 100 minutes).

1. During this period, discussion of the upcoming Intergroup Session will be completed, including the drafting of a list of topics and items the policemen wish to discuss with attending community representatives.

2. The major emphases of the Institute will be summarized, and points inadequately covered will be reemphasized.

3. A final question-and-answer period will be conducted.

-FINIS-

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IMPORTANT NOTICE

The annual election of League Board Members and Officers will take place in September. Suggestions of interested new personnel in the New York area especially of non-Americans, will be welcomed by the Nominating Committee.

THE RIGHTS OF MAN

BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN

NON-GOVERNMENTAL AGENCY ACCREDITED TO THE UNITED NATIONS

156 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10010

BULLETIN COVERING APRIL, MAY, JUNE, 1966

NOTE: In the face of the discouragements due to the slow pace of United Nations efforts for international protection of human rights, it is encouraging to note a forthright statement of the difficulties by Secretary-General U Thant in addressing the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in May. Among other points, he said:

"Certainly the days of national self-sufficiency are gone. Imperial domination, as history has known it, is also a thing of the past, a phenomenon of the age in which greed and power would endlessly exploit ignorance, servility and weakness.

"It seems probable also that the conflict of global ideologies is a transient phenomenon, for ideologies tend rapidly to be blurred and made obsolete by the present pace of historic change. Nonetheless, it is the residual effects of these phenomena which perpetually distract us from facing our real problems -- misery, poverty, starvation, overpopulation and the preservation and enhancement of human dignity -- and from reaping the harvest of our extraordinary inventiveness."

Readers will note in the U.N. items at least one or two forward steps toward an international legal jurisdiction over violations of human rights.

RNB

WHAT DUTIES FOR A COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

When the Human Rights Commission welcomed the proposal for a U.N. High Commissioner with general supervision over the U.N. work for human rights, his duties were not spelled out. The commission, therefore, appointed a special committee to do so, to report at next year's session. The League and possibly other organizations will make its suggestions for the role of the High Commissioner during the year.

PREPARATIONS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS YEAR

The General Assembly several years ago designated 1968 as Human Rights Year to be devoted by all member States and U.N. agencies to a review of the accomplishments, failures and prospects in the whole field. A special committee was appointed to prepare an international conference to be held presumably in the summer of 1968 to which all governments and international agencies will be invited.

The special committee still meeting, has not made its final recommendations, but it is assumed that some place will be left for participation by non-governmental organizations. In view of that, the League is preparing along with other non-governmental organizations to hold preliminary conferences on the same topics with their own observations and recommendations. A meeting of interested NGO's is convening for that purpose in July in Geneva where the League will be represented by its honorary president, Henri Laugier of Paris, former Under Secretary of the U.N.

NEW HUMAN RIGHTS DIRECTOR

The Division of Human Rights in the U.N. Secretariat, headed almost since its inception by Dr. John P. Humphrey of Montreal, formerly Dean of McGill University Law School, has a new head. Marc Schreiber, a Belgian lawyer, long a member of the U.N. Legal Department, has succeeded him following Dr. Humprehy's attaining the U.N. retirement age of 60 years. Dr. Humphrey returns to Montreal where he is again a professor at McGill University Law School. The League promptly elected Dr. Humphrey to its Board of Directors. His former deputy, Dr. Egon Schwelb, now a professor of law at Yale, is a member of the League's Advisory Committee.

COLONIALISM COMMITTEE OFF ON AFRICAN TOUR

The hard-working committee of 24 promoting the independence of colonial peoples has accepted invitations from African governments to spend a large part of the summer in Africa examining the problems of the few remaining colonial countries - Southern Rhodesia, Somaliland, S.W. Africa, and the Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique. These major countries are supplemented by smaller areas in the British islands of Mauritius and Seychelles, Oman and Aden in the Arabian peninsular and Spanish possessions on the African west coast.

The independence of small colonial islands appears so impractical because of their lack of economic resources that most of the British islands in the Caribbean which have recently been offered independence merely for the asking, have preferred to maintain their ties with the United Kingdom while expanding their autonomy. The League has been following the committee's activities by attendance at the U.N. sessions and with such encouragement as appears helpful.

SLAVERY STILL PERSISTS

Despite the impression that slavery is largely a thing of the past, the Anti-Slavery Society of London,affiliated with the League, and founded many years ago, has recently reported to the U.N. that the slave trade goes on in many parts of Africa and Asian countries in the Near East. Specified are Algeria, African Bushmen areas, Bechuanaland, S.W. Africa, Angola and the Republic of South Africa; in Asia, Southern Arabia and Iran are cited. This is not an exclusive list of those countries where the slave trade or with practices similar to slavery exist. It is obvious that the offending countries are not parties either to the international convention against slavery of 1926 or its more recent protocol. The only parties to them have no slavery.

The Anti-Slavery Society concludes however that supervisory machinery to report on slavery and similar practices is required. It observes that the proposed High Commissioner of Human Rights may perform some service in that direction, but urges the creation of a committee of experts which the U.N. despite many appeals has so far refused to authorize.

UNESCO MOVES AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION

Among the several international conventions prepared by the U.N. to combat racial, religious and other discrimination, the one dealing with education was delegated to UNESCO. The convention was completed and came into effect by the ratification of 26 member States. In order to improve the enforcement of the convention, which under its terms is left to national governments,with examination of reports by UNESCO staff and conference, the World Veterans Association, accredited to UNESCO, is proposing a wider outside expert role to the UNESCO meeting in Paris in June. The League assisted in the preparation of the material submitted.

LEAGUE PROTESTS ATTACKS ON IRAQI JEWS

The small Jewish minority left in Iraq following the main exodus to Israel is subject to legal discrimination despite professions of equality of all Iraqi citizens. When the League was informed of the discriminations, it addressed an appeal to Dr. Adnan Pachachi, Foreign Minister, who was formerly Iraqi Ambassador to the U.N. The League's letter maintained that human rights require that Iraq's Jewish citizens at home or abroad should be given equal rights with others and that denationalized Jews should be reinstated with restoration of properties. The difficulties concern primarily Iraqi citizens residing abroad with property in Iraq, some of whom wish to return.

REV. MICHAEL SCOTT EXPELLED FROM INDIA

As a member of the Peace Mission of the Indian government attempting to arrange a settlement with the rebellious Naga tribe of the northeastern frontier, since last fall, the Rev. Michael Scott was expelled recently from India. The Indian government refuses to recognize the Naga's claim of independence and a substantial number of the Nagas refuse to accept an autonomous State within the Indian Federation.

Mr. Scott was attacked in parliament on the ground that he was too favorable to the independence faction and that he had invited international intervention by sending a factual report to the U.N. The result of the attack was his expulsion in May. He has returned to his post in London as head of the Africa Bureau. The Rev. Mr. Scott has regularly represented the League at the U.N. as a member of its Advisory Committee.

THE TRAGEDY OF INDONESIA'S REVOLUTION

If unverified press accounts reflect the facts, hundreds of thousands of Indonesians, according to a dispatch in the New York Times,were slaughtered by mobs and the Indonesian army which had seized control of the government late last year. Those massacred were largely Chinese Indonesians, many of them adherents of the Indonesian Communist Party, now outlawed.

The League, through Jan Papanek, Chairman, addressed inquiries to the Indonesian Embassy in Washington and the U.S. State Department. The Indonesian Embassy did not reply, but the State Department said that in the absence of accurate statistics "these killings while tragic and regrettable do not constitute genocide," as Dr. Papanek had asserted.

BRITISH GUIANA WINS INDEPENDENCE

Preventive detention of political opponents without trial or charges has always been opposed by the International League whether under colonial rule or in newly independent States. The practice has been largely British and its former colonies continue it. British Guiana which became independent on May 26th as GUYANA has long had preventive detention.

When Roger Baldwin visited Georgetown in April to attend an academic conference, he interviewed Prime Minister Forbes Burnham concerning a score of opposition members held in detention under an emergency decree issued two years ago following fatal race riots between East Indians and Africans. As a result, the League submitted to the Prime Minister through Robert Delson and Roger Baldwin a series of suggestions for protecting the rights of detainees under the new constitution, based on recommendations adopted by the United Nations. The League submitted them with a view to legislation which is being prepared by the new Parliament, presumably with some provision for suspension of rights only in an emergency.

IRAN CONTINUES STUDENT TRIALS

Under emergency decrees enforced by military courts, students opposing the Shah's regime continue to be brought to trial for "plotting against the security of the State". Most are members of the Islamic Nationalist Party or the Tudeh Party, both outlawed. No indictments or charges are published and no decisions are explained.

Upon hearing that one student had been sentenced to death, the League cabled the Shah urging a commutation on the ground of the Shah's "demonstrated humanity in commuting death sentences of students last January". The student's sentence was commuted to life imprisonment. At the same time it was reported that two others similarly accused, members of the Tudeh Party, face possible death.

The policy of the government is evidently to impose extreme sentences for purposes of intimidating the opposition, and then to commute them to win support by its leniency. Iranian students abroad aid their fellow-students in Iran. In the U.S. among the most active groups is a Committee for the Defense of Iranian Political Prisoners and Students, with headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

EVEN AID AGAINST APARTHEID BECOMES A CRIME

The South African government has recently banned legal aid and help to the opponents of apartheid prosecuted under the "suppression of Communism" act, and raided the homes of its sponsors. Among them was Alan Paton, author, a member of the League's Advisory Committee.

Dr. Jan Papanek protested sharply to the South African Prime Minister on behalf of the League, against depriving citizens of legal defense in a country where "the rule of law" obtains. He appealed for restoration of the right of defense "recognized by all civilized nations." It is to be assumed that any effort to violate the ban will be held criminal.

* * * * * *

NOTES IN BRIEF

WILLIAM BUTLER, League Vice-Chairman, will tour the Far and Middle East this summer on a round the world trip to meet with our affiliates and correspondents to gather facts and exchange views on human rights issues.

FRANCES R. GRANT, Secretary-General of League affiliate, the Inter-American Association for Democracy and Freedom,and Vice-Chairman of the League, was a member of the Organization of American States committee observing the recent elections in the Dominican Republic. She reported "fair elections".

FROM OUR AFFILIATES

THE CIVIL RIGHTS LEAGUE OF CAPETOWN announces the acceptance of the Hon. A. van de Sandt Centlivres, ex-Chief Justice of South Africa and Chancellor of the University of Capetown as President of the League.

THE CANADIAN CIVIL LIBERTIES ASSOCIATION held a meeting in May in Toronto deploring the introduction of legislation curbing Hate Propaganda. It is expanding its work with a full-time secretary.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE offers a 52 page pamphlet "FOR ALL HUMANITY" - containing a report of the Committee on Human Rights of the National Citizens' Commission on International Cooperation (The White House Conference). It is a survey of Human Rights progress in the U.S. and throughout the world and includes specific recommendations for the tasks ahead, and texts of U.N. human rights conventions. Copies may be obtained from American Jewish Committee, 165 E. 56th St., N.Y. N.Y. 10022 @ $.75 each.

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PRESENTS

THE COMMUNITY AND RACIAL CRISES

THE COMMUNITY AND RACIAL CRISES

Edited by
David Stahl, Frederick B. Sussmann and Neil J. Bloomfield

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OTHER CONTRIBUTORS: Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund; Harold H. Greene, former Chief, Appeals and Research Section, Civil Rights Division, U. S. Department of Justice; Robert McKay, Professor, New York University School of Law; George Schermer, Former Executive Director, Philadelphia Human Relations Commission; and William Taylor, former General Counsel, U. S. Commission on Civil Rights.

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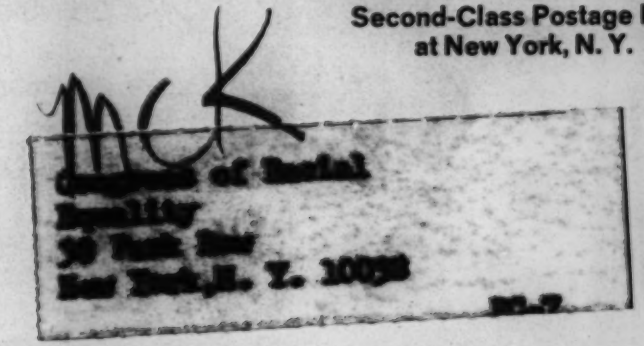


The Racial Crisis: This Changing Area in Perspective

JUL 5 1966

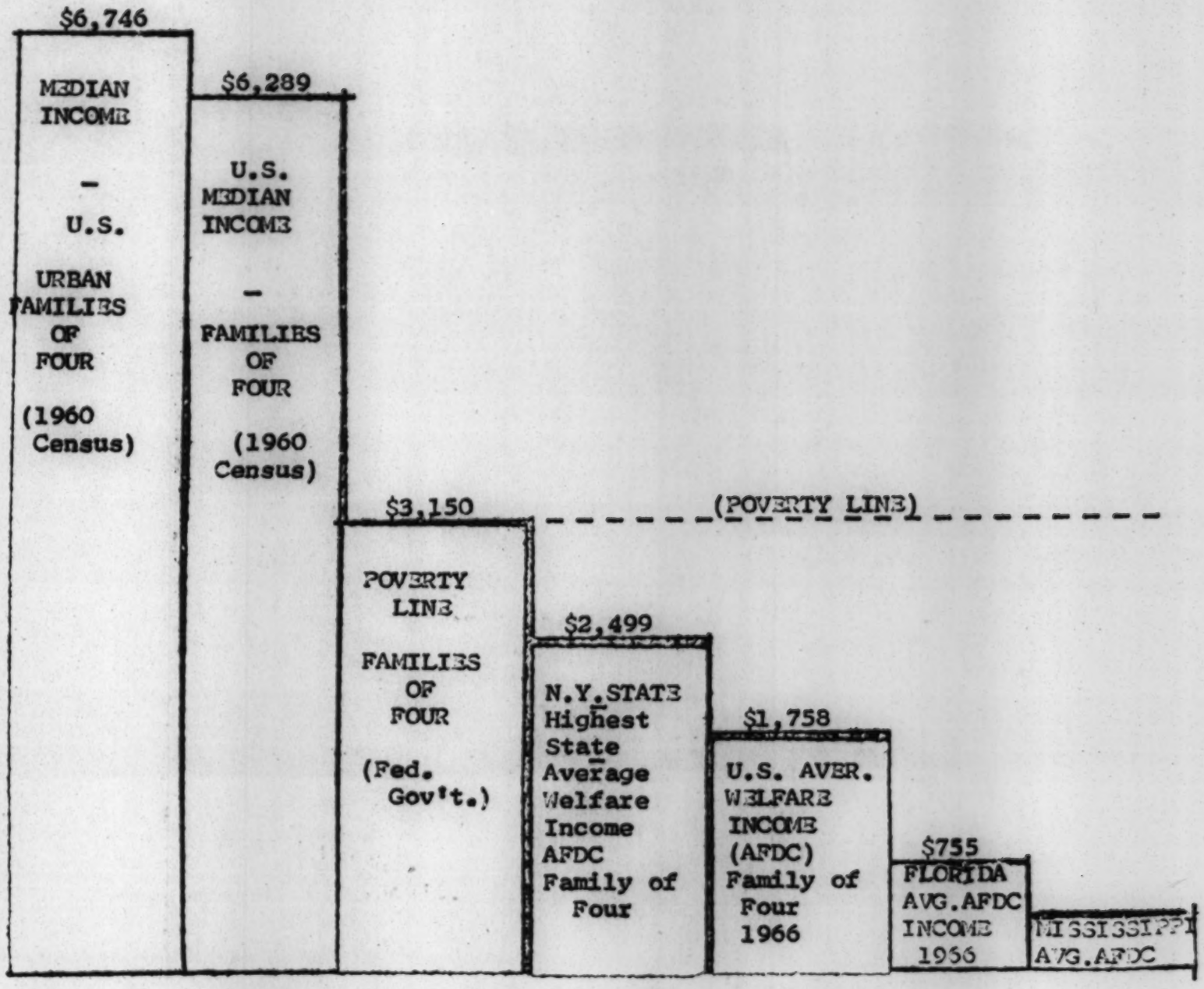
POVERTY/RIGHTS ACTION CENTER
1713 R Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
202-462-8804

STATEMENT OF DR. GEORGE A. WILEY,
DIRECTOR OF THE
POVERTY/RIGHTS ACTION CENTER
JUNE 28, 1966

I believe we are on the eve of an historic occasion. We are about to witness on June 30th the first concerted action of a new movement. It is a movement of the poorest of the poor in our nation. Welfare recipients from more than 25 cities across our nation will raise their voices in unison to cry out against the terrible injustices and shameful inadequacies that uniformly characterize welfare systems in every State in the Union.

AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOMES
FOR FAMILIES OF FOUR

FOR: THE UNITED STATES
AND
AFDC* WELFARE FAMILIES



* Aid to Families with Dependent Children

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June 28, 1966

ROUND-UP OF JUNE 30TH WELFARE DEMONSTRATIONS

Cincinnati
Cleveland
Columbus, Ohio

Welfare recipients from eight cities in Ohio, but primarily from Cleveland, Columbus, and Cincinnati, have been staging a 153 mile ten-day "Walk for Decent Welfare" from Cleveland to the State Capitol at Columbus. The Walk will be climaxed at 1:00 P.M. on June 30th with a rally on the steps of the State Capitol. The walkers are demanding that Governor Rhodes call a special session of the State Legislature to appropriate nearly 30 millionn dollars in budget surpluses toward raising welfare grant levels from 70% to 100% of the State-determined minimum basic requirement for health and decency. The current standards allow for less than 400 dollars per year per recipient. This would amount to approximately 1600 dollars a year for a family of four, which is barely half the poverty level of 3150 dollars. The walkers are also calling upon the U.S. Congress to give more money to welfare programs; to allow more realistic living standards for recipients; to permit AFDC parents to earn some income without having their allowances cut.

The march is sponsored by the Ohio Steering Committee for Adequate Welfare and is being led by the Rev. Harry Dericott from Cleveland. Governor Rhodes has been asked to either meet with the delegation or address the rally in Columbus. Speakers at the rally will include Mr. Dick Gregory, Prof. Richard Cloward, and Dr. George Wiley. Spokesman for the Welfare recipients in addition to Rev. Dericott, are Mrs. Gwen Louise Gaston of Cleveland and Mrs. Ernestine Davis from Cincinnati, and Mrs. Colleen Agnew from Columbus. Press contacts: Rev. David Zubering, 2584 East 55th Street, Cleveland; Telephone: 216-431-4800, and Mr. William WHitaker, 363 Reeb Avenue, Columbus; telephone: 444-2115.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

There will be a mass protest demonstration in front of City Hall, organized by the Citywide Coordinating Committee of Welfare Groups, representing over 50 welfare rights organizations in the five boroughs of New York. The demonstrations will begin at 11:00 A.M. with picketing, while representatives of the recipients meet with Deputy Mayor Costello and Welfare Commissioner Ginsburg to press their demands for more adequate allowances with at least 25% increase in the total budget; a special grant for school clothing; automatic semi-annual or quarterly clothing grants; an end to constant investigations; jobs and job training and more day care centers for those who can work; no cuts in budget until a working welfare recipient gets on his feet; more hospitals, health centers, clinics, and the right to use private doctors; the right to a hearing before welfare is terminated; smaller case loads for caseworkers with less paper work and instruction on legal rights of clients. Spokesmen for the group are Frank Espada and Grace Cade; press contact is Alex Efthim, 214 East 2nd Street; telephone: OR7-0400x215.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Washington Welfare Alliance will sponsor a march of welfare recipients from the Welfare Department's Administrative Offices at 499 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. down Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House and into Lafayette Square for a rally. The marchers will assemble at 11:00 A.M. and leave at 12:00 noon, with the rally to commence at Lafayette Square at 1:00. President Johnson, Vice President Humphrey, Sen. Robert Kennedy, and other national political figures have been invited to the rally which will be addrewsed by welfare recipients expressing their grievances concerning illegal searches and midnight raids by investigators; inadequate grant allowances; the inadequate training programs and training opportunities; improvement in the food stamp program, employment of welfare recipients as caseworker aids; elimination of the "man in the house" rule; end to unfair residency requirments, and the right to earn some money without having allowances cut. Spokesman for the group is Mrs. Annie McLean, Chairman of the Alliance; press contact: Rev. Fred Dasbach, 1751 N St. N.W., tel: DE 2-3132.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Welfare recipients from the Boston area will meet at 10:30 A.M. at 48 Rutland Street and march to City Hall and then to the State House for a rally beginning at approximately 12:30 P.M. Governor Volpe and Mayor Collins have been invited to speak. The march and rally is sponsored by Mothers for Adequate Welfare who will be pressing demands including publication of the welfare rules for recipients to see; raises in welfare allowances; an end to residence requirements, and higher rent allowances in Boston where rents are higher than in other parts of the State. Press contact: Marcia Butman, 48 Rutland Street, Boston. Tel: 617-KE 6-2840.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

Welfare recipients and other citizens from New Haven, Waterbury, Norwalk, Bridgeport, Hartford, Danbury, and New Britain, Connecticut will march on the State Welfare Office in New Haven. The march will begin at 10:00 A.M. in the Hill section of New Haven(at 605 Congress Avenue) and will proceed across downtown New Haven to the State Welfare Office located on Bassett Street in the Dixwell section. At the State Welfare Office, representatives of the Hill Neighborhood and Parents Organization, New Haven CORE, and the Wider City Parish will present officials with a comprehensive list of grievances, including: the raising of grant levels 13% to conform with the Federal minimum basic requirments for human health and decency; abolising the State's two month residency requirement. They will also present to the Welfare Commissioner 25 cases for appeal hearings for rent supplements for welfare families who are not presently receiving grants covering their full rent. Press contact: Mrs. Louise Harris, New Haven CORE.

HOBOKEN NEW BRUNSWICK
NEWARK JERSEY CITY, NEW JERSEY
TRENTON

Welfare recipients from the five cities above will travel by auto and bus to Trenton, New Jersey to press demands for higher welfare standards and better treatment of recipients with State Welfare Director Irving Engleman. The largewt group will meet at 188 Badger Avenue in Newark at 9:00 A.M. to board buses for Trenton. All of the groups will meet at a central point in Trenton (to be announced later) to march to the headquarters of the State Welfare Division. Since Mr. Engleman has refused to meet with the welfare recipients, a picketing demonstration will be held. The action is sponsored by the People's Action Group, of which Mrs. Marion Kidd and Mrs. Juanita Arrington are co-chairmen.

Press contact: Connie Brown, 444 Clinton Avenue, Newark. Telephone: 242-9329
824-3135

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

The Philadelphia Crusade for Children will hold mass demonstrations on June 29th and 30th as phase two of its program to press for increased aid for families with dependent children. They will begin with an all-night vigil at the State Office Building starting at 5:00 P.M. Wednesday, June 29th, to last until 11:30 A.M. Thursday. At 11:30 A.M. Thursday there will be a rally at the State Office Building, then proceeding downtown to the Democratic and Republican City Committee headquarters. At 12:00 noon, welfare recipients will speak out on the steps of the State Office Building.

Press contact: Rev. Jerry Carpenter, 1421 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Penna. Telephone: 215-LO 3-7854.

PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

Members of the Citizens Against Inadequate Resources will participate in a protest against the inadequacies of the Pittsburgh and Pennsylvania Welfare Systems. Details will not be available until Tuesday evening, June 28th.

Press contact: Mrs. Alice Nixon, 3601 Old Orchard Circle, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Telephone: 922-4791.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

The Baltimore Welfare Recipients Protective Committee will hold a demonstration at Baltimore City Hall beginning at 3:00 P.M. It will highlight the inadequacies of the welfare allowances by displaying and serving a typical welfare meal; in addition there will be picketing. The group is demanding increased allowances for food, rent, and other basic necessities; publication of rules, rights, and entitlements of recipients, and an end to retaliation against welfare recipients for joining organizations for filing grievances.

Spokesman for the recipients will be Mrs. Dorothy Mathis. Press contact: Dan Gant, 832 North Gay Street, Baltimore, Maryland. Telephone: 301-732-8217 or 732-9330.

SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

Welfare recipients will march on the Welfare Department headquarters at 600 South State Street, Syracuse, N.Y. March leaves from Croton School playground at Oakwood and Raynor Avenues at 2:00 P.M. and will conclude in a rally in the Welfare Department parking lot at 3:30. Welfare Commissioner Lascaris has been invited to the rally.

The recipients will make ten demands, including: 1) the establishment of an advisory committee of recipients; 2) an end to night raids and the closing of the Investigation Division; 3) dismissal of certain caseworkers; 4) new furniture and appliances; 5) discontinuance of the voucher system; 6) the right to earn some income without reduction in allowance; 7) the right to see private doctors; 8) the right to see welfare records; 9) more clerical help for case workers; 10) the right to reject work relief.

Demonstration sponsored by the Joint Welfare Committee of six neighborhood organizations affiliated with the Syracuse Community Development Association (SCDA), of which Mrs. Dorothy Dasnow is Chairman.

Press contact: Daniel Mitchell, Director, SCDA, 211 East Castle St., Syracuse, N.Y. Telephone: 315-475-0162.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Over one hundred workers of the Kenwood Oakland Community Organization (KOCO) have been conducting an intensive eight-day canvass of South Side Kenwood Oakland communities to locate persons with welfare problems. This canvassing drive will culminate on June 30th with a march on the offices of Cook County Public Aid Director, Raymond Hilliard, to present grievances of area recipients. Also participating in the march will be welfare recipients from the JOIN Community Union on Chicago's North Side. The marchers will assemble at 10:00 A.M. at the KOCO offices, 318 W. Adams for the march to Welfare headquarters. A group of marchers will picket while a delegation meets with Mr. Hilliard. Grievances are expected to center on the inadequacies

of the welfare grants, midnight inspection raids and invasion of privacy.

Press contact: The Rev. Joseph Barndt, 1058 East 43rd Street, Chicago. Telephone: 312-538-1875.

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

Welfare recipients will hold a public rally in front of the State Office Building at 6th and Cedar Streets beginning at 3:00 P.M. Featured at the rally will be AFDC mothers who will present their grievances against the welfare system. Following the rally, the participants will march to the local County Welfare Department at 6th and Jefferson Streets (in front of the City Courthouse). The organizers of the rally and march, the West End Community Council, and numerous neighborhood associations will present ten demands: 1) Inclusion of Louisville in the food stamp plan; 2) Raising the grant levels to the Federal government's basic requirements for human health and decency; 3) An end to the policy of deducting from welfare checks the pay received by recipients who are participating in local anti-poverty programs; 4) Rescinding of the policy which now limits welfare recipients to one can of meat per month, rather than the two cans previously received; 5) Discontinuation of the policy of giving people excessive amounts of starchy foods (flour and corn meal); 6) Ending the policy which, when caseworkers make a mistake and assign recipients too low a grant, deprives the recipient of back payments when the mistake has been discovered; 7) Provision of carfare and babysitting expenses for welfare mothers who want to work; 8) Publication and distribution to welfare recipients of the policies, regulations and procedures of the Public Assistance programs; 9) Placing the burden of finding husbands who have deserted their families on the Welfare Department, rather than the mother; 10) Elimination of the mandatory State waiting period of 30 to 60 days from the date of application before new cases can receive assistance.

Press contact: Mr. Hulbert James, West End Community Council, 4303 West Broadway. Telephone: 502-775-6408.

INDEPENDENCE
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

On June 30th members of the Citizens Coordinating Committee, Kansas City CORE, and welfare recipients from Independence, Missouri will conduct a march from the Wayne-Miror Project (12th and Woodlawn Streets) to the main office of the Kansas City Welfare Department located at 16th and Oak Streets. At the main Welfare Office they will picket and present the following demands: 1) A raise in public assistance grant levels, which are now 55% of the State-determined minimum basic requirements for human health and decency; 2) The elimination of midnight raids and other unconstitutional invasions of the privacy of citizens receiving welfare; 3) Elimination of the "man in the house" ruling, and 4) the granting of emergency clothing and furniture to welfare recipients. Spokesmen for the demonstration will be Mrs. Wannita Smith, Mrs. Doris Wilson, and Mrs. Bertha Denman. Press

contact: Miss Marjorie King, 3703 Paseo Street, Kansas City. Telephone: (office) 816-HA1-3280; (residence) WA4-0028.

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

Welfare recipients and their caseworkers will march on the offices of the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors demanding: 1) A raise in the State maximums to 100% of the State-determined basic minimum requirement for human health and decency; 2) Supplementary assistance for families whose male head of household earns less than the income eligibility standards for public assistance; 3) Receipt of the full funds legislated for welfare recipients participating in job training programs; 4) The establishment of child care centers for working welfare mothers. The march is sponsored by the Florence-Graham Mothers Group, the New Look Society of the Westminster Neighborhood Association; the Social Work Union Committee; the Los Angeles County Social Workers Union, Long Beach Welfare Rights Group, and the Welfare Recipients Union.

Press contacts: Mrs. Vivien Romero; telephone: (office) 213-583-4547; (residence) 587-1705, and Mrs. Elizabeth Jackson; 213-585-2766.

SAN BENITO COUNTY
SAN LUIS OBISPO COUNTY
MONTEREY COUNTY, CALIFORNIA

Welfare recipients from these three California counties will hold a joint demonstration in Monterey, California, the specific time and place to be announced later. Hosting the rally on June 30th will be the Monterey County Welfare Rights Organization. Key among their demands will be funding of the Monterey County Welfare Rights Organization's demonstration grant for improvement in the welfare program through active participation of welfare recipients, which was contracted by the State Department of Welfare and approved by the Governor. The State fiscal year ends June 30th and funding for the contract has not been made. Contracts for similar demonstration projects in three other counties have also been deinied after legislative appropriation of the funds and approval.

Press contact: Mrs. Judith S. Graham, 354 Cedar Street, Monterey; telephone: 408-375-9188.

SAN BERNADINO, CALIFORNIA

Beginning at 10:00 A.M. welfare recipients from San Bernadino will march on the headquarters of the County Department of Welfare located in the County Courthouse in San Bernadino. Chief among their grievances will be the policies of the County Department of Public Welfare, which work severe hardships upon the families receiving Aid to Dependent Children with male heads of households and serve primarily to break up these families. Representatives of the West Central Community Action Group who are sponsoring the march will attempt to present their grievances in person to the director of the County Dept. of Welfare. Press contact: Mrs. Esther Washington, 1136 Western Avenue, San Bernadino.

OTHER CITIES IN WHICH WELFARE DEMONSTRATIONS MAY OCCUR JUNE 30TH

MT. VERNON, NEW YORK

The Mt. Vernon Committee of Welfare Mothers has been protesting for several weeks against slum housing conditions that welfare recipients are forced to endure. Recipients have been evicted when they attempted to complain of their bad housing conditions and the Welfare Department has tried to relocate them out of the city. Their action has included a sit-in at City Hall demanding temporary shelter and prompt relocation within Mt. Vernon for those evicted; an end to evictions for filing slum housing complaints. They plan to erect a tent in the center of the city for people already evicted who have no place to live. The exact time and place of this action has not yet been determined. Spokesman: Mrs. Beatrice Giles. Press contact: Mrs. Isabelle Hawkins, 25 Madison St., Mt. Vernon; telephone: 914-664-6931.

SANTA FE
ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO

Activities may occur in these cities to protest the State Legislature's recent vote rejecting the State participation in the Medicare program.

DENVER, COLORADO

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

MIAMI, FLORIDA

NIAGARA FALLS AND BUFFALO, NEW YORK

ADDENDUM TO

ROUND-UP OF JUNE 30th WELFARE DEMONSTRATIONS

Richmond, California
Oakland, California

The welfare rights organizations of Contra Costa County and of Oakland are combining forces for a June 30th demonstration. They will assemble at 12:30 P.M. at the Oakland Welfare Rights Organization's office at 520 Seventh Street. They will march past the Oakland Welfare Department headquarters, up Broadway to the Old Courthouse at 14th and Broadway where a rally will be held at about 1:30 P.M. The demonstration will highlight the need for more adequate public assistance, for decent low cost housing, rent control, an end to slum housing, and better jobs and job training. Spokesman for the Oakland group is Mrs. Marie Walker and for the Contra Costa group, Mrs. Kathryn Himes. Press contact is Mrs. Walker; 2327 25th Avenue, Oakland; telephone: 532-7277

Poverty/Rights Action Center
1713 R St. N.W.
Washington, D.C.
June 28, 1966

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE FACT SHEET

Table #1 — Number of Persons Receiving Public Assistance as of April, 1966 (latest figures available)

Old Age Assistance			2,104,327
Aid to Families with Dependent Children:			
children: 3,465,554			
adults: 1,129,711			
			4,595,28
Other:			
	Medical Assistance for the Aged	219,146	
	Aid to the Blind	85,059	
	Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled	583,901	
	Medical Assistance	363,799	
	General Assistance	649,000	
			1,900,985
Total:			8,600,577

Source: U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare: Welfare Administration, Bureau of Family Services

****

Table #2 — Total Public Assistance Payments for Month of April, 1966 (latest figures available)

Total:	$498,252,000
Old Age Assistance	163,397,411
Aid to Families with Dependent Children	161,474,677
All other programs*	173,379,912

*Medical Assistance for the Aged, Aid to the Blind, Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled, Medical Assistance, General Assistance.
Source: U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Welfare Administration, Bureau of Family Services

III. Sources of Funds for Public Assistance* and Percentage of Federal, State and Local Expenditures, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1965.**

(amounts in thousands)

	Total Expend.	Fed. Expend.	State Expend.	Local Expend.	%Fed. Funds	%State Funds	%Local Funds
CAA[1]	2,179,076	1,396,594	676,186	106,297	64.1	31.0	4.9
AFDC[2]	1,990,697	1,118,833	628,505	243,359	56.2	31.6	12.2
All Programs[3]	5,868,357	3,178,850	1,957,510	731,998	54.2	33.4	12.5

*Including Costs of Administration, Training, and Services
**Source: U.S. Dept. of H.E.W., Welfare Administration, Bureau of Family Services.
[1]Old Age Assistance
[2]Aid to Families With Dependent Children
[3]OAA, AFDC, Aid to the Blind, Medical Assistance to the Aged, Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled, and General Assistance. (General Assistance receives no Federal Financing.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE FACT SHEET, CONT'D.

TABLE No. 4

POVERTY/RIGHTS ACTION CENTER
1713 R Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
Telephone: 202-462-8804

June 28, 1966

AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN (AFDC)

Lowest States, highest States, and National Average, Monthly and Annual* Average Grants Per Family and Per Person, and Percentages of Federal Financing, April 1966 (latest available figures) and Average Annual Cost of All Public Assistance Programs** to Inhabitants of State, U.S. Fiscal, 1964 (latest available figures).

	Monthly Average per Family	Monthly Average per Person	Annual* Average per Family	Annual* Average per Person	Percent of Federal Financing	Av. Annual Cost of all Pub. Asst. Progs. to Inhab.
Mississippi	$31.74	$7.76	$380.88	$93.12	81.3%	$4.40
Alabama	52.51	12.75	630.12	152.00	77.1%	7.49
Florida	62.92	16.10	755.04	193.20	77.1	3.69
National Average	146.47	35.14	1,757.64	421.68	60.2	9.22
Wisconsin	204.87	51.76	2,458.44	621.12	50.3	8.09
New Jersey	205.68	51.53	2,488.16	618.36	49.1	6.57
New York	208.25	49.40	2,499.00	502.80	48.1	14.02

*Determined by multiplying Average Monthly Grant by twelve months.

**Costs of all public assistance programs combined: Aid to Families with Dependent Children; Aid to the Blind; Old Age Assistance; Medical Assistance to the Aged; Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled, and General Assistance.

Source: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Welfare Administration, Bureau of Family Services.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE FACT SHEET, CONT'D.

POVERTY/RIGHTS ACTION CENTER
1713 R Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
Telephone: 202-462-8804

TABLE No.5

STATE INFORMATION SHEET

State	Aid to families with dependent children: Recipients and payments to recipients, by State, April 1966			Annual Expenditures per inhab. state and local 1964*	Annual % of payments from Federal funds 1964*
	Number of families	Average per Family	Average per Recipient		
Total	1,102,449	146.47	35.14	9.22	60.2
Alabama	17,351	52.51	12.75	7.49	77.1
Alaska	1,321	130.69	35.51	5.54	60.3
Arizona	9,607	121.64	28.04	4.40	74.4
Arkansas	7,583	74.04	17.49	6.66	77.9
California	158,614	180.73	43.73	21.06	47.0
Colorado	12,418	156.14	40.00	19.20	54.1
Connecticut	14,003	200.13	49.77	10.78	49.0
Delaware	2,912	134.32	30.06	2.61	71.7
Dist. of Col.	4,712	158.86	33.44	7.07	60.8
Florida	30,535	62.92	16.10	3.69	77.1
Georgia	20,911	96.06	24.04	5.10	77.6
Idaho	2,632	152.64	39.39	6.56	66.9
Illinois	54,042	189.76	40.16	10.50	52.9
Inidana	11,770	132.71	31.96	2.89	66.1
Iowa	11,583	167.69	41.71	7.04	62.8
Kansas	9,112	171.32	40.71	8.78	58.9
Kentucky	21,720	104.75	26.82	5.48	77.3
Louisiana	24,765	105.93	24.03	12.80	74.4
Maine	5,209	119.93	31.95	6.29	72.2
Maryland	21,781	163.18	39.17	4.80	62.9
Massachusetts	28.166	192.31	50.72	17.23	48.6
Michigan	38,568	149.98	36.42	7.59	55.5
Minnesota	14,454	170.88	46.48	12.30	49.9
Mississippi	20,763	31.74	7.76	4.40	81.3
Missouri	26,269	106.23	25.71	8.99	69.5
Montana	2,086	146.07	36.39	4.20	67.2
Nebraska	4,767	138.16	33.73	5.12	64.5
Nevada	1,321	135.58	32.72	4.46	61.8
New Hampshire	1,232	198.83	48.14	6.46	54.3
New Jersey	29,245	205.68	51.53	6.57	49.1
New Mexico	7,538	164.56	39.65	7.27	71.2
New York	141,853	208.25	49.40	14.02	48.1
North Carolina	27.091	108.38	26.04	4.01	76.8
North Dakota	2,063	161.18	40.06	7.94	63.2
Ohio	46,290	146.44	34.50	5.85	63.6
Oklahoma	19,424	129.20	32.50	21.42	63.9
Oregon	9,454	163.33	41.15	7.52	60.1
Pennsylvania	59,706	138.87	31.72	6.85	62.1

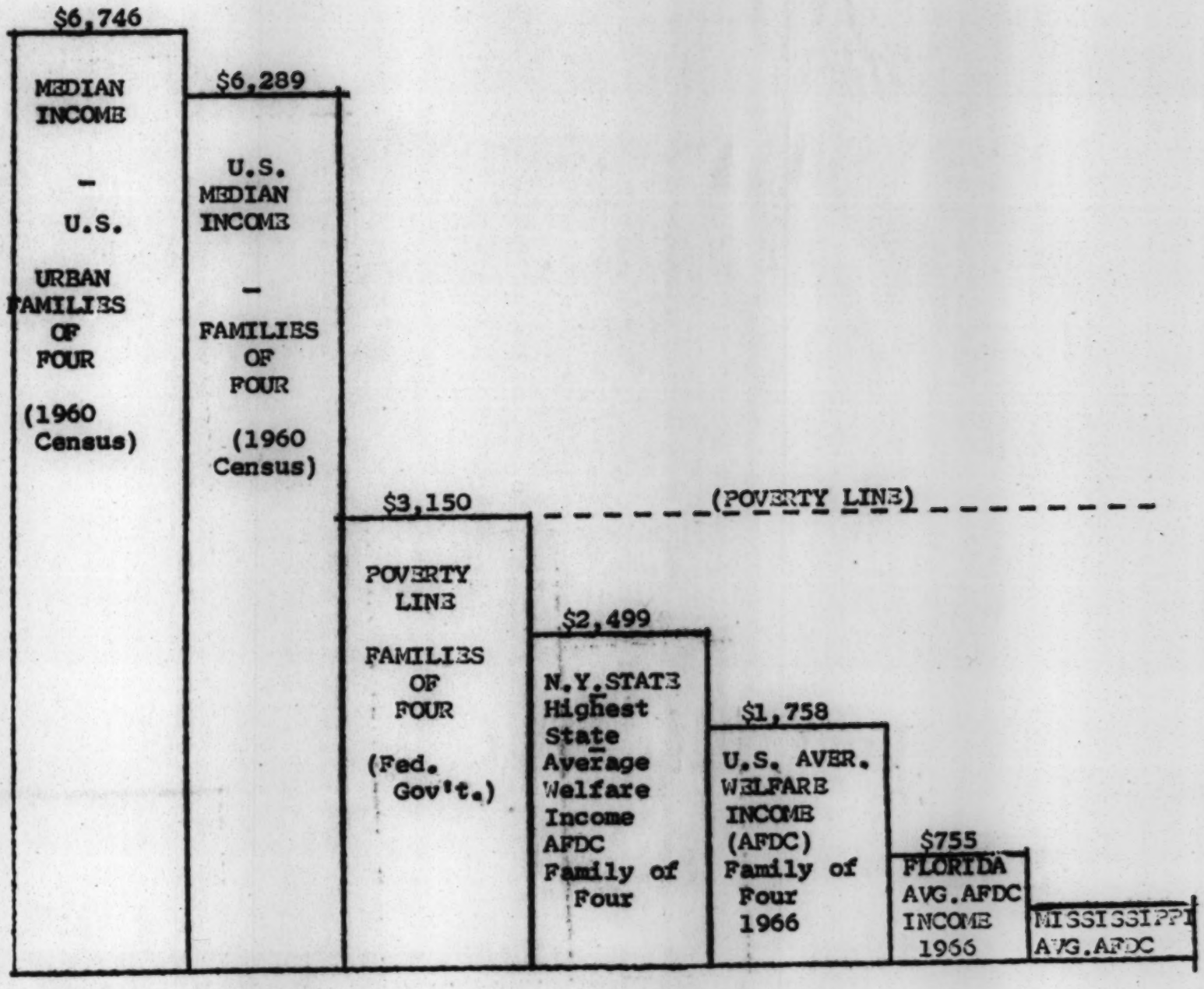
*1965 figures not available

State	Aid to families with dependent children: Recipients and payments to recipients, by State, April 1966			Annual Expenditures per inhab.	Annual % of payment from
	Number of Families	Average per Family	Average per Recipient	State and Local 1964*	Fed. funds 1964*
Rhode Island	6,172	177.48	44.92	9.47	56.8
South Carolina	6,846	64.14	16.21	2.44	79.8
South Dakota	3,237	124.15	33.22	4.67	72.4
Tennessee	20,642	97.30	24.01	3.12	79.5
Texas	21,631	96.63	21.31	5.30	75.0
Utah	6,013	148.73	36.20	5.82	70.1
Vermont	1,518	112.11	29.29	5.94	72.0
Virginia	11,226	109.15	25.67	1.56	76.6
Washington	16,991	148.19	37.14	12.07	60.0
West Virginia	22,825	129.26	27.57	7.06	76.7
Wisconsin	11,257	204.87	51.76	8.09	50.3
Wyoming	1,108	150.00	40.46	5.64	59.4

*1965 figures not available

AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOMES FOR FAMILIES OF FOUR

FOR: THE UNITED STATES
AND
AFDC* WELFARE FAMILIES



* Aid to Families with Dependent Children

Poverty / Rights Action Center
1713 R. Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
202-462-8804

McKinnish

CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

$100 A MONTH AT 65

Speech by

T. C. DOUGLAS

M.P. for Burnaby-Coquitlam

Leader of the New Democratic Party

Delivered in the House of Commons

June 30, 1966

(*Not printed at public expense*)

98676

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(Mimeographed by public expense)

CANADA ASSISTANCE PLAN

ESTABLISHMENT OF PROGRAM TO ASSIST PERSONS IN NEED

The house resumed, from Wednesday, June 29, consideration of the motion of Mr. MacEachen for the second reading of Bill No. C-207, to authorize the making of contributions by Canada towards the cost of programs for the provision of assistance and welfare services to and in respect of persons in need.

Mr. T. C. Douglas (Burnaby-Coquitlam): Mr. Speaker, the legislation now before the house contains the long awaited Canada Assistance Plan. For over a year the people of Canada, particularly the old age pensioners, have been told with a great fanfare of trumpets and clanging of cymbals that the arrival of the Canada Assistance Plan would solve all their problems. Now we have the plan before us and I must say it is a pathetic response to a great social need. One would almost be justified in using the old and hackneyed phrase that the mountain has laboured and brought forth a mouse.

Not only are the old age pensioners and the public generally disappointed in this legislation but there is a growing indication that many backbenchers on the government side of the house are equally disappointed. Last night it was an interesting spectacle to watch some of the ministers flitting like butterflies from member to member on the government side, trying to persuade them to refrain from taking part in the debate and assuring them that if they would just wait until the minister spoke their worst fears would be assuaged.

The government has even become so desperate that it has now started a rumour that the minister is going to make some pronouncement that will relieve the concern of the old age pensioners. If the government feels that concurrently with the old age assistance plan there ought to be legislation to increase the old age security pension, the minister had ample opportunity to announce that when he brought in this legislation.

Further, the Prime Minister (Mr. Pearson) had ample opportunity yesterday when the right hon. Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Diefenbaker) specifically asked him if the government would bring down legislation to raise the pension to $100 a month before there was a summer adjournment, but the Prime Minister brushed that aside. Today the Minister of National Health and Welfare (Mr. MacEachen) has had ample opportunity, either on motions or during the question period, to announce a policy that would give some hope to our older citizens that the government has not quite forgotten them.

If the minister is prepared to indicate that before we recess for the summer he will bring down concurrent legislation providing $100 a month to old age security pensioners at age 65, he has only to nod his head and I am quite prepared to sit down and give him the floor. But I am not prepared to fall for the old ruse of allowing the minister to close the debate and prevent members on this side of the house from expressing their opinions, on the supposition that he is going to do something, when all the record of the past indicates that the government is not likely to do very much.

• (3:30 p.m.)

In the first place, I wish to say that the Canada Assistance Plan is good administrative legislation. It will do many things which social welfare workers have been advocating over the years. First of all, it will remove many of the restrictive categories and will enable welfare workers to deal with individuals as people rather than as statistics in a given category. In this way it will provide a flexibility for welfare workers which they have not enjoyed in the past. Certainly in the matter of administering welfare programs this is a forward step.

This plan substitutes a needs test in place of a means test. This also has some advantages. One advantage is that where a provincial government is generous and where the welfare worker is trained it will enable those administering the welfare programs to supply whatever funds are necessary to meet the special need of a particular case. That is something welfare workers have been asking for a long time. It is very difficult when bureaucrats lay down circumscribed conditions and maximum figures of allowable income or the amount of the grant which can be given to deal with special cases. A person may have diabetes and need insulin or a special diet. He may require a hearing aid. There is a whole host of things such as home care and special training that cannot be foreseen in the preparation of regulations which are necessary to give the welfare worker sufficient elbow room so that he or she can deal with special cases of need.

It should be pointed out at the same time that the needs test also has some distinct disadvantages. Where the provincial government is niggardly and where the welfare administrator is stingy the recipient can be worse off than he or she was before. The difficulty about a needs test is that it is a matter of subjective judgment. The concept of need is in the mind of the administrator. Consequently it is going to be difficult to exercise any uniformity of standards. Undoubtedly there will be different concepts

of need as one goes from community to community and particularly as one goes from province to province. This causes me some concern, because unfortunately there has always been a disparity between the welfare benefits paid in the "have" provinces and those paid in the "have not" provinces.

One of the ideas inherent in an old age security pension as of right is that all Canadian citizens are entitled to the same amount of payment in their old age irrespective of where they live in Canada. I am concerned lest in relying upon a needs test without any standard of uniformity the "have" provinces can be fairly generous but the "have not" provinces, irrespective of how generous they may want to be, since they must match any payment they get from the federal government, may be required because of financial stringency to be much less generous than some of the more wealthy provinces. I cannot imagine anything which will contribute more to national disunity than to have a wide and growing disparity between the treatment of old people, widows, the crippled, the blind and the disabled, from province to province with less generous treatment in the poorer provinces than in the richer.

In my view the basic weakness in the Canada Assistance Plan is that it is wedded to the old concept of welfare. Assistance is still going to be granted on the basis of requiring each individual to pass a test. It is true it is to be a needs test rather than a means test, but it is still a test. It is an affront to human dignity to ask people because they are in bad financial circumstances to degrade and humiliate themselves by submitting to a test. What the government really is saying in this legislation is: We are going to help the needy people of Canada provided they are on their knees. I submit, Mr. Speaker, that there is little value in feeding the bodies of men and women if we are going to leave them with a sense of humiliation.

Last Sunday afternoon while I was attending a picnic in the city of Hamilton a long-time resident of that community walking with a cane hobbled up to me and said, "I want you to tell Mr. Pearson that I would rather starve than pass a test." I think he represents the view of hundreds of thousands of proud-spirited people in this country who are not going to submit themselves to a test and who feel, as a result of having toiled all their lives in helping to build Canada and bring it to what it is today, that they are entitled to the amenities of life without having to undergo an individual test.

The whole concept of welfare is changing throughout the world. In the United Kingdom at the present time legislation has been introduced to provide for a guaranteed annual income. In the United States a number of congressional and state committees are studying the same proposition, only they call it a negative income tax. Whatever terminology one may use, I am convinced we shall see public opinion in the years ahead force whatever government is in office to abolish the means test and the needs test and guarantee people in necessitous circumstances an income which can be determined by means of the income tax so that the individual will be assured that if whatever pension and income he has are not sufficient to meet a given minimum the government will make up the difference.

• (3:40 p.m.)

We in the New Democratic Party feel that if the government were to establish $100 per month pensions at age 65 and set up a guaranteed annual income measure providing, let us say, $1,500 per year for single people and $3,000 per year for a married couple, people who had nothing but their pensions would still be entitled to some additional assistance under the guaranteed annual income measure. Those who have some private income in addition to their pensions, and this would be indicated when they filed their income tax returns, would not be entitled to any additional payment.

This would not rule out the need for the Canada Assistance Plan. There will still be cases of special need and there will still be instances where welfare departments will have to step in because of special circumstances and give additional aid over and above any assistance that may be provided as a result of old age security pensions and guaranteed annual incomes.

The tragic thing about this legislation is that it really does nothing for the elderly citizens of Canada. The groups who are affected, recipients of mothers' allowances, the blind and disabled, need all the help they can get and that is why I should like to see the adoption of a guaranteed annual income measure. These people need more help than can be provided now and, in some provinces, more than the provinces can afford to pay. There is nothing in this legislation which will help the people who are trying to survive on $75 per month.

I consider this legislation the cruelest hoax that has ever been perpetrated on senior citizens of this country because their expectations were built up by the government and by the Liberal party. I could bring in stacks of Liberal campaign literature which informed the old people of the great assistance they were going to get when the Canada Assistance Plan was adopted. For over a year

every time we raised the question of increasing old age pensions we were told to wait until the Canada Assistance Plan was brought before the house. There is nothing in this legislation that will guarantee any assistance to the old age security pensioner. This measure does provide that if the provincial governments want to give additional money the federal government will pay part of the cost, but there is no guarantee that provincial governments will want to pay more and there are many provinces which may not be able to pay more.

What were the old people told about this Canada Assistance Plan? I have here the Toronto *Star* of October 16, 1965 which has a three-column, one-inch type heading reading "Pearson Pledges $100 A Month For Needy Old People". The article then states:

> The government plans to pay pensions of more than $100 a month to old people with no other income, Prime Minister Pearson said last night.

The article goes on to state:

> The Liberals proposed to concentrate higher pensions on people who need more than $75 a month and have no other income.

The article then quotes the Prime Minister as stating:

> Anybody who has only $75 from the state, and no other source of income, and needs more, even if it's $125—more than $100—should be in a position to get it.
>
> It's so simple to say, "all right, you gave them $75, we'll give them $100". But I'm not going to engage in any auction of the people's money for that kind of thing.
>
> Mr. Pearson did not estimate how much the proposed "Canada assistance program" would cost.
>
> He said only that his government is prepared to pay "a large share" of the extra pensions—leaving the rest of the bill to the provinces.

The Ottawa *Journal* of the same date carried an article under the heading "Pledges Pension Boost" and the subheading "Pearson Promises $100 Or More For Needy Aged". Every other newspaper in the country carried similar stories. Many of the old age pensioners took the government's promise seriously, that if they had no other pension than $75 a month they would be entitled to $125 a month. That is the kind of propaganda that was spread, but there is nothing in this bill which will guarantee them a five cent piece more than the $75 a month they are getting right now.

I accuse the government of a cruel deception upon the old people of this country. I accuse the government of playing politics with the hopes and expectations which they aroused in the senior citizens of this country. Having built up great expectations by advance publicity the government is now trying to hurry this legislation through the house by introducing it late, hoping thereby that they can get it passed before the public becomes aware of the fact that the old people of this country have been betrayed and deceived. With respect to old age security pensioners this plan is a deliberate attempt to foist off on the provinces a responsibility which belongs to the government of Canada.

In 1951 the government of Canada asked for a constitutional amendment to give it exclusive jurisdiction in the matter of providing old age security pensions and it got that authority. What is more, it got the tax revenue to provide these pensions through a 4 per cent surcharge on personal income tax, 3 per cent on sales tax and 3 per cent on corporation tax. That money has gone into the old age security fund and it is quite a fund today. It has a surplus now in the neighbourhood of $250 million and it is going up at the rate of $20 million a month. It is estimated that by March 31 next the fund will have a surplus of $455 million.

The government can well afford to make some additional payment to the old age pensioners. It may be that it is delaying this in order to use it as an election gimmick during the next campaign. I do not know if that is the intention, but if so it is a terrible way to treat the old people of this country. Instead of exercising the jursidiction which the government asked for and instead of spending the money it has taxed for this purpose, what is the government doing? It is now saying that $75 per month is all it is going to pay old age security pensioners.

The old age security pensioners need more. The Prime Minister said in a television interview during the last election campaign that they might need up to $125 a month. The government now says that if they need more let the provinces put it up and the government will pay half. There is no reason why the provinces should pay any part of this increase because these people are the exclusive responsibility of the government of Canada. The provinces have plenty of other responsibilities. They have all the rest of the welfare field lying at their doorstep and have inadequate financial resources, particularly in the have-not provinces.

This government has no excuse whatsoever for trying to shift part of its responsibility for looking after old age security pensioners on to the shoulders of provincial governments. There can be no doubt that the federal government can afford to increase these pensions to $100 per month, particularly in view of the surpluses that are building up in the old age security fund.

• (3:50 p.m.)

I hope the minister will not follow the line that has been followed by the Prime Minister on some occasions, namely, of pointing out

that inflationary pressures would build up if we increased the old age pension. The old age pensioners are in a very anomalous position. When we are in a deflationary phase in the business cycle we do not give them an increase because we cannot afford it. When we are in an inflationary phase in the business cycle we cannot give them an increase because it will cause inflationary pressure. So the old age pensioners cannot win. If the government is convinced—I am not—that there is too much money chasing too few goods and that somebody's purchasing power must be curtailed, the last people who ought to have their purchasing power curtailed are the elderly citizens of this country.

Some hon. Members: Hear, hear.

Mr. Douglas: These are the people who need every dollar they can get just in order to live. Like all members of parliament I get letters from people all across this country. Here is one that came to me from the city of Toronto from a woman of 74 years of age who has been a widow for 10 years, is a diabetic and is partly crippled as a result. There is one phrase in this letter that has stayed with me ever since I read it. I could not get it out of my mind. She says:

> I do hope and pray we will get a raise this month as I know I get hungry at times and I guess we all do. We will hope and pray for a brighter future.

When I think of a woman 74 years of age having to say "I get hungry at times" in a country that has the second highest standard of living in the world, a country that is in a state of affluence, a country whose gross national product has been increasing steadily throughout the years, it is certainly a reflection upon the adequacy of our social security program.

The argument which is being put up by members opposite, not by their speeches because they have been very careful not to make speeches but by their interjections, was expressed very well yesterday by the hon. member for High Park (Mr. Cameron) as reported at page 7076 of *Hansard* when he interrupted and asked a question. He said:

> Like all members of the house I have a problem about which I want to ask him a very simple question. It is this. Rather than require pensioners to show a reasonable need, does the hon. member support the principle that we should pay the extra $25 a month to hundreds of thousands of people who do not require it at all?

Another member across the way interrupted yesterday to say, "Do you think that we should pay a pension to a person with an income of $10,000 a year?" Mr. Speaker, in the first place we thought this type of argument had ended long ago when parliament decided to set up an old age security pension without a means test and to pay it as a matter of right.

What about the question of paying this pension to people who do not really need it? First of all, how many are there? I think the figures show that of the people 70 years of age or over in this country the number with an income of $10,000 or over is 1.1 per cent. We have to ask ourselves: Is it better to make 99 per cent of the people go through the humiliation of a test lest we pay too much to the 1 per cent? I would also remind the house that even the 1 per cent who may not need the pension have through the years paid their income tax surcharge and the 3 per cent sales tax into the old age security fund and are entitled to the pension. They have paid for it; it is not charity.

Mr. Starr: And they will be paying on this, too.

Mr. Douglas: Furthermore, if their income is high enough the $100 a month that we are proposing would put them into an income bracket which would mean that a good part of the pension would be taken back in tax. We in the New Democratic Party take the position that it is better to recover by means of income tax from the few who have too much rather than humiliate the many who have too little. We had hoped that the type of argument advanced by the hon. member for High Park and others, namely, that we cannot give everybody an increase in the pension because somebody who does not need it may receive it, had disappeared long ago.

Mr. Speaker, as I said earlier, we want a guaranteed annual income on a negative income tax basis. We want to see the end of tests. What the government is proposing here is that the old age pensioners will get $75 a month as of right. But anything more they get they will get by virtue of passing a test and on the basis of the generosity of the provincial government, and then the federal government will come in and pay part of the cost. I say that the government's failure to announce concurrent legislation, along with the Canada Assistance Plan, to raise the old age security pension is a betrayal of the people's hopes. We are not opposed to the Canada Assistance Plan. We do not object to what is in it. We are profoundly disappointed about what is not in it and the provision it does not make for the people who were led to believe that the Canada Assistance Plan would be the charter of their salvation.

I say that the Canadian people, when they realize the full implications of the government's neglect of our elderly citizens, will rise in their wrath and condemn this government. After all, the cost of living, which is bothering every family in Canada, falls just

as heavily on the old people. In many ways it falls more severely on the old people because while in the last 12 months the weighted cost of living index for all commodities went up 4 per cent, if one takes the specific commodities which people must buy in order to live, food, clothing and shelter, those items have gone up more than 4 per cent. Consequently the cost of living for these old people has gone up to a very marked degree.

When the workers find that the cost of living is going up faster than their wages they have trade unions in many cases and can do something about it. They can negotiate a new agreement; or they can go out on strike if they want to. When farmers are pushed too far they can wheel their tractors out on the road. But these old people have no weapons with which to fight in the economic jungle of our modern society. They have nothing to appeal to except the conscience of the Canadian people, and I believe that the conscience of the Canadian people will be touched as they realize the full implications of the government's neglect. I am convinced that the backbenchers on the government side have had their consciences touched. I am convinced that if the government were to allow a free vote today on whether the old age pension should be raised to $100 a month at age 65, the motion would pass. Only the government's intransigence has kept them from passing it now.

• (4:00 p.m.)

I listened in particular to the comments made yesterday by the Minister of Transport (Mr. Pickersgill) and I can only come to the conclusion that the government's arrogance has dulled their sensibilities. When the Minister of Transport said yesterday that we have the best social security system in the world he certainly proved either that he does not know what he is talking about or that he has become so completely insulated from the people of this country that he has returned to the arrogance of 1957. Because any person who will look at the social security systems of some of the other countries of the world would not make the kind of statement that was made by the Minister of Transport. I invite the Minister of Transport to go out and tell the old age pensioners of this country, who are trying to eke out an existence on $75 a month, that we have the best social security system in the world—let him try telling them that and see what their reaction will be.

I think the government should stop and take stock. They are in a minority position in this house. They have stayed in office for the very obvious reason that no party today wants to put this country to the cost of another general election. So the government has been given a free hand in bringing down legislation and has obtained the co-operation of all parties of this house in proceeding with their program.

I want to tell the government that unless they do something about the plight of old age pensioners, the opposition parties in this parliament will be justified in combining and putting this government out of office. I think the people of Canada would support them in taking such a step. After all, the last time the Liberal government was defeated was in 1957, and the reason for its defeat was that it had become so arrogant that it lost touch with the feelings and the social conscience of the Canadian people. Despite the fact that they had a large surplus in the treasury, the very best they could do was to raise the old age pension by $6 a month. When opposition members of that day raised their voices in protest, they received the same kind of answers that we have been getting these past two or three days.

But when the government—dubbed as the "six bucks boys"—went to the people in the election of 1957 they found that the reaction of the Canadian people was such as to put them out of office. I suggest they would be wise not to make the same mistake again. The Canadian people are patient and long suffering but their patience is wearing thin. The great bulk of the Canadian people, concerned as they are about their own problem of getting sufficient income to meet the rising cost of living, are also concerned about their neighbours and their fellow Canadians. There is hardly a community in Canada in which there are not old people who are in need, and these people have touched the conscience of their neighbours and their friends.

I want to tell the government that the Canadian people will not put up too long with a government that refuses to take the steps which are so obvious and to use the money which is now available in the old age security fund to provide these old people with some of the amenities and decencies of life. If this government wants to put some muscle into its war on poverty, here is the place to begin.

Let them begin by bringing in concurrent legislation so that in addition to the Canada Assistance Plan the old age security pensioners of this country will get $100 a month, not by passing a test, not by having to depend on a generous provincial government, but by right, and by virtue of the fact that this parliament has made it clear that it will live up to its federal responsibilities for the elderly people of Canada.

ROGER DUHAMEL, F.R.S.C., Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, Ottawa, 1966

"HAVING THE POWER, WE HAVE THE DUTY"
Lyndon B. Johnson

(Report of the Advisory Council on Public Welfare June 1966).

Chapter XIV - Summary of Recommendations

In setting forth a comprehensive program of Basic Social Guarantees, the Advisory Council on Public Welfare has presented its central recommendations in pages xi to xiv under the following headings:

1. General Proposal
2. Assistance Standards
3. Eligibility for Aid
4. Eligibility Determination
5. Child and Youth Welfare Services
6. Other Social Services
7. Legal Rights
8. Personnel
9. States' Share
10. Federal Share
11. Interim Option

In this report, the Advisory Council on Public Welfare adopted the device of presenting its major recommendations in each chapter (except Chapter I) dealing with substantive issues, together with varying numbers of supporting position statements in specific areas, as follows:

Chapter II - THE ADVISORY COUNCIL ON PUBLIC WELFARE RECOMMENDS A MINIMUM STANDARD FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PAYMENTS BELOW WHICH NO STATE MAY FALL.

The Advisory Council on Public Welfare urges prompt, decisive action to bring the amounts of public assistance payments throughout this Nation up to a minimum American standard of health and decency.

Chapter III - THE ADVISORY COUNCIL ON PUBLIC WELFARE RECOMMENDS A NATION-WIDE COMPRESENSIVE PROGRAM OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE BASED UPON A SINGLE CRITERIAN: NEED.

The Advisory Council on Public Welfare strongly urges legislation that will make possible comprehensive public assistance programs based upon the only relevant eligibility requirement -- need.

Chapter IV - THE ADVISORY COUNCIL ON PUBLIC WELFARE RECOMMENDS A UNIFORM AND SIMPLE PLAN FOR FEDERAL-STATE FINANCIAL SHARING IN COSTS OF ALL PUBLIC WELFARE PROGRAMS: THE PLAN SHOULD PROVIDE FOR EQUITABLE AND REASONABLE FISCAL EFFORT AMONG STATES AND SHOULD RECOGNIZE THE RELATIVE FISCAL CAPACITY OF THE FEDERAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS TO FINANCE ADEQUATE AND COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAMS.

It is the conviction of the Advisory Council on Public Welfare that the adoption of a single uniform formula, which reverses the responsibilities of the Federal and State governments for basic financial support and which recognizes varying State fiscal capacities and effort, is essential.

Chapter V - THE ADVISORY COUNCIL ON PUBLIC WELFARE RECOMMENDS PROMPT EXTENSION OF COVERAGE AND LIBERALIZATION OF BENEFITS UNDER THE SOCIAL INSURANCE PROGRAMS.

The Advisory Council on Public Welfare is of the opinion that the adequacy of social insurance benefits should not remain static but be kept in proper relationship to living costs and wage levels.

Chapter VI - THE ADVISORY COUNCIL ON PUBLIC WELFARE RECOMMENDS THAT SOCIAL SERVICES THROUGH PUBLIC WELFARE PROGRAMS BE STRENGTHENED AND EXTENDED AND BE READILY ACCESSIBLE AS A MATTER OF RIGHT AT ALL TIMES TO ALL WHO NEED THEM. THE ADVISORY COUNCIL CONSIDERS IT URGENT THAT PUBLIC WELFARE PROGRAMS BE STRUCTURED TO PROVIDE EVER MORE EFFECTIVE SOCIAL SERVICES, MEDICAL ASSISTANCE, AND INCOME MAINTENANCE IN READILY

ACCESSIBLE LOCAL CENTERS, PROPERTY STAFFED AND ORGANIZED. INCREASINGLY, THEY MAY BECOME ASSOCIATED WITH A COMPLEX OF SPECIAL SERVICES.

The Advisory Council on Public Welare recognizes that child welfare services constitute a major component in the proposed comprehensive program of social guarantees.

The Advisory Council on Public Welfare believes that child welfare and youth services, as well as other services of public welfare agencies, should be available as a right, subject to enforcement in the courts.

THE ADVISORY COUNCIL ON PUBLIC WELFARE RECOMMENDS THAT THE PRESENT WORK TRAINING PROGRAMS BE STRENGTHENED AND BECOME PERMANENT PARTS OF THE PUBLIC WELFARE STRUCTURE.

THE ADVISORY COUNCIL ON PUBLIC WELFARE RECOMMENDS THAT ONE CONSOLIDATED PROGRAM WITHIN THE WELFARE ADMINISTRATION FOR THE PREVENTION, TREATMENT, AND CONTROL OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY BE ESTABLISHED.

The Advisory Council on Public Welfare urges that existing gaps in the medical assistance program be closed through Federal sharing in the cost of medical assistance for the medically needy between 21 and 65 years of age.

Although it is not required until July 1, 1975, the Advisory Council on Public Welfare believes it is not only feasible, but necessary, to advance the provision of dental services, particularly for children, to a much earlier date. The Advisory Council on Public Welfare calls upon the Welfare Administration to exert strong leadership for the States in the development of family planning services as part of their medical and social services.

Chapter VII - THE ADVISORY COUNCIL ON PUBLIC WELFARE RECOMMENDS THAT ALL PUBLIC WELFARE PROGRAMS RECEIVING FEDERAL FUNDS BE ADMINISTERED CONSISTENT WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF PUBLIC WELFARE AS A RIGHT.

The Advisory Council on Public Welfare further emphasizes that to achieve this recommendation Federal law and policy must be explicit in requiring that all Federally supported public welfare programs provide for:

A readily available and understandable application process for aid, whether for financial assistance of social services, including readily available and conveniently located public welfare offices in areas where people live;

Promptness in all administrative actions within specifically stated time limits;

A method or mechanism to assure legal representation for all who wish it, including payment for necessary costs of such representation;

An independent appeals system, with procedures and mechanisms so devised that decisions on appeals are truly independent judgments even where made within the framework of the administering agency;

An opportunity for aggrieved individuals to test the reasonableness of policies of the agency as well as the application of policies through the appeals process;

A positive program for informing recipients and applicants of their rights, utilizing all appropriate means of communication.

The Advisory Council on Public Welfare believes that there is great urgency for the emphatic assertion of public welare's accountability for the protection of individual rights, and for the scrupulous observance of the individual rights of the

people it serves.

Chapter VIII - THE ADVISORY COUNCIL ON PUBLIC WELFARE RECOMMENDS PROMPT ACTION TO ENABLE THE WELFARE ADMINISTRATION TO EXPAND ITS SUPPORT OF ALL PHASES OF RECRUITMENT, EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR WELFARE PERSONNEL, INCLUDING PRE-PROFESSIONAL, PROFESSIONAL, AND ADVANCED SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION: VOCATIONAL TRAINING FOR SUB-PROFESSIONAL AIDES AND TECHNICIANS: AND RESERRCH AND DEVELOPMENT IN MORE EFFECTIVE USE OF AVAILABLE PERSONNEL.

The Advisory Council on Public Welfare urges that sharply increased Federal support of social work education be made available so that the knowledge and skills of social work can contribute fully to our National effort to assure the welfare of all the people.

Chapter IX - THE ADVISORY COUNCIL ON PUBLIC WELFARE RECOMMENDS THAT THE WELFARE ADMINISTRATION BE ENABLED TO MOUNT A SOCIAL WELFARE RESEARCH EFFORT COMMENSURATE IN SIZE AND SCOPE WITH THE NATIONAL INVESTMENT IN ITS PROGRAMS.

The Advisory Council on Public Welfare urges that the present Division of Research be greatly strengthened as rapidly as possible so that it becomes a national social welfare research center which provides (a) a setting for research and development in the area of human resources, (b) a center for the dissemination of social information, (c) a facility for collection, storage, and retrieval of social statistics and other relevant information, (d) a stimulus to creativity and innovation in the monitoring and solving of social problems, and (e) a vehicle for continuing assessment of the social state of the Nation.

Chapter X - THE ADVISORY COUNCIL ON PUBLIC WELFARE RECOMMENDS THAT THE RESOURCES OF STAFF AND ADMINISTRATIVE FUNDS FOR THE WELFARE ADMINISTRATION AND FOR STATE PUBLIC WELFARE AGENCIES BE EXPANDED COMMENSURATE WITH NEEDS FOR STAFF AND FACILITIES NECESSARY TO IMPROVE AND UPDATE PROGRAM ADMINISTRATION.

It is the belief of the Advisory Council on Public Welfare that significant improvements in administration can be made by immediately furnishing the Welfare Administration adequate resources to exert maximum leadership within the framework of the existing structure.

Chapter XI - THE ADVISORY COUNCIL ON PUBLIC WELFARE RECOMMENDS THAT THE INTERNATIONAL OFFICE OF THE WELFARE ADMINISTRATION BE GIVEN NECESSARY AUTHORITY AND RESOURCES TO STRENGTHEN ITS ROLE AS A MAJOR PARTICIPANT IN INTERNATIONAL SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS.

Chapter XII - THE ADVISORY COUNCIL ON PUBLIC WELFARE RECOMMENDS THAT PUBLIC WELFARE AGENCIES CONTINUOUSLY SEEK GREATER PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR PROGRAMS, AND OBJECTIVES THROUGH ALL APPROPRIATE MEANS.

It is the opinion of the Advisory Council on Public Welfare that a clearly defined program of public interpretation and enlistment of wide community advice on and understanding of the public welfare program is fundamental and essential to more effective administration.

Chapter XIII - Pending full achievement of the recommended comprehensive public welfare programs, the Advisory Council on public welfare makes the following recommendations:

TEMPORARY LEGISLATION, ENACTED IN 1961, WHICH EXTENDS THE AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN PROGRAM TO INCLUDE NEEDY FAMILIES WITH AN UNEMPLOYED PARENT, SHOULD BE MADE PERMANENT AND MANDATORY UPON THE STATES, AND PROVISION MADE FOR COVERING MORE OF THE UNEMPLOYED THAN MANY OF THE STATES NOW INCLUDE.

TEMPORARY LEGISLATION, ENACTED IN 1962, PROVIDED AFDC PAYMENTS IN NON-PROFIT PRIVATE CHILD CARE INSTITUTIONS FOR CHILDR N WHOSW PLACEMENT AND CARE IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PUBLIC WELFARE AGENCY, SHOULD BE MADE PERMANENT.

TEMPORARY LEGISLATION, ENACTED IN 1962, PROVIDING FOR PROTECTIVE PAYMENTS TO A QUALIFIED INDIVIDUAL INTERESTED IN THE WELFARE OF AN AFDC FAMILY WHEN STATES HAVE EVIDENCE THAT THERE IS INABILITY TO MANAGE MONEY AND THAT CONTINUED MONEY PAYMENTS WOULD BE CONTRARY TO THE BENEFIT OF THE CHILD, SHOULD BE MADE PERMANENT.

THE AUTHORIZATION FOR THE EXPENDITURE OF APPROPRIATED FUNDS, PROVIDED IN 1962 AND LIMITED FISCAL YEARS PROIR TO JULY 1967, TO SUPPORT DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS IN STATE AND LOCAL PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AGENCIES SO THAT NEW METHODS, TECHNIQUES, AND PRACTICES CAN BE TESTED, SHOULD BE MADE PERMANENT AND SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASED.

THE LEGISLATION, ENACTED IN 1961,AUTHORIZING TEMPORARY ASSISTANCE FOR UNITED STATES CITIZENS AND THEIR DEPENDENTS RETURNED FROM FORIEGN COUNTRIES, SHOULD BE MADE PERMANENT.

TEMPORARY LEGISLATION, ENACTED IN 1962, WHICH PROVIDES FEDERAL PARTICIPATION IN CER--TAIN COSTS OF COMMUNITY WORK AND TRAINING PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO CONSERVE AND DEVELOPE WORK SKILLS OF THE UNEMPLOYED PARENT RECEIVING AFDC, SHOULD BE IMPROVED AND MADE PERMANENT.

To build into the public assistance program resources that will assure training or retraining of all employable recipients or potential recipients, the Advisory Council on Public Welfare futther recommends that:

a. a training component be required as a part of the work program;

b. Federal financial participation be provided in the costs of project materials, supervision, training, and in associated costs; and

c. children 18 to 22 years of age be included where the State's AFDC program does not include this age group.

WITH THE EXPIRATION OF PUBLIC LAW 87-274,AS AMENDED, NEW LEGISLATION SHOULD PROVIDE AUTHORIZATION TO THE WELFARE ADMINISTATION FOR GRANTS-IN-AID AND PROJECT FUNDS FOR THE PREVENTION, TREATMENT, AND CONTROL OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.

IN THEIR STATE PLANS FOR PUBLIC ASSISTANCE, STATES SHOULD BE REQUIRED TO INCLUDE ALL TYPES OF PERSONS ELIGIBLE UNDER FEDERAL LAW.

FINANCIAL AID SHOULD BE AVAILABLE TO A LOW INCOME FAMILY OTHERWISE ELIGIBLE WHOSE EARNINGS FROM EMPLOMENT ARE INSUFFICIENT TO PROVIDE THE BASIC ESSENTIALS OF LIVING.

EXEMPTION OF A REASONABLE PROPORTION OF EARNINGS OF CHILDR N AND RELATIVES CARING FOR THEM IN A AFDC FAMILY SHOULD BE MANDATORY UPON THE STATES; AND EARNINGS EXEMPTIONS SHOULD BE MADE CONSISTENT FOR ALL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS.

THE APTD PROGRAM (TITLE XIV) SHOULD BE BROADENED BY DELETING THE ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENT OF "PERMANENT AND TOTAL" DISABILITY AND BY EXTENDING THE PROGRAM TO INCLUDE NEEDY DISABLED CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE.

THE AGE REQUIREMENT FOR OLD AGE ASSISTANCE AND MEDICAL ASSISTANCE FOR THE AGED (TITLE L) SHOULD BE LOWERED FROM THE PRESENT 65YEARS OF AGE TO 60YYEARS OF AGE.

THE AGE REQUIREMENT UNDER THE AFDC PROGRAM SHOULD BE EXTENDED TOINCLUDE CHILDREN UP TO 22YEARS OF AGE IF THEY ARE REGULARLY ATTENDING ASCHOOL, COLLEGE, OR UNIVERSITY, OR A COURSE OF A VOCATIONAL OR TECHNICAL TRAINING, AND SHOULD BE MADE MANDATORY UPON THE STATES.

NO LIENS SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO BE PLACED AGAINST THE REAL PROPERTY OF ANY RECIPIENT OF A FEDERALLY AIDED PUBLIC ASSISTANCE. RATHER, ALL FEDERAL LEGISLATION IN THIS GENERAL AREA SHOULD BE MADE CONSISTENT WITH THE PROVISIONS OF TITLE XIX.

RELATIVES SHOULD NOT BE REQUIRED TO SUPPORT THOSE NEEDING PUBLIC ASSISTANCE BEYOND SPOUSES AND PARENTS OF MINOR CHILDREN.

WITHOUT ANY CHANGE IN THE PRESENT GRANTS-IN-AID UNDER TITLE V, PART3, COSTS OF CERTAIN EXPENSES IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF CHILD WELFARE AND YOUTH SERVICES (INCLUDING PROFFESSIONAL STAFF AND THEIR IMMEDIATE SUPPORTING CLERICAL STAFF, AND COSTS OF PROFESSIONAL ADUCATION) SHOULD BE FINANCED IMMEDEATLY ON THE SAME OPEN-ENDED MATCHING BASIS AS PROVIDED FOR COMPARABLE STATE COSTS IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF TITLE IV OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT (AID TO FAMILIES WITH DEPENDENT CHILDREN AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD ESTABLISH ADEQUATE STANDARDS FOR ALL SUCH SERVICES.

PROVISION SHOULD BE MADE FOR INCREASED STAFF IN BOTH THE HEADQUATERS AND REGIONAL OFFICES OF THE WELFARE ADMINISTRATION COMMENSURATE WITH THE INCREASED FEDERAL RESPONSIBILITIES PLACED UPON IT BY RECENT LEGISLATION.

TO ACCELERATE THE TREND TOWARD COMPARABILITY AND EQUITY AMONG PUBLIC WELFARE PROGRAMS FROM STATE TO STSTE, ANY NEW MONIES OR RELEASED FUNDS DUE TO CHANGES IN ANY TITLE OF THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT, PRIOR TO THE FULL ADOPTION OF THE PROPOSED NEW METHOD OF FINANCING DESCRIBED IN CHAPTERIV OF THIS REPORT, SHOULD CONTAIN A MAINTENANCE OF STATE EFFORT PROVISION COMPARABLE TO THAT IN THE 1965 AMENDMENTS TO THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT.

ORAM ASSOCIATES, INC.

PUBLIC RELATIONS & FUND RAISING

8 WEST 40TH STREET • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10018

LAckawanna 4-6700 • Cable Address: HALORAM, NEW YORK

HAROLD L. ORAM
President

SIDNEY W. GREEN
HENRY GOLDSTEIN
Vice Presidents

ANNA C. FRANK
Secretary Treasurer

FOR RELEASE FRIDAY, JULY 1, 1966

Sidney W. Green and Henry Goldstein were today (FRIDAY, JULY 1, 1966) named vice presidents of Oram Associates, Inc., newly formed affiliate of Harold L. Oram, Inc., public relations and fund-raising consultants.

The appointments were announced by Harold Oram, who is president of both companies.

The new corporation will concentrate on the planning and management of long range capital development programs for educational, social welfare and cultural institutions. Offices will be maintained in New York at 8 West 40th Street.

Mr. Green, a graduate of the City College of New York, earned his Master's degree at Columbia University. He is a frequent contributor to Arts Management and was associated with the Joint Defense Appeal for several years. He was an account executive at Victor Weingarten Co., Inc. prior to joining Harold L. Oram, Inc. in 1962.

Mr. Goldstein is an alumnus of New York University where he also pursued graduate studies. He has been a Community Chest executive and a political public relations counsel. Before joining Harold L. Oram, Inc. in 1964, he was an official of The Greater New York Fund.

Both men remain Senior Associates of Harold L. Oram, Inc., a member firm of the American Association of Fund Raising Counsel.

- end -

MEMBER
THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF FUND-RAISING COUNSEL
AAFRC
A HALLMARK OF ETHICAL FUND-RAISING

Mr. Albert F. Morris
Post Office Box #39
New York "26", N. Y.

(Dec. 6, 1942)

July 16, 1966

Mr. Floyd McKissick, Esq.,
Director of C.O.R.E.
38 - Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10007
My dear Mr. McKissick:

This letter is being sent to you among a number of other prominent men and women, also groups...and I hope you will join in the campaign, and so identify yourself with the most worthy cause in the nation.

Now, for too long many so called liberals, both men and women have made a show of working for "civil rights" for every citizen in the nation...They have advocated long and loudly for anti-lynch bills, anti-poll tax, twelve points civil rights package, etc., etc...all in an effort to prove their proud passion for human rights and freedoms for everyone...yet, it is my honest conviction that they merely prove by such conduct and clamorings that they are, to say the very least, quite misguided...For indeed, we do not need any more new laws...we need only to enforce the Constitution of the United States, and its great Amendments, and the American Bill Of Rights, honestly and without prjudice or favor...

Therefore, my plan is to work for a new department in the government - The Department of Integration - to be headed by the Secretary of Integration... whose specific function shall be to integrate the interests of all the citizens in the nation, individually and collectively; and without bias or favor....

Moreover, this office should be filled by a black man or a black woman, for the time being, to form a natural balance; until that time when, as a nation, we shall have been able to look upon and accept any American citizen as just another Son of God - The divine, liquid, fluid Substance -- that gives him Being...

Besides, under that department we may then have such sections as: F.E.P.C., anti-lynching, anti-poll tax, anti-ect., as we choose, in order to meet the situation as necessary.

Finally, let us stop the mere process of pruning rotten leaves.... Let us rather go once and for all, directly to the root of the vile and vicious tree of bigotry - Segregation - which is the greatest evil in this otherwise great Land ... Let us have absolute and unimpeded integration of every American citizen, in every phase and activity of the life and processes of our most blessed country...!

And now, please let me hear from you regarding your response to this most timely suggestion....Meanwhile, please allow me to be

TEL: 533-9393
ALBERT MORRIS
P. O. Box 295 (Peter Stuyvesant Station)
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10009

Most respectfully,

Albert Morris

AFM:iam

ALBERT F. MORRIS

P.S. This letter was written long before passage of the so-called civil rights plank... Don't be fooled by it (Plank)... That is mere stage-play-D-R-A-M-A - Moreover let us be assured, now more than ever: we need a new department in the government - The Department of Integration - Headed by the Secretary of Integration, who shall integrate the interests of all the citizens in the nation.

P.P.S. Yes, my dear Mr. McKissick I first wrote this letter to the late F. D. R., in 1942. I have always been in his struggle. I worked to break down the offenses at Wenberg on 125 St., and at Blumstein to get him with our great leader Congressman Adam Clayton Powell. I still applaud him in his unfortunate situation in his personal affairs. Finally we must all be alert to recognize the subtle mans attempts to divide us... Unions... Black Power... Dignity for Black People!

Mr. Floyd McKissick, Esq.
Director of C.O.R.E
38- Park Row
New York, N. Y. 10007

February 27, 1956

July 16, 1960

Mr. Floyd McKissick, Esq.
National Director of C.O.R.E.
38-Park Row
New York, N.Y., 10007
My dear Mr. McKissick:

The Plan about which I am writing you has been in my heart and consciousness since the middle of 1942. In fact I wrote a letter to the late F.D.R. on December 6th, 1942, giving the Plan in details. Since that time I wrote to former President Truman, to President Eisenhower, to Tom Dewey, to Representative Adam Powell and to several others....the late Senator Taft, Senator Glenn Taylor and several other legislators....In addition, I have written not less than four hundred other letters to many other persons on almost every level of circumstances in the nation, prominent and otherwise, both men and women.

Now, my Plan is: To create a new department in the government, either by amending the Constitution in the regular manner, or by Executive Order by the President of the United States, if the regular way proves too difficult. The new department - The Department of Integration - headed by the Secretary of Integration, (whose specific function shall be to enforce the Constitution of the United States and its Amendments, together with the American Bill of Rights) should do so absolutely without bias - without fear or favor - integrating the interests of all the citizens in the nation, once and for all, completely and fully....establishing and enhancing and maintaining at long last, true Liberty and Justice for All U.S. Citizens.

Moreover, for the time being, until such a time when we, as a nation, shall be able to look upon and accept every citizen of the U.S. as just another citizen (- Son of God, the Divine Principle of Being-) the Secretary of Integration should be a black man or a black woman, in order to form a natural balance, really to show that we mean business at last....!

Finally, let us at length stop the fruitless practice of merely pruning rotten leaves... Indeed, let us instead uproot the vile and vicious tree of bigotry.... and in fact, let us at last attain a nation truly indivisable...One for All....and All for One, with Full Freedom, Liberty and Justice for All....And now, please accept my sincere thanks for your kindness in reading this and for your joining in the work of establishing true equality of Opportunities for All, in these great United States, of North America. Meanwhile, please permit me to be,

Yours very respectfully,

Albert Morris

TEL: 533-9398
ALBERT MORRIS
P.O. Box 295 (Peter Stuyvesant Station)
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10009

Albert Morris
P.O. Box 39
New York 26, N.Y.

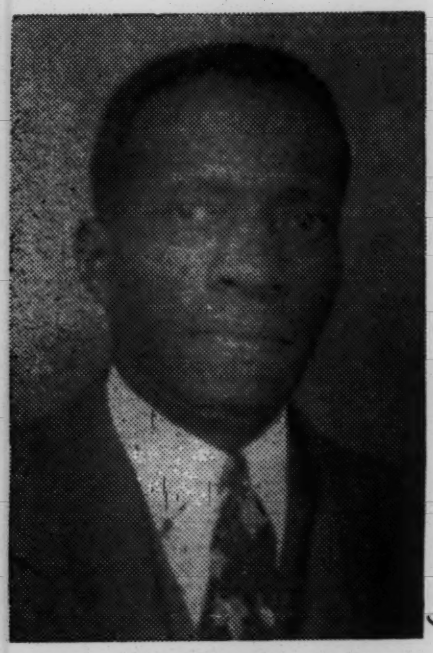
P.S. This is another of the letters that I have sent to more than one thousand persons over many years. I believe we need more law enforcement; not more laws. We must enforce the Constitution. Therefore a new department of Government.

JUL 26 1966

The Youth Organization of Greater New York

FOR ALL PEOPLES AND ALL NATIONS

A Non Profit Organization for the Benefit of Helping Suffering Humanity, Wherever it is Needed Throughout the Metropolitan Area, Regardless to Race or National Origin.



REV. ELDER THOMAS GLOVER
Founder and Pastor

Employment, Job Training & Counselling

THESE ARE THE OBJECTIVES WE ARE TRYING TO ATTAIN

- Establish A Care Center For Working Mothers
- Establish An Employment Center To Hire Christian Co-Workers To Protect Our Children At School And In The Streets
- Purchase A Station Wagon To Transport Elderly Persons And Those Who Are Afraid To Walk At Night
- Social Benefits
- A Play Center
- Provide Babysitters
- You Are Asked To Send Your Boys And Girls To Join Our Boys & Girls Club
- Care For Widows And Orphans
- Provide Food, Clothing And Housing
- Purchase A Building In Which To Conduct These Activities So They May Be Operated Under A Protected Christian Bureau
- We Are Calling For 500,000 Volunteer Workers To Join Us In This Crusade For God

Headquarters
101 W. 140th St., Apt. 34
New York, N. Y. 10030
Phone: [redacted]

7/22/66

We Are In The Fight. Can We Count On You To Stand Up And Fight For Human Dignity For All People?

281-7471:

Mr Floyd McKissick
"Core" - 38 Park Row.
New York - 38 - N.Y.
National Dir.

Dear Sir:

We write you as; we feel that you are; The "Leader"; and the executive director of "Core"; and that you hold great influence among the various communities in many ways.

Perhaps you have never heard of us; for we are not any big shots.

Rev. Elder Thomas Glover — Founder and Pastor
Thomas Glover, Jr. — Business Manager
Beatrice Nance — Sect'y. to Rev. Glover
Jean Trotter — Secretary

(continued)

We are a small minority group, but we have many outlooks on the happenings "of The World Today" and especially "The Black World", where man has not destiny and certain goal that he can reach for.

I am sure that you as a Leader should be much concerned "about The Negro Progress" "If I should say Progress?"

In 1963 the most of You Leaders advocated that, "The Negro Was Still In Slavery But That Everyone Else Is Free." This was also said when they marched on Washington and Alabama".

We have since almost marched on every state In The Union, and still we have not been

(continued)

assisted, that we have overcome.

If a house or a kingdom is divided, it cannot stand, and division, is what we have found among, Our "Bigshot Leadership".

"We Quote", a statement, that was made a few days ago by you, If "negroes" could Control Their Own Communities", "We Would Not Have These Outbreaks".

In surveying The various communities, we have found that, "The Negro Is His Own Worse Enemy".

We have asked helps from the, Various Churches, and Organizations, So that we might be able to establish this communitywise, work that the

(Continued)

work; that our above named organization is participating in, at this particular time; but we have found that there is no cooperation, and sometimes, they must have felt themselves so big; that they did not even answer us back.

Therfore we are calling upon you, "as The Executive Director of Core", because we feel that you will be a great help to us; because the Program, we are advocating at this time is noted as, "Operation Do It Yourself"

We have selected a Building for this Work; Under The Roof of This Building We Would Operate as Follows; no. 1= Six apts. To Rented To Low Income families.

(continued)

No 2 - There Would Be a Day
Care Center 7 or Working Mothers.
No 3: an Employment Center
where hundreds of Young People
would be hired; and Sent out
To Work In our Communities.
No 4: A Trade Center.

Now My Dear
Brethren; if you Have the Spirit
of Cooperation; and Want To Build
Human Dignity This Is our Chance.
Now The saying
is, "Though you speak; with the
tongues, of men; and of angels;
and have not charity; I am
become as Sounding Brass of a
Tinkling Cymbal.

(Continued)

And though I have the gift of prophecy; and understand all mysteries; and all knowledge; and have all faith; so that I could remove mountains; and have not charity, I am nothing.

Therefore we call upon you, for your loyal support in "Our Efforts and Struggles", so that we may be able to avoid just such outbreaks as happened last evening in The Bronxville Section of Brooklyn, and in Chicago and Cleveland, Ohio. And We feel that these things are going to happen in many more "Cities", If Negro Leadership does not come together,

(continued)

and; base their minds, thoughts, and principles. one one foundation.

Therefore we call on you to lend; us your support. so that; "operation Do It Yourself Can Get on The Way In their Community action Program.

Also while we are, talking to you in this letter; we invite you now; to be; "one of our Speakers"; On Sunday afternoon; September 18th 1966; at 3:30 P.M. at The Crystal Ballroom; 309 W. 125 St. N.Y.C. and also; That Nite, in; Brooklyn, N.Y.

The Brooklyn address will be forwarded to you; upon receipt of your answer.

(continued)

....I am sure that with this in mind; that we shall be able to accomplish; "Our Goal and To Reach The Heights"; of Success for Our Brethren and Sisters.

We thank you in adrance; for your most kind consideration;

Yours In Christ;

Rev. Elder - Thomas Glover - Pastor

Doris Parker - Sec. To. Rev. Glover.

MRS. J. FREDERIC HILLEGAS
APT. 1010 - THE TOWERS
770 JAMES STREET
SYRACUSE, NEW YORK 13203

Dear Fern,

At Newell Rossman's suggestions, I have met with Dr. Warren Haggstrom about Jan's proposal and given him a copy. Also, at his request, I have sent a copy to Dr. Lee Carey. If you think of any others who might be interested and able to help, I'd appreciate your giving them a copy. Thanks so much.

Estella H. Hillegas

PROPOSAL FOR A CIVIL RIGHTS INFORMATION CENTER

PREFACE

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Cleveland, Miss.

PROPOSAL FOR PILOT MISSISSIPPI FARM PROGRAM

Mississippi is an agricultural and dairy state which produces more than one-half of the cotton in the United States in addition to many other products. I need not reiterate here, however, that most of the farm work is done even today with "slave" labor. The major portion of the land is owned by Whites, and Negroes have not been able to purchase land through the Veterans Administration or the County Farm Boards, which have final say as to who is able to procure farms. In addition, there are thousands of acres under government subsidies which are not being used, while Negro sharecroppers struggle on small plots of land and remain constantly in debt to the white landlords.

The sharecroppers work ten to twelve hours per day for about thirty cents an hour. The children are not able to get a proper education because they, too, must work in the fields so that the family will be able to survive.

It is my contention that this system can be changed if funds are provided to rent some of the land now under government subsidies and to allow a group of twenty to thirty organized families to farm the land for one year. At that time it is felt that the sharecroppers will be able to form a cooperative, pay the rent on the land and manage independently.

The American democratic tradition is that every man has the right and the opportunity to provide for the present and the future of his family and that no child should go to bed hungry. Moreover, our society is predicated on the dignity of the individual and his participation in that society. America is presently paying a high price for welfare, destruction of property and poor education because large segments of the population do not have the opportunity to participate in the American dream.

This proposal for a small organization of farmers in which all members would participate in the decision-making process will serve as a pilot project in a new kind of attack upon poverty and alienation from the mainstream of American life. The situation is critical and it appears that only by dealing with the economic structure of Mississippi can the necessary changes be made. After a few years during which the project will need outside financial assistance, the cooperative should be self-supporting and independent through the sale of cotton, wheat, corn, soy beans, dairy products and other farm items.

RESEARCH

When I say twenty to thirty families, most of the families are large and consist of no less than six to twelve members. Which means that a large per cent of the work is being done by the children, who don't have a fair chance at the education which might bring up their standard of living. These children will thus fall into the same trap that their parents are in: not being able to be self supporting and better their living conditions.

In order to make this kind of program work, it would need a great deal of research into legal technicalities and the general operation of cooperatives.

1. A Research person would be required to find out how much the Federal Government could help; to look into the experience of other cooperatives; to investigate the market value of saleable items such as cotton, corn, and soy beans; and to do the necessary research on other relevant information.

2. A legal ccnsultant would be necessary to investigate the laws about land acquisition, etc.

I estimate that the necessary research could be done in a three month period.

BUDGET

Research

Research Person.....@ $500. per month for 3 months.....	$1500.
Travel and Research Expenses.....	2000.
Legal Consultant.....	1000.
Total Research Cost.....	$4500.

Cooperative Program
(One Year)

Rent for Land.....	$15,000.
Operating Expenses.....	3500.
Salaries.....	
Teacher.....	4000.
Nurse's Aide.....	1300.
Doctor and Medical Supplies.....	6000.
Lawyer's Fees.....	1800.
Minister.....	1200.
Secretary.....	2000.
Organizer.....	2000.
Administration.....	5000.
Total Program Expenses.....	$32,000.

Total Program Expenses.....	$32,000.
Total Research Expenses.....	4,500.
	$36,500.

SUBMITTED BY:

Mrs. Anna Mae Williams
539 Gifford Street
Syracuse, New York

October 12, 1965

IMPORTS*EXPORTS
JOBBERS*WHOLESALERS
EVERYTHING GROWN OR MANUFACTURED

The WilliamH. Atkins
Family
83 -85 Lenox Street
Hartford, 06112
Connecticut

To Negro and Minority Groups
Everywhere, U. S. A.

Dear Members of the Human Family
of Mankind;

The fight for Justice, dignity, peace, transquility must oftimes face cruscial and hard decisions that seem cruel and wicked in normal times; but in times of "war" are kinder than bloodshed.

By way of introduction, THE WILLIAM H. ATKINS FAMILY is an organization, privately owned, to serve the domestic and world markets with goods and services .

In the present struggle for economic survival the farmers need to think of the many ways their goods reach the Markets of the world through the local industries and individuals who laugh at the idea of "full citizenship".

We are proposing a far reaching program that goes beyond boycott of stores and "marches(though we are not suggesting that they be either halted orthat they have not been effective).

We are proposing that t he National leadership look around at the tremendous possibilities for QUIETLY organizing these peopple's skills(teachers, factory workers, as well as farmers)as well other skills acquired in many ways, into the FREEZERS businesses, manufacture of candies, canning,, furniture, etc.

In city, as well as in farm countries, these people can be helped to see the need to pool their right to federal loans for such enterprises. Those who can ready themselves first demand their right to these loans- and it can also serve to expose the fact the minority groups are not getting their share of these loans due to the power of a few who decide what a person needs to engage in. We ourselves are facing such decisions. We have been turned down many times and are still fighting for a loan after two years application.

With your organizations behind them assisting them with resource materials, selecting responsible p rsons to set up the companies, some may want to be trucking companies, others manufactures of furniture, toys, foods, etc.

In the scheme of things THE WILLIAM H. ATKINS organization would be very pleased to handle the marketing end of the project. You would know better than ourselves if there are other concerns similar to ours that could share the business this could bring to the Negro groups.

For the success of these companies an agreed membership plan similar to local fund drives could be maintained.

If the leadership of all the various groups get together and plan their stragety, we would like to be include as resource persons whenever necessary, with agreements to cover our expenses as we, too are beginning , and alone. We would consider belonging to a National Business organization of this calibre.

Your co-planning of the tremendous "March on Washington" makes us realize the people are ready to work together under the right leadership. We trust your organizations will give this plan some attention and consider the far reaching results. **And plan an immediate conference.**

To your individual organizations we wish fo you continuing success.

Respectfully,
W H Atkins
WILLIAM H. ATKINS, PRES.

First Draft
W.B.N Smith

INTRODUCTION

The development of communal self-help organizations and institutions by poor people of various ethnic and religious groups has a long tradition in the history of America. Such communal institutions have symbolized the aspirations of one low-income group after another and have embodied the highest values of initiative and responsibility.

The minority groups in today's ghettos demand the same opportunity to exercise communal responsibility as has been traditionally afforded other low-income, ethnic, and religious groups. That this thrust should only be coming forth now is to be explained in large part by the prolonged economic deprivation which has prevented the accumulation of sufficient private wealth to finance voluntary communal organizations in the ghetto.

Public funds, through the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, are in some small degree helping to overcome this inequity. In many urban communities, the funds under the Economic Opportunity Act are controlled by the traditional voluntary and public agencies. These agencies have an important contribution to make in the war against poverty but that contribution must not be made at the cost of stifling initiative and responsibility among minority groups themselves. The existing traditional voluntary agencies, in effect communal organizations, provide a vehicle for the expression of an ethnic group's viewpoints on social welfare policy and also an institutional framework for the other forms of political association and influence. These agencies were designed to serve the interest of their religious and ethnic constituencies.

The Negro community lacks an insitutional framework of voluntary social welfare agencies. Therefore, it does not possess the organizational vehicles, nor the cadre of technical personnel who can examine various existing or proposed public policies and mobilize the Negro community on

behalf of needed change. It is critical in breaking the cycle of welfare dependency - colonialism that an economic structure within the Negro community is created.

Lacking the great private fortunes within other ethnic groups which have contributed to the growth of communal organizations, the Negro community must create or enhance existing economic functions capable of supporting its own communal organizations. A pattern of internal development within the Negro community is the initial step leading to the necessary economic base.

The question that must be addressed by the Negro community is what viable methods are available for overcoming this great lack of self-sustaining communal organizations? For too many years in the market place for community services, the Negro community has rarely been the supplier, more so the consumer; without the aid of an organization designed to protect the consumer against malpractice?

To address this problem, it is proposed that an organization called Communal Development be organized. The pruposes of Communal Development Inc. are:

1. To render technical assistance to developing Negro communities; technical assistance is to be defined as the process leading to the development of an economic base to support communal organizations.

2. To provide sustained consultantion to communities in programs of internal development and assist in trapping three resource bases
   A. Community income
   B. Public funds
   C. Private funds

3. To assist latent communal organizations become actual communal organizations; latency is defined as the condition of possessing an inadequate resource base.

Rationale

Within most of the various sectors of the economic and social life of the United States, the Negro community is conspicuously unrepresented. In the field of social welfare, there are few Negro communal organizations. Traditionally, existing social welfare organizations in the Negro community are controlled by ethnic and religious groups outside of the community. These groups currently tap major sources of public funds, e.g. Economic Opportunity Act, to serve the interests of their controlling ethnic constituency.

There is a need for Negro communal organizations to articulate the interest of the Negro community. Communal organizations are vehicles by which the legitimate interests of particular groups are articulated to compete with those of other groups. Without communal organizations, the Negro community is powerless to shape public social policy and is generally disregarded in the implementation of these policies through public subsidies.

Currently, there are very few opportunities for the Negro with skills appropriate to communal organizations fo find gainful employment in the Negro community. The constant siphoning off of these talented individuals errodes the development of a technical leadership cadre within the Negro community. It is critical to any self-help drive that this talent have the potential of expression through gainful employment and not merely voluntary activities. If the Negro community anticipate affecting the growing area of social legislation, it must be able to provide stable employment at a competitive wage for a Professional and technical cadre.

Program -- Communal Development Inc.

Communal Development Inc. in executing its mission will initially seek to organize segments of the Negro community around the fashion in which they spend their income. Everyone, as a matter of survival, requires food, clothing, and shelter. Everyone in the Negro community receives some form of income

through gainful employment, transfer payments, or illegal activities. Lacking the great private fortunes which have endowed communal organizations of other ethnic groups, it then becomes essential to tap the flow of money spent within the community for the commodities essential to survival.

A point of entry into tapping the community cash flow is through cooperative enterprises. Chart I is an indication of the magnitude of cash flow spent on food for preparation at home by urban Negro families in selected, standard, metropolitan statistical areas. The money enters the cash flow system by the purchase of a consumption good; it immediately leaves the community in the form of profits and the cost of doing business. The money does not serve any community objective, other than the indivudual's purchase of a consumption good. Through cooperative enterprises, it will be possible for the money to have a multiplier effect prior to its leaving the community.

The spate of civil rights legislation is critical to providing for the political rights of Negroes; yet in many of the urban ghettoes, economic rights are the most immediate and pressing problem. Cooperatives by no means represent an answer to this, however, they do represent a first step in terms of their employment effect and their more salient potential as providing an economic base for communal organizations.

For example, approximately fifty million dollars per year is spent in Central Harlem for food prepared at home. To capture 10% of this market, in effect, five million dollars, low profit margin notwithstanding, can provide the initial capital base to support a communal organization. Survival of the individual requires the purchase of food; development of self sustaining communal organizations requires the creation of instruments to tap this aggregate community cash flow.

In this view, the ghetto for all of its liabilities, can serve as a significant economic resource. Large concentrations of people living under conditions of

Estimated Annual Expenditures For
Food Prepared At Home By Urban Negro Families 1960-61
In Selected S.M.S.A.'s

Area	Expenditures For[1] Food At Home	Food Expenditures[1] As A Percent Of Total Expenditures	Number Of[2] Famlies	Annual Family Food Expenditures
Urban U.S.	$760	20.5%	4,398,000	$3,340,480,000
New York	927	20.3	278,491	258,161,157
Chicago	976	19.1	212,577	207,475,152
Philadelphia	900	21.7	147,202	132,481,800
Detroit	830	21.0	124,375	103,231,250
Washington, D.C.	868	19.1	103,142	89,527,256
Los Angeles	764	18.5	107,228	81,922,192
Northern N.J.	994	18.1	74,122	73,677,268
Baltimore	740	18.6	76,928	56,926,720
St. Louis	744	21.6	65,446	48,691,824
Cleveland	814	21.7	57,626	46,907,564
Atlanta	613	19.1	49,875	30,573,375
Pittsburgh	837	20.9	36,418	30,481,866
Houston[3]	533	17.3	56,517	30,123,561
Cincinnati[4]	782	20.2	29,485	23,057,270
Dallas	587	16.6	34,802	20,428,774
Kansas City[3]	678	22.4	26,961	18,279,558
Buffalo	977	22.9	18,225	17,805,825
Indianapolis	692	19.6	22,487	15,561,004
Millwaukee[3]	1099	21.1	13,123	14,422,177
Boston	799	19.8	17,707	14,147,893
Nashville	639	22.5	16,116	10,298,124
Hartford	1107	21.9	6,225	6,891,075
Minneapolis—St. Paul[3]	1153	18.7	4,725	5,447,925
Seattle	738	18.9	6,047	4,462,686

1 Based on B.L.S. of Consumer Expenditures 1960-61
2 Based on data from 1960 Census of Population
3 B.L.S. Consumer Expenditure Survey 1963
4 B.L.S. COnsumer Expenditure Survey 1959

high density, possessing an ethnic identity, and confined to a geographic area represent a significant consumer market. Purchases of goods and services will be made. Economic units created by the people of the ghetto can tap this cash flow.

The emphasis of the War on Poverty has been on the education and training of individuals,-- commendable goals; it certainly has not assigned a high priority to the creation of economic units within the urban Ghettos. Small attempts have been made to provide a route for private entrepreneurship; however, these in large measure have been aborted by impossible administrative regulations, inefficient procedures, inadequate resources and wide variations in the level of commitment. In addition, the character of a communal organization requires broad community ownership of the economic unit serving as its resource base.

The historical juncture within the Negro community of the development of a positive ethnic self-image and a need for self-help provides the opportunity for creating new patterns of internal development. Some of the tensions that have exploded in violence can be tapped and redirected in the self-interests of the community.

Equity capital to some degree is present within the ghetto. Significant cash flow enters the ghetto in the form of stipends paid to youth and adults during their participation in manpower training or poverty programs.

For example, if 200 organized young adults receiving stipends of $20 a week, set aside $5 per week, they will amass capital at the rate of $1,000 per week. By the end of four weeks there will be a sufficient capital to open up a small enterprise, such as a hamburger stand, record shop, sporting goods store, or any of the many things that youth buy. In addition, the internal equity capital developed by the youths gives them the option of entering the money market to secure funds under conditions available to any economic unit. As consumers, they would have money received in the form of a stipend. Because of their organized group identity, they would purchase at a store they collectively owned, in effect a

guaranteed market. Besides the motivation of ownership, there is an additional inventive of receiving a rebate on the basis of items purchased. This model is appropriate to any organized group of individuals within a ghetto that requires goods and services for survival. Young adults were chosen as an example because of the potential explosive violence they represent on one hand, and the potential creators and carriers of a tradition of collective self-help on the other. Parenthetically, young adults are numerically significant in that by 1970 50% of the American people will be twenty-five and under.

The size of the initial venture may be small; however, it is an essential step that must be taken. In many situations it will be inappropriate to open on a scale that might create serious managerial problems. Growth plans, projections and strategies for a development path will occupy a high priority in the initiation of these ventures.

Spin-off collective ventures into areas chosen by a community can be created from the initial capital base. In a community the size of Harlem, five retail cooperative grocery stores can be supported. These five stores operating collectively may require the establishment of a small warehouse, delivery vehicles to service the store and a gas station to do the necessary repairs, etc.

Paralleling this internal pattern of development is the diffusion of skills and information critical to community development. If our repertoire of response and method of shaping the world is greatly determined by our occupational role, then the Negro individual and therefore the community has been denied access to information and methods of creating self-sustaining communal organizations. The information problem is vast and must be addressed if the resource bases to support these organizations is to be created.

The role of Communal Development Inc. is to provide technical assistance to urban ghetto communities in developing an economic base to support organizations that articulate the community's legitimate interests. Communities equipped

with these organizations will determine their priorities and methods of resolvement. Successful technical assistance in five to ten communities will create a demonstration effect, that is exportable and demand creating in other communities for similar services.

Organizationally, Communal Development Inc. would be structured as an operating network made up of a small core group in New York City and associate members in other urban communities. The core group would provide technical assistance to an associate upon request. The associates would be individuals within communities with established reputations for competency and a network of community group contacts.

With these characteristics, the associate is capable of opening the doors and assisting in generating the community response essential to the success of Communal Development Inc. By utilizing individuals already embedded in the life of a community, a trained cadre with a residue of technical operating skills will be left within the community for the initiation of other economic units leading to communal organizations of a self-sustaining character. To provide the technical assistance and sustained consultation required, Communal Development Inc. will require operating funds for a period of at least 36 to 48 months.

Funding Sources

In establishing Communal Development Inc., it is anticipated that a request for resources will be made to foundations and corporations. From corporations, requests will be made for blocks of non-voting stock rather than dollar contributions. To have some opportunity to project long term programs, Communal Development Inc. will require a resource base not subject merely to the availability of foundation dollars.

An additional source of anticipate founds would flow from the economic units Communal Development Inc. has played a role in establishing. Communal Development Inc. will not require payment for technical assistance to a community;

however, it will negotiate a contract requiring a fractional continuing payment from profits if the enterprise proves to be successful. The dollar amount arising from this source of income will constitute a market test of the efficiency and effectiveness of the caliber of the technical assistance rendered. In addition, it will provide a cash flow for the expansion of programs to assist ghetto communities in establishing communal organizations.

TIME SCHEDULE FOR THE POOR PEOPLES CONFERENCE

Friday--Friday sessions held in Youth Center, 17th Avenue, Ohio State Fair Grounds

3:30 Out of town participants may begin to register and get settled in dormitories. Registration takes place in the lobby of the Youth Center.

5:00 Supper for out of town participants

6:00 In town participants may begin to register in the lobby of the Youth Center. Coffee hour ---get acquainted.

7:30 Keynote address - Rev. Andrew Young -of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

8:30 Attorney William J. Davis will speak on "What To Do When The Policeman Comes".

Saturday--Saturday sessions will be held in the Arts and Crafts Building, 17th Avenue, Ohio State Fairgrounds -

9:00 Breakfast for out of town participants

10:00 Morning sessions of workshops

12:00 Lunch

1:00 Afternoon sessions

5:00 Supper

7:00 Informal sessions

Sunday - Sunday sessions will be held in the Arts and Crafts Building

9:00 Breakfast for out-of-town participants

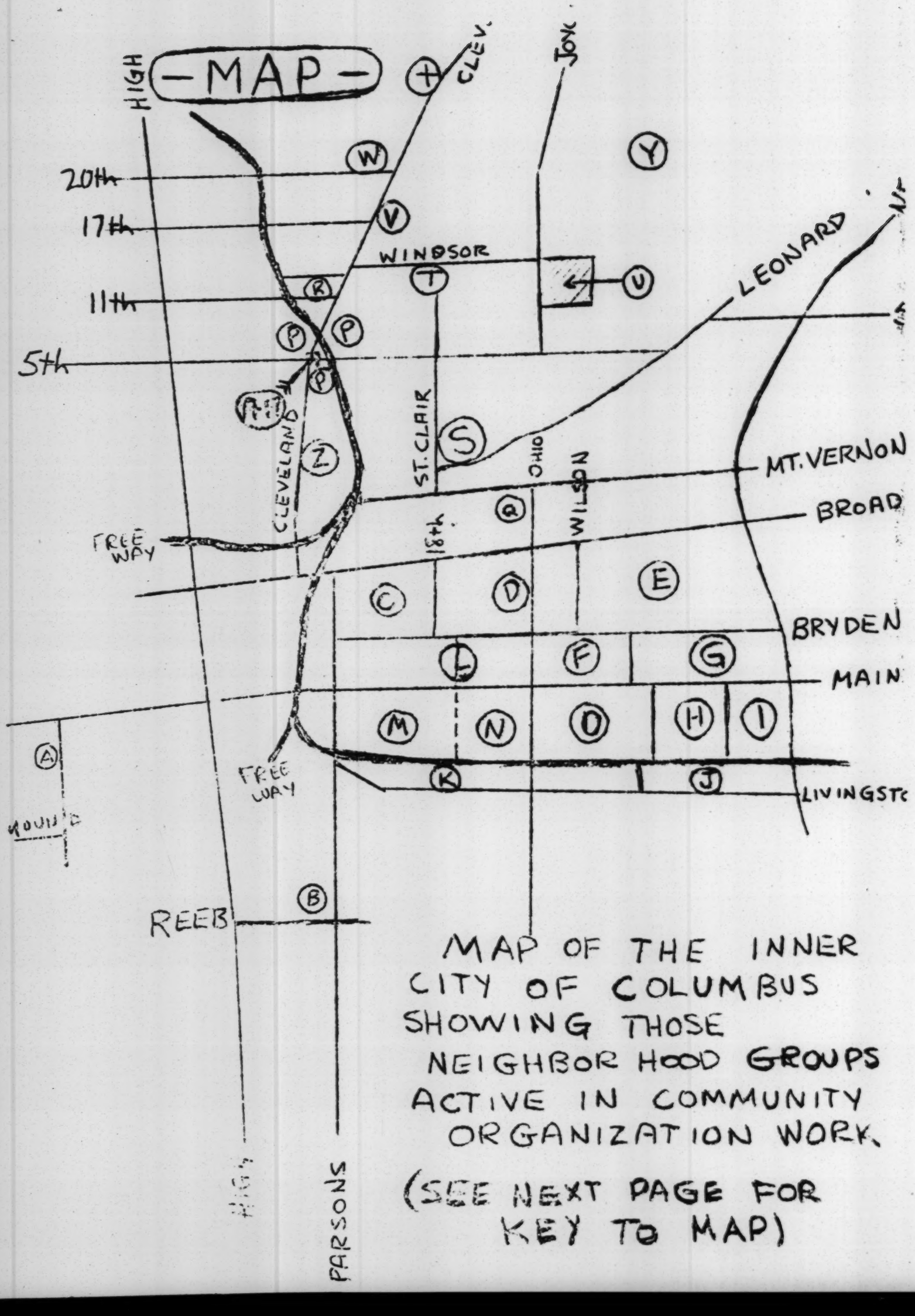
10:00 Morning Sessions

12:30 Lunch for out-of-town participants

PLEASE NOTE

OUT-OF-TOWN PARTICIPANTS SHOULD BRING THEIR OWN SHEET, BLANKET, PILLOW, ETC. YOU WILL BE HOUSED IN THE DORMITORIES OF THE YOUTH CENTER ON THE OHIO STATE FAIRGROUNDS.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AND THE POVERTY PROGRAM



MAP OF THE INNER CITY OF COLUMBUS SHOWING THOSE NEIGHBOR HOOD GROUPS ACTIVE IN COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION WORK.

(SEE NEXT PAGE FOR KEY TO MAP)

KEY TO THE MAP OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS IN COLUMBUS, OHIO

AA--Office of the Peoples Poverty Board, 701 New York Avenue, 299-7849

A--Gladden Community House, 183 Hawkes Ave.

B--South Side Settlement House, 363 Reeb Ave.

C--Council of South Garfield Square

D--United Effort Neighborhood Club

E--Franklin Park Advisory Council

F--Rich Street Neighborhood Club

G--United Eastern Civic Improvement Asn.

H--Central South East Civic Improvement Assn.

I--Fairwood-Mound Neighborhood Club

J--Berkeley-Kent Neighborhood Club

K--Children's Hospital Area Neighborhood Club

L--Blackburn Neighborhood Club

M--South Side Cloverleaf

N--First English Neighborhood Club

O--Middle East

E.C.C.O.

East Central Area Council

P--Milo-Grogan Area Council

Q--Circle Group #5--Poindexter Village

R--13th Ave. Neighborhood Club

S--Bolivar Arms Neighborhood Council

T--Windsor Terrace Area Community Council

U--Tray-Lee/American Addition

V--Fairwin Community Council

W--20th Ave. Neighborhood Club

X--St. Stephen's Community Center

Y--Argyle Park

Z--United Neighborhood Council of Ft. Hayes-Jefferson-Grant

Completely Redo

PROPOSAL TO OEO TO FUND TRAINING PROJECT FOR NEGRO YOUTH

Introduction

Economic self-help has long been regarded as one of the most potentially effective solutions to the myriad economic and psychological problems that American Negroes suffer. Other ethnic groups in coming to this country formed various communal and co-operative associations of an economic nature to improve the conditions of members of their groups and to provide avenues to success in the larger society. In addition these ventures had the added consequence of fostering and promoting group pride and self-respect.

Unfortunately, the historical effects of slavery, systematic segregation and discrimination, and chronic poverty have generally prevented the development of those conditions within the Negro communities of the country which are necessary to economic entrepreneurship and co-operative associations on a large scale. Central among these conditions are institutions which are able t to transmit and promote skills and knowledge relevant to sustaining and building economic organizations. Within Negro communities there are few easily available avenues for Negro youth to learn skilled occupations. There are virtually none for teaching him how to administer and run business organizations.

Yet if the conditions of Negroes are to be fundamentally improved in the long run, there is a necessity that large numbers of Negro youth be taught the kinds of skills necessary to both work within and manage enterprises. For the only people who can be

can be expected to solve the "Negro Problem" are Negroes themselves, and only if Negro youth in the ghetto are trained in these skills which encourage independence, self-reliance and the capacity for collective enterprises - can we expect to see a final end to the vicious cycle of poverty, dependency, and welfare.

II. The Proposal

This proposal is a request for funds to support a project designed to provide ghetto youth in Baltimore with the opportunity to acquire skills both mechanical and administrative that they would not otherwise have an opportunity to acquire. The target population are high school drop-outs - youth who perceive themselves and are perceived by the society as having no future - and "marginal youth" - those who have some skills, but are unable to use them because of the lack of opportunities for them in Baltimore.

The vehicle for this project is the operation of a service station in the East Baltimore chetto. . The idea is to use the service station to provide ayear around program of training in mechanical and administrative skills for 24 - 48 enemployed ghetto youth (depending on the number of training shifts) who have dropped out of school. The basic characteristics of the proposed project are described below:

1. Physical Facilities - The physical plant will consist of one service station modified to fit the training program requirements of the project. These sill include space for an educational area.within or outside the station to provide "class-room" instruction on the operation of small business community cooperatives,and civic and community responsibilities.

2. Work Shifts - Students will be trained in shifts of twelve. The number of hours they will work is variable. One plan is to one or two six-months training programs a year in which student s will work full day shifts. An alternative is to have a nine-month program which would allow the accommodation of two shifts of students, each working on a half-day basis.

3. Training - Due to variations in the abilities and predisposi tions of the youth likely to become involved in the training program, the training program will be heterogeneous, geared to the apptitudes of the youth. Some students with mechanical inclinations will learn the skills necessary to a first-rate mechanic. Others will be taught the rudiments of small business administration and organizing and will be allowed to manage the station a s part of their training.

4. Staffing - Training resources for the project are expected to come from the oil company which will provide the franchise for the station and from teachers within the Baltimore public school system/ Three full-time staff will be employed, a project director, an instructor in automobile mechanics, and an instructor in business administration. The relation that will be encouraged between teachers and the youths on the project will be different from the dependent pupil-teacher relationship which alienates many Negro youth struggling for their own adulthood from the school system. Instead the emphasis will be on encouraging the trainee to learn at his own pace with professional people acting in advisory capacity.

5. The Budget - A breakdown of anticipated expenses for the project are given as follows:

purchase

Building ~~Lease~~ -- @ $250.00 per month ----------$3,000 - 1 yr.

Classroom and Office Space--rental----------$2,500--1 yr.

3 Staff @ $7,500/year--expand----------$22,500--1 yr.

12 Students $50/week----expand----------$31,200--1yr.

Equipment----------$15,000-- 1yr.

Insurance, operating and miscellaneous expenses to be tabulated.

A PROPOSAL FOR URBAN LEADERSHIP TRAINING

PURPOSE

To train thirty grassroots leaders

a. In advanced techniques of leadership,

b. To inform them of the use and value of established agencies and institutions so that they may better serve their communities,

c. To equip them to search out, recognize, and train new leaders.

INTRODUCTION

The city is the center of American life. About 140 millions (70% of total population) live or work in our urban centers. The catalog of city problems is endless: poverty, crime, slums, unemployment, and racial tensions are but a few. These problems involve every citizen, every level of government and all economic and social aspects of American life. The survival of American society is inextricably tied to the survival of our cities. Urban problems can be evaded only at national peril.

Vast sums of money must be made available by both the state and federal government to cure some of the sicknesses of our cities. But even more critical to their survival is leadership. As Charles Silberman stated, the city cannot import a middle class. It must manufacture its own leadership.

INTRODUCTION (Continued)

This is neither unprecedented nor impossible. Most of the huge middle class that dominates American life today was manufactured in the big city slums of yesteryear. Bringing people from society's backwater into the mainstream of American life has always been the principal business and the principal glory of the American city.

WHAT IS NEEDED (GOALS)

A necessary first step to solving some of the problems of urban centers is that of finding and making skilled, confident new leaders in the very heart of the inner city.

These new leaders, both youth and adult, Negro and white, must be recruited from all levels and in all neighborhoods of the inner city. They must be armed with knowledge of the interaction of social, economic and political structures in metropolitan centers.

They must be trained in the techniques of community development and organization.

They must be informed about all existing agencies, programs, and opportunities available to inner city residents.

They must be participants in changing their own life situations and the communities in which they reside.

From these new leaders who possess both confidence and newly acquired skills will be generated the hope and motivation to create new solutions and to participate in society's mainstream.

RATIONALE

This kind of leadership training program can be accomplished with only limited success by already established social agencies. Social institutions have been seen as a device to maintain the status quo by most inner city residents. Inner city leadership, if developed outside these institutions, will be more creative and progressive than that dependent upon those institutions. The new leaders must be educated, however, to understand the function and role of the more established agencies so as to use them to full advantage. Once developed and educated, these new leaders can be effective in implementing present programs or in suggesting changes where needed. Civil rights groups and grassroots organizations of the poor, because of their experience in working with community groups, have developed leaders who were able to inform and encourage their neighbors to participate in those programs which address themselves to the eradication of their problems. This proposal, therefore, offers an independent vehicle for the development of new leadership.

ASSUMPTIONS

The development and training of grassroots leadership is essential to the development of community cohesion and involvement. Leaders who are most effective with the unrepresented - who comprise a large number of inner city residents - are those who are known on the block, in the neighborhood, or in the public housing project. It follows

ASSUMPTIONS (Continued)

then, that communication between institutions (public and private) and many inner city residents will be improved if representatives of the latter are informed and trained to involve others.

There has been an upsurge of participation by innercity residents in those areas where community problems were understood and the residents had learned that they could begin to solve them through new as well as existing programs.

PROPOSAL

There will be fourteen weekend training periods for thirty trainees in series of three sessions followed by a week of fieldwork among the participating groups. Trainees, in groups of two or three, with a common interest - poverty program, welfare, civil rights, housing... - will meet with their organizations and discuss and report on their workshop training. This fieldwork will serve as:

a. Liaison between the workshops and the participating organizations,

b. Practical action by the trainee in putting his new knowledge to work,

c. Unification of groups with similar interests.

With the completion of the workshop training period each trainee and his organization will be aided in the selection and development of their own project for the summer, this with the approval of the administrative committee.

FEATURES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE WORKSHOPS

1. The workshops build on work that has already begun. Several of the groups and individuals involved have independently sponsored training programs of various kinds.
2. The men and women for and with whom this program was planned have already demonstrated some leadership ability in the inner city and have indicated a desire for further training.
3. Workshop subjects will be taught and discussed in laymen's language. Subjects will be determined by the expressed needs of the participating groups and may include:
   a. Negro history.
   b. Federal legislation and programs, including pending legislation affecting the poor.
   c. Local War on Poverty programs.
   d. Employment and unemployment in ~~Cleveland~~ Baltimore. All federal, state, local, and private job development and training programs.
   e. Survey and analysis of youth and adult education programs - federal, state, local.
   f. Health, community, and welfare programs.
   g. Housing needs and programs available.
   h. Political structures and their responsibilities - federal, state, and local.
   i. Legal and consumer rights and responsibilities.

WORKSHOP FEATURES AND PRINCIPLES (Continued)

j. Leadership training techniques.

k. Community development and organization.

l. Mass media - how they function, how to use them.

Emphasis will be on "what is" and "how to" rather than on theory.

4. Midweek meetings will be held for more thorough evaluation and discussion of the material presented on the weekend. It is suggested that the group of thirty trainees be separated into a number of subgroups. Trainees would be assigned to subgroups on the basis of common interest (for example, representatives of welfare groups together, those of civil rights organizations together, those of church...). Trainees would take turns leading discussions and actually reteaching material that had been presented by a consultant on the previous weekend.
5. Where possible, "action components" are to be included in the course of the study in the form of field trips to institutions and agencies. In such cases, the field trip will replace the midweek session although some part of the following Saturday would be given to an analysis of field trip experience.
6. Expenses of participation will be met. This will enable those who are poor or jobless to cover babysitting, transportation, and other costs inherent in the program and will serve as an incentive and inducement for busy people who are also community leaders.

WORKSHOP FEATURES AND PRINCIPLES (Continued)

7. Where competent people are available locally, they will be used as consultants; however, since training sessions will cover subjects of national scope and significance, outside experts will also be hired. Consultants may be invited to attend Sunday meetings with all the groups from which the trainees were recruited. They will also be available as time allows to those participating groups who wish to consult with them during their visit so that the groups as well as the trainees might acquire in-depth knowledge and understanding.

GROUP INVOLVEMENT

The real effectiveness of the trainee depends upon the involvement of the group from which he comes. Therefore, the training of the groups represented by the trainees is an integral part of this proposal.

1. Criteria for Group Selection. All groups shall be considered eligible for participation if they satisfy the following general criteria as well as specific criteria set by the administrative committee.
   a. Are ready and willing to undergo training as a whole for four weeks, as well as to elect one or more of their members to be a trainee.
   b. Are composed primarily of innercity residents.
   c. Are committed to community development and action.

GROUP INVOLVEMENT (Continued)

2. Group Training Process. Group training will take various forms:

   a. The trainee selected by the group will report regularly to the group to share information and experiences.

   b. A training workshop will be scheduled for the groups at least four times intermittently during ~~the~~ that period ~~from January to May~~ Sept. It is suggested that the individual groups be taught by a team of trainees (including their own representative).

The team approach is designed to help overcome any isolation and alienation that might result from the situation of one individual being pulled out of the group and becoming an "expert."

   c. The groups represented by trainees will be invited to attend mass meetings with outside consultants. They may also consult with these experts whenever they want more in-depth information about a particular subject of interest.

   d. The director of the project shall consult with these groups and their trainee representatives to help them develop a project for the summer based on the knowledge gained in the workshop.

GROUP PROJECT FUND

It is proposed that just as funds will be made available to the trainees to insure better participation, the groups also will be eligible for limited funds for summer project development based on the percentage of that group's members who participate in the group training sessions.

The administrative committee shall determine which projects are eligible for funding. Suggested projects are: recreational and field trips, voter registration and education, organization of the unemployed and welfare recipients, consumer education projects... The project fund shall not exceed $200 per group and shall only be made available to those groups considered eligible by the director and the administrative committee.

ADMINISTRATION

The applicant - See attachment.

The Administrative Committee Shall:

1. Select the director of the project and approve the selection of the field secretary and the office secretary.
2. Be the administrative body to which the director shall report.
3. Assume the responsibility for the development of the program as defined, selcting the groups and the consultants and developing the criteria by which trainees will be selected.

ADMINISTRATION (Continued)

The Administrative Committee Shall (continued)

4. Assure proper accounting and auditting of all financial records. Receive regular financial reports.

Note: It is suggested that administrative board members be paid expenses of attending meetings, see Para 6, p.6.

The Director Shall:

Assume the responsibility of carrying out the details set forth in this proposal. He will

1. Contact community groups in the inner city who will recommend candidates for training.
2. Contact and make arrangements for the speakers.
3. Supervise the field and office secretaries and any temporary paid personnel used in the program.
4. Integrate the services of unpaid volunteers into the program.
5. Make detailed arrangements for all meetings.
6. Prepare regular reports for administrative committee and funding agency, including an extensive evaluation of the program upon its completion.
7. Prepare followup program with trainees after completion of training.

The Field Secretary Shall:

Assist the director in contacting and working with community groups and perform other duties as assigned him by the director.

FACILITIES

The Bruce Klunder Freedom House is a familiar and centrally located meeting place for innercity residents. It is proposed that it be used as the office and principal meeting place for this program.

WORKSHOPS FOLLOWUP

1. Every fourth session will consist of feedback to the participating organizations. Trainees in teams of two or three, chosen because of a common interest (civil rights, welfare, housing...), will return to their organizations and share what they have learned in the training sessions.
2. The director will bring together the trainees for regular meetings, encourage them to train not only their own groups but others (for example, suburbanites) and provide the resources to enable them to do this.
3. At the completion of the training sessions, the participants and their groups will be aided and supported in the choice and development of their projects for the summer.
4. The evaluation of the program will in itself be a followup since interviews and meetings with the participating groups are necessary to proper evaluation of the workshops.

EVALUATION

The program will be evaluated continuously throughout the entire training period by observation of the fourth week break (trainee teams meeting with their participating groups) and the various action projects initiated by the groups for the summer.

EVALUATION (Continued)

Criteria will be:

1. Effectiveness of trainees in imparting their new skills and knowledge to their own and other groups. This will be determined by:
   a. Interviews with individuals from the participating organizations and with the groups as a whole.
2. Selection of summer project, as determined by:
   a. Use of knowledge acquired in the workshops,
   b. Feasibility of the project in relation to the resources of the participating organization.
3. Clarity of presentation of the summer project to the community at large. This will be determined by:
   a. Use of mass communication media and personal contact.
   b. Reaction of the community to the project as determined by their awareness of the project, their support of it.

PHASING

September 1 to January 1 - Phase I

1. Selection of director, field secretary, office secretary, some volunteers.
2. Consultants contacted. Dates arranged for consultants' workshops.
3. Community groups contacted. Trainees elected.
4. Facilities arranged for office space, Saturday and midweek workshops.
5. Curriculum finalized.

PHASING (Continued)

January 1 through May 15 - Phase II

Workshops for trainees and participating organizations.

May 16 to August 31 - Phase III

Followup. Evaluation.

September 15 - Phase IV

Presentation of director's report.

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A PROPOSAL FOR URBAN LEADERSHIP TRAINING

ABSTRACT

Grassroots: "...originating among or carried on by the common people." Webster's New World Dictionary

PURPOSE

To train thirty grassroots leaders
a. In advanced techniques of leadership,
b. To inform them of the use and value of established agencies and institutions so that they may better serve their communities,
c. To equip them to search out, recognize, and train new leaders.

APPLICANT Target City Project, A Nonprofit

Bruce Klunder Freedom House, a nonprofit, tax deductible organization originated by the ~~Congress~~ of Racial Equality, Cleveland Chapter, as a center of service and community organization in the Central Area, Cleveland's oldest Negro ghetto.

PARTICIPANTS

Trainees will be elected from such grassroots organizations (both East and West Side, white and Negro) as:

Good Fellowship Council, Fellowship Baptist Church
Freedom Fighters
Hough Area Council
East Side Community Union
Glenville Area Council
Citizens United For Adequate Welfare (CUFAW)
J"F"K Freedom House
Mt. Pleasant Area Council
Student Democratic Society
West Side Community Organization

ADMINISTRATION

A six-member Board of Trustees of interested, informed citizens.

A nine-member Administrative Board; five members to be selected by Bruce Klunder Freedom House, four members to be selected by the Protestant Ministry to Poverty Board.

PROPOSAL

Eighteen weekend workshops (five hours each) and eighteen midweek discussions (three hours each) for thirty trainees. Four weekend workshops for the participating organizations. Certain Sunday meetings for the organizations and the trainees. A summer action project for each of the participating groups.

Saturday Workshop

Trainees. Fourteen workshops will have trainees and teachers (including the director and field secretary) working on topics chosen by the trainees and their groups.

Participating organizations. The participating organizations will be combined into four or five large groups on the basis of a common interest - poverty program, welfare, civil rights, housing, and others. Two or three trainees, sharing this interest, will act as teachers and discussion leaders for each large group. Advisers, the director and the field secretary will support and observe.

Midweek Discussion

Trainees will be divided into groups of five or six to listen to and discuss taped material recorded from the previous Saturday workshop..

Sunday Meetings

The participating organizations will be invited en masse to attend those meetings where specialists in certain areas will speak and consult with the organizations.

Summer Project

Upon the completion of the workshop training period, each trainee and his organization will be aided in the selection and development of an action project for the summer. With the approval of the Administrative Committee, each group will receive up to $200 maximum (depending upon the project, the need and the amount of group involvement) as well as advice and other assistance from the Director and Field Secretary.

CALENDAR

Summer, 1966 — Selection of Board of Trustees, Administrative Committee, Director, Field Secretary, and other personnel.

Fall, 1966 — Group contacts by Field Director and Field Secretary. Election of trainees by participating organizations. Curriculum and teachers.

January through May, 1967

Workshops. Selection of summer projects.

Summer, 1967 — Summer action projects.

September 30, 1966

Director's report.

UNIQUE QUALITIES OF THIS PROPOSAL

1. This program is neither academically nor agency oriented. Cleveland CORE, its experience and work in community organization are recognized and respected by the organizations this program is intended to reach. University and social agency programs for urban leadership training have not succeeded. The poor have not recognized those "leaders" selected for training nor accepted them as such afterwards. Many of the poor distrust institutions and agencies, considering them to be keepers of the status quo rather than innovators of change.

2. The training center is located in the inner city in a depressed area. Bruce Klunder Freedom House is known to the poor of the city and is accessible by public transportation.

3. The thirty trainees will, with their groups, select their own curriculum. The program and the list of topics in the detailed proposal result from the expressed needs of leaders and spokesmen from public housing groups, welfare mothers groups, church groups organized to combat poverty, civil rights groups.

4. The trainees will beelected by the participating groups; they will not be selected by outsiders.

5. The effectiveness of a leader depends upon the involvement of his group, and the training is programed for group involvement.

6. The Summer Project will involve the participants in a problem-solving situation they consider necessary to their own development.

7. The feedback of trainees in periodic meetings with their own groups will:
   a. Help eliminate the isolation and alienation that often results from one person being pulled out of a group and becoming an expert.
   b. Serve as liaison between the workshops and the groups.
   c. Unify groups with similar interests.
   d. Be on-the-job training for the trainee.
   e. Shorten the gap between the teacher and the taught.

8. Midweek discussions will take place in pleasant public meeting rooms in and around the city. Participants will learn not to be frightened by carpeted floors, soft chairs, and fine furniture.

9. Expenses in the form of scholarships are planned for the trainees so that those who are poor or jobless or very busy will be enabled and stimulated to attend.

10. Money is budgeted ($200 maximum) for each participating group to help them with the action programs they will choose for the summer.

11. Part-time workers for the office force will be selected from the inner city. Workers will receive on-the-job training not only in the operation of a number of office machines but in the basic disciplines and routines of a business office.

12. The nine-member administrative board will be a working board responsible for the selection of the director and field secretary and will work closely with them in all phases of the program. The members will be paid expenses on a per meeting basis so that neither poverty nor hardship will limit the selection of members.

13. The trainees will be exposed not only to the local experts as leaders of the workshops but to the experience, leadership and advice of nationally known experts, some of whom will act as consultant-advisers during the entire program to both the trainees and the participating groups.

BUDGET

Personnel - salary and expense	$85,784
Facilities rental and expense	5,580
Workshop equipment	3,480
Office supplies and equipment	
Equipment	3,480
Supplies	2,043
Workshop supplies	843
Furniture - office and workshops	3,280
Library - books ~~and~~ periodicals, projector screen + films	400
Interview expense -director, field secretary, office secretary	500
	$105,490
Contingencies	500
TOTAL	$105,990

BUDGET DETAIL

PERSONNEL - SALARY & EXPENSE

	Salary	Expense	Total
Director	$13,000	$ 1,812*	$14,812
Field Secretary	9,100	1,812*	10,912
Office Secretary	7,000		
Part-time help @$1.75/hour 120 hours/week	9,360	2,000**	18,360
Teacher-experts (oncoming consultants) 20.- 14 workshops @ $250 /workshop	5,000	4,000	9,000
Trainees (30), 18 workshops			
Lecture @ $20 each		10,800	10,800
Midweek discussion @ $15 each		8,100	8,100
Administrative Board members, 9 at $10 each meeting, estimated 70 meetings		6,300	6,300
Certified public accountant - Establish procedures, monthly audit, annual statement		1,500	1,500
Group Summer Project, maximum $200 per group, 30 groups		6,000	6,000
	$43,460	$42,324	$85,784

*Car rental @ $121 month plus $29 gas and oil
**Station wagon rental plus gas and oil

FACILITIES RENTAL & EXPENSE

	Rental	Utilities
Administrative Board meeting 70 meetings at $5 each	$ 350	
Office space	1,560	
Heat		$ 270
Light		300
Phone		1,800
Midweek meetings 20 meetings at $35	700	
Workshop space	600	
	$3,210	$ 2,370
Total - Facilities rental and expense		$5,580
WORKSHOP EQUIPMENT		Purchase
5 tape recorders, 26 weeks	$1,130	
Reels for recorders		$ 200
2 film projectors, 16 mm sound	1,600	
Screen		50
1 stop-film projector	300	
	$3,230	$ 250
Total - Workshop equipment		$3,480
WORKSHOP SUPPLIES		
Service - emergency reproduction $2/sheet, 35 copies. 2-4 hours		$ 300
Yellow markers @49¢ each		17
Zipper tufhide 3-ring cases @ $8 each. 42		376
Notebook paper, wide line		100
Miscellaneous - blackboard, chalk, erasers, pens, pencils, staples, attendance book		50
Total - workshop supplies		$ 843

OFFICE SUPPLIES AND EQUIPMENT

Equipment	Rental
Mimeograph	$600
Typewriters	
1 electric	160
3 manual	180
Calculator, Friden	420
Adding machine, 2 @$105 each	210
Postage meter and mailer (including installation and service)	750
Time clock	60
2 dictaphone machines @ $150 each	300
Addressograph, handoperated, and platemaker and plates	900
	$3,580

Furniture for office and workshops	
Desk, 4 @ $9 monthly, each	420
Lamps, desk and table, ten	360
Chairs	
6 stenographer	144
2 executive	192
30 sidearm, six months	1,050
10 regular	340
Work table, 7 x 12 x 3, 7 x 6 x 4, 2	126
4 for six months	408
Files	240
	$3,280

Supplies	Purchase
File folders, index	$ 10
3x5 cards, carbon paper	42
Paper, office and envelope	100
Mimeograph	735
Paycards, timecards	20
Stencils @ $3.20 case	200
Ink, mimeograph @ $3.80 tube	76
Postage	800
Incidentals - staplers, pens, etc	60
	$2,043

LIBRARY

Books, periodicals, newspapers	$400

INTERVIEW EXPENSE

Field director, field and office secretaries	$500

PO SECTION 3 Powers and Duties

[redacted]es

The charity ~~s~~olicitations commission shall elect its own officers, shall meet in regular session at least ~~one~~ once each calendar month at the city hall, and shall have such special meetings upon call as may be necessary or advisable to efficiently transact such ~~business~~ business as ~~it~~ may come before it. The commission may ~~also~~ adopt such regulations not contrary to the provisions of this chapter, which as in its own judgment shall be necessary for the successful adminstration of the provisions and consummation of the ~~purpose~~ purpose of this chapter. A majority of the members shall consitute a ~~quorum~~quorum for the prosecution of its business. The commission shall have power to grant permits and revoke permits to summon witnesses, take testimony, direct investigations, conduct hearings, and do and perform all other acts which may be necessary and proper within the scope of its duties and functions.

SECTION 4 Clerk

The commission shall have a clerk ~~who~~ whose duty it shall be to keep on file the applications and other papers filed with the commission, and keep the minutes of the proceedings before the commission, and perform such other duties ~~as~~ ad may be assigned him by the commission or the council. The city tax collector or any of his deputies may be named as clerk to the commission wihtout additional remuneration.

SECTION 5 Permit Necessary

Before any person directly or indirectly, solicits ~~money~~ money, donations of money, property, or financial assistance of any kind, or sells or offers for sale any article tag, service, emblem,

, publication, ticket, advertisement, subscription, or anything of value, on the plea or representation that such sale or solicitation ot the proceeds thereof, is for a charitable, religious, patriotic, educational or philanthropic purpose, on the streets in any office ot business building, by house-to house canvass or in any other private or public place, by telephone, personal solicitation, by mail, ot in any other way in the city, it is hereby required that such person shall firdt apply for and obtain a permit to engage in such solicitation in the manner and under the provisions herein set forth in this chapter.

SECTION 6 Application for permit

Application for a permit to solicit for any cause whatever as provided i section 5, of this chapter shall be sworn to and addressed to the clerk of the commission and shall contain the following information: (a) Name of organization applying foe a permit to solicit and the address of its head-quarters. (b) Names and addresses of its principal officers and management. (c) The purpose for which such solicitation is to be made and the use or disposition to be made of any receipts therefrom. (d) The name ofthe persons by whom the receipts of such solicitation shall be disbursed. (e) The name and address of the persons who will be in direct charge of conducting the solicitations. (f) An outline of the methods to be used in conducting the solicitations. (g) The time when such solicitations shall be made, giving the preferred dates forthe beginning and ending of such solicitations, (h) The anount of any wages, fees, commissions, expenses, or emoluments to be expended or paid to any one in connection wiht the manner in which such wages, fees, expenses, commissions, or

emoluments are to be exoended, to wh whome to be paid, and the amount thereof. (i) A financil statement for the last preceding fiscal year of any funds collected for the purpose set out in section 5 hereof, by the persons seeking a permit for such solicitations; the said statement giving the amount of money so raised, together with the cost of raising it, and the final distribution thereof. (j) A full statement of the character and extent of the patriotic, charitable, educational, religious or philanthropic work being done by the applicant, or person wihtin the city. (k) Such other information as may be required by the commission in order for such commission to fully determine the kind and character of the proposed solicitation, and as to whether such solicitations is in the interests of, or inimical to, the public welfare. (l) A statement that the cost of raising the funds will not exceed twenty per cent of the total amount to be raised. (m) A statement that at least eighty percent of the total gross amount raised by such solicitations will be disbursed directly to the charitable, religious, educational, patriotic ot philanthropic work for which the solicitation is had. (n) A statement to the effect that if a permit is granted it will not be used or represented in any way as an endorsement by the commission or by any member thereof or by the ciyt.

SECTION 7 Investigation; issuance of permit

Upon receipt of the written and sworn-to application as provided in sextion 6, hereof, the commission shall make or cause to be made, such investigation as shall be deemed necessary in regard thereto, and if satisfied that such solicitation is to be for a bona fide charitable, religious,patriotic,educational or philanthropic purposes, that such solicitation is promoted solely by a

desire to finance the cause in question, that the organization for which solicitation is to be conducted is under rhe control and supervision of responsible and reliable persons and that the cost of raising the funds shall be reasonable (in no event to exceed twenty per cent of the total amount to be raised), and that such solicitation will not be detrimental to the general welfare of the community, then the said commission shall certify such fact and the period the permit should run (such period not to exceed twelve months) to the tax collector of the city who, upon receipt of such ceritficate, and not otherwise, shall issue such permit, which permit shall be nontransferable and shall not run for more than the period stated in the certificate certified by the commission; provided, that in no case shall the commissiom certify to the city tax collector, nor shall the city tax collector issue any permit to solicit when it shall appear that the expense of conducting such solicitation shall exceed twenty per cent of the gross amount raised or to be raised; and provide further, that the commission may require from any permit holder any reports or information at such times amd intervals as in the discretion of the commission shall be necessary for the proper adminstration of this chapter and the public welfare of the city.; and provided further, that the commission. upon receipt of am application in writing for extension stating the grounds thereof, may extend such permit for such reasonable additional period as, in the judgment of the commission, may be necessary for the proper conduct of such solicitation.

SECTION8 Power to revoke permit

The commission shall have the power to revoke any permit that may have been as herein provided as hereinafter ser forth. If, upon the receipt of written information or upon its own investigation, the commission shall find that any agent or representative of the permittee is misrepresenting or making untrue statements with regard to the solicitations or the purposes thereof, or has made untrue statements in the application, or that in any other way the solicitation has been conducted ot is being conducted in violation of any part of this chapter, or in a manner inimical or detrimental to the public welfare of the community, then the commission shall give the holder twelve hours' notice in writing that a hearing is to be had upon the question of revoking the permit. At the said hearing the commission shall ascertain the facts, and if the commission shall find that any of the provisions of this chapter have been or are beign violated, or that any agent or representatives of the permittee is or has been making misrepresentations with regard to the solicitations or the purposes thereof, or that untrue statements are made in the application, or that the solicitation is being conducted or has been conducted in violation of this chapter or in such way or manner as to be inimical or detrimental to the public welfare of the community, then the said permittee, his or its agents, employees and representatives shall from that time have no authority or right to make any further solicitations under the permit, and the said permit shall be null and void; provided, however, that the permittee shall have the right of appeal from the actions of the commission within the time and in the manner herein set forth in section 9.

LOWELL vs. GRIFFIN

303 U.S. 444

Min. and ord. prohibiting distribution of handbills, circular, handbooks advertising a literature of any kind whether will or sold, a permit is unconstitutional in its fall.

~~SOLINEIDER vs. INVINGTON~~

307 U.S. 147

An ordinance providing that no person should canvass, solicit, distribute circular, or other matter or call from house to house and requiring an applicant for a permit to give a description of the project for which he proposed to canvass, as well as to submit to other specified conditions--- unconstitutionally to ulnidge freedom of speech.

107 A L R 1275

See Cantwell nv

Lowell v Griffin
303 U.S. 444

Ord. prohibiting distribution of handbills, circulars, handbooks, advertising & literature of any kind whether sold or sold. Ord is unconstitutional on its face

Schneider v Irvington
308 U.S. 147

An ordinance providing that no person should canvass, solicit distribute circulars, & other matter & call from house to house and requiring an applicant for a permit to give a description of the project for which he proposed to canvass, as well as to submit to other specified conditions - unconstitutionally to abridge freedom of speech.

107 ALR 1295

Sll Cantwell v Connecticut 1213
310 US 306 84 L Ed 836

murdock v Penn
87 L Ed. Adv. 327
No license tax upon sale
of religious books

Return To
Floyd McKissick

Laboratory Training Experience With A Civil Rights Group

Jack J. Preiss and William Gellermann

The following disucssion is based upon our experience as trainers in a laboratory program with a national civil rights organization. Our primary concerns are: laboratory design and activities, participant characteristics, administrative problems, the trainer role, accomplishments, and applicability of laboratory training to the development of civil rights organizations/

Laboratory Design and Activities

We began Monday morning and worked through noon of the following Sunday in late September, 1965. Our meetings were at a church supported conference center; a former estate that had been converted for us as a retreat by its supporting groups.

Participants were divided into two sub-groups, with sex and geographical region as the basis for achieving heterogensity within the groups. A cluster, with sub-groups observing one another, was central to our over-all design.

In addition, there were three 4 hour theory and discussion sessions led by outside speakers, a case-problem constructed for relevance to the organizations actual field situations, and a number of study and recreation sessions. There were fourteen participants, including two whites; most were organization field staff and more than half were from the South, which gave the group much of its uniqueness, we believe.

CREDIT UNIONS

The growth of Credit Unions among low income people, primarily negroes in the south, has accelerated during the past six months. These, too, are often interpreted as a means to economic power. Their value as a source of money is often emphasized over their purpose of promoting thrift, individual self help, etc. As with other cooperative efforts it is necessary to look closely at credit unions to see what they are, and how they can benefit people belonging to them.

Credit unions are cooperativ organizations composed of members having a common bond of occupation, residence, or other association. They promote thrift and create a source of credit for their members. Credit unions give tot their members the opportunity for regular savings and offer protection of funds--- for they operate under the law, supervised by the goverment, and must supply surety bonds and substantial reserves. Often life insurance benefits are aviable. Credit unions loan money at low interest rates (usually 1% a month or less) to their members to pay bills, taxes, medical expenses, automobiles, vacation, education, etc. They are often the only place a low-income family can go and obtain a loan at decent terms.

Most federal and state credit unions provide organizational assistance where the applicant group is eligible for a charter and has qualified leadership within it to insure a reasonable chance for sucessful operation.

Strictly speaking, it is not necessary for credit unions to incorporate. But the advantages of incorporation are great.

The law generally:

--- require audit by state banking authorities
--- limit the members liability
--- enable credit unions to sign contracts
--- give legal standing to rights of the credit union and to any member who may appear in court

How does a credit union of rural Alabama Negroes, or of citizens of a city slum, compare with the majority of credit unions in the United States?

The majority of credit union members in the U.S. are industrial workers, goverment employees, and teachers. Rural based credit unions account for only 3% of U.S. credit unions and for but little more than 1% of total credit union savings. Local community credit unions during the 20's and 30's had such poor sucess that some state supervisory authorities refused to charter community groups. This trend has somewhat disappeared and farm credit unions are now considered good risks.

A REALISTIC LOOK

What can low-income people expect of a credit union if it suceeds ?

In the U.S. as a whole averages savins of credit unions members is about $500. Last year loans to individual members averaged over $750. Credit unions rarely make unsecured loans (by signature only) in excess of $300. Usually they place a limit even on loans with a security. A small creedit union of 30-40 people could not make very large loans. Its primary value would be to allow people to make their own decisions concerning the use of their own savings, and to provide a sympathetic board to hear their loan requests. Requests should always be kept in confidence at the risk of members losing faith in the credit unions.

Small credit unions made up of low-income people will have problems. As long as credit unions are small and cannot afford to pay for help, they have the perpetual problem of finding volunteer workers who are qualified to manage the affairs of the union. Community credit unions have a reptation of "being stillborn". Stillborn credit unions are those organizedwith only partial support from the community, or unions which failed to select competent officers or attract sufficient working capital.

Credit unions, then, can lend members small sums at reasonable interest and provide other services such as Inexpensive life insurance. That such organizations are badly, if not desperately, needed there is no doubt, but their chances for sucess hinge on good management, community involvement , and adequate capital. They can obtain help fron the Office of Economic Opportunity in gratns or loans which allow the beginning credit union to hire a finactial manager-- something a credit union cannot ordinarily do until it is several years old. Assistance is also avialble from state credit union leagues and federl credit union associations. The Credit union National Association in Madison wisconsin, can supply advice and written information, as weil as the materials for book bookeeping and other essentials.

A small credit union of poor people cannot do much to change a member's economic situation if he is already deep in debt, or if he only has a meager income. The spirit of the credit union is the most important self-help and self-determination.

EXERPTS FROM CCAP'S (Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty) DRAFT STATEMENT OF POLICY ON "MAXIMUM FEASIBLE PARTICIPATION IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY"

The ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT of 1964 authorizes funds for local anti-poverty programs. It requires that those programs be developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of the residents of the areas and members of the groups to be served. Response to that requirement has been largely limited to two courses of action: 1) poor people, or persons designated as representatives of the poor, have been placed on Boards of Directors and Advisory Boards; and 2) residents have been employed by poverty programs and entitled "indigenous workers" or "sub-professionals".

We are concerned that the principle of democratic participation which underlies the requirement has begun to be equated with mere representation on a Board of Directors. The concept of democratic participation implies far more than representation, regardless of percentage.

We view the words "maximum feasible participation" as a public acknowledgement that all Americans are entitled to enjoy the full status of citizenship, a status which bars condescension, and paternalism. But it does more. It confers the right to participate.

The concept of democratic participation embodies a set of guarantees which are essential to full citizenship. We number among these:

I. The right of Effective Speech
II. The right to be Wrong
III. The right to be Different
IV. The right to Influence Decision Making
V. The right to Contribute
VI. The right to Consume, in Dignity
VII. The right to a Continuing Share in this Nation's Burden and Benefits.

A consideration of each of these rights:

I. The right of Effective Speech

Free speech is Truth's first and best hope. But in an age of TV, radio, newspapers, and movies, in an age of science and specialization, speech can be readily suppressed and truth, distorted. To speak out effectively requires access to knowledge, to mass media, and to vast audiences. This in turn requires resources, organization, staying power and protection from retaliation.

Speech is a right of both the listener and the speaker. For the listener, free speech is necessary to reach an informed decision. For the speaker, free speech is necessary to feel that one is a participant, to persuade others, to test one's views, and to enjoy the dignity of self expression.

II. The right to be Wrong

The price of free speech is the protection of dissent. But beyond mere dissent goes the right of a group or a people to choose wrongly where they and not others will bear the primary consequence of that choice. The poor are only a minority. And among the poor are diverse communities--each now engaged in striving toward self-determination and self-realization. They are entitled, not just to register disagreement and dissatisfaction--but to develop and pursue a course of action, even though others feel such action is wrong or ill-considered. That right must be curtailed only where, and to the extent, it impinges upon similar rights held by others.

The right to be wrong means an abandonment of the "father knows best" attitude. More importantly, the right to be wrong means the freedom from retaliation--freedom from being punished for trying.

III. The right to be different

The right to be different is the right to be oneself, to take pride in one's heritage--and to have that heritage presented, respected and transmitted positively--not just to one's own group but to the entire society.

IV. The Right to Influence Decision Making

In a democracy, a voice for the poor is not the grant of a license to play jester in the king's court. The right to participate in decision making must confer power wherever decisions are made that shape this society. And particularly, it must confer the power to affect decision making proportionate to that stake which one has in the outcome.

The poor must not be made to bear the continual burden of justifying their voice and their share. Rather, where programs purport to be for the benefit of the poor, the burden is upon others to prove they have a legitimate interest in being represented.

Where a person is designated to serve purely in a representative capacity, those represented should have the controlling voice in his nomination, selection and recall. Once designation of a representative has been made, that representative is entitled, both for his own sake and his constituents', to sufficient time to establish a record of performance upon which he can be fairly judged.

When a person represents the poor by fulfilling a service function, such as teacher aide, hospital aide, neighborhood worker, failure to be responsive to the concern of those whom he serves is as much cause for dismissal as any other form of lack of performance.

Service, apart from empathy and advocacy, cannot provide representation.

V. The opportunity to Contribute

Many people live in poverty because they have been consigned to idleness by a network of policies, created both by the public and private sector, which remove those persons from productive roles and simultaneously penalize them for that removal.

This society regards the family as one of the basic elements on which this democracy rests. But we refuse to accord the status of work to raising one's own children decently.

In a society which rests upon the mobility of its labor force and upward mobility for all its members, we refuse to consider basic education, job hunting and job retraining as socially productive work.

We call upon this society to redesign useful roles for the poor, the elderly, the young, the handicapped and the culturally distinct and to accord such roles the status and reward of work.

We call upon this society to acknowledge socially essential activity such as child rearing, job hunting, retraining and other service activities as productive work.

VI. The right to consume in Dignity

The right to consume in dignity is an extension of that most comprehensive of all rights--the right of privacy--the right to be left alone.

VII. The right to a Continuing Share in this Nation's Burdens and Blessings

America has always stood for opportunity--not just for one generation--or one group of newcomers. But to the generations unborn, it has pledged that it would stand behind that promise--ever renewed and ever regenerated.

We have seen that promise falter in late years. We have seen it falter for Negroes so long as the doctrine of "separate but equal" barred a national confrontation of conscience with inequality and inhumanity.

There will always be individuals that constitute the lowest income group in this nation. But the poor--as a group apart, walled in and paralyzed--need never again exist. Because poverty is no accident.

WELFARE NEEDS AND CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The issues in public welfare in Cook County and Chicago in relationship to the governmental structures which are involved are focused at the County Board and State Government. This presents a dilemma for the Civil Rights movement because the area of power to which it responds is the City Hall, the center of Municipal power in Chicago. The nature of the welfare program really does not present a crucial confrontation for the Mayor and the City Hall in theory. However, the overwhelming power of the unilateral machine in Cook County and Chicago over which the Mayor presides, brings the welfare program within the orbit of the power of City Hall. Therefore, the protest against the inadequacies and deficiencies of the welfare program in Cook County, and Chicago must be directed against Raymond Hilliard, director of Public Assistance, Seymour Simon, president of the County Board, and Mayor Daley.

1. Adequate Grants related to the rise in the costs of living: Under the Illinois Public Aid statutes, and the administrative procedures established by the Department of Public Aid, the grant must increase when there is a significant increase in the index of the cost of living. The normal increase would be 3% under the present administrative procedures. The various windfalls from the Federal Government makes it possible for the increase to be 8%. Therefore, we demand that there should be immediately a cost of living increase in all public assistance budgets of 8% for food, and a corresponding increase in clothes and other allowances for all people on public assistance in Cook County and Chicago.

11. Rent ceilings and slum housing : The worse slums of the city of Chicago are occupied by public assistance recipients because they are restricted in renting apartments by the $90.00 ceiling on rents. We demand that rent ceilings shall be abolished and that the government shall cease to subsidize slums for people on public assistance. The Mayor of Chicago, through his influence of his selection of the General Assembly should make this provision for the abolition of rent ceilings a priority for improving the living conditions of people on Public Assistance in Chicago and Cook County.

111. Adult Education and Job Finding: The adult education program for public aid recipients is unrealistic and promoted on a piece-meal basis. It is unrealistic because it violates the basic principles of adult education, namely; the teaching is unrelated to job finding purposes. Further, it is a piece-meal program that does not meet the substantive need of thousands of people on public assistance because it is a part time program unrelated to finding and placement in jobs. The best programs of adult education are those in which the educational program is related to specific job training. This principle is violated by the Welfare Services Rehabilitation Center and the administration of the total agency.

1V. Caseworker Turnover: Conditions of employment and the frustrations of handling more cases than are reasonable for helping people to help themselves has decreased the ability of caseworkers to help dependent families.

V. Residence Requirements for Eligibility for Public Assistance: The residence requirements for low cost rentals are punitive, irrevelant, and unrealistic towards the problems in urban

centers. We believe that residence requirements should be abolished immediately and we solicit the support of the Mayor to achieve this goal.

VI. Improved Casework Services: Under the administration of the Cook County Department of Public Aid, one of the scandals in the administration of public assistance is the lack of real casework services for dependent people on public aid. There is a turn over of more than 50% of the caseworkers during the year and thousands of people on public assistance do not know their caseworkers, are not visited by caseworkers, and therefore, have no real help in meeting their problems and making the adjustments which are necessary for growth and rehabilitation. Improvement in personnel practices and the climate in which the caseworkers operate to help people to help themselves will demand more effectiveness of the administration of the Cook County Department of Public Assistance.

VII. Night Riders and Violation of Civil Rights: It is a violation of the Civil Rights of people on public assistance when night investigators invade the homes and against the protest of recipients, engage in search and seizure which is beyond the pale of legitimate enforcement of public assistance statutes, and a basic violation of human rights and decency. Public Aid administration must be rendered free of political fear and manipulations and the exploitation of the helpless and powerless. The Civil Rights of Public Assistance recipients must be respected and no Federal money should be spent for any program in which there is segregation and discrimination.

VIII. Equality in Medicare Programs: The administration of medicare programs for the aged people of Chicago must be in conformity

to the Federal statutes so that every person 65 years and above will be cared for under the Medicare provisions of Health, Education, and Welfare.

IX. Adequate Care of Children whose Mothers Work or in Training: Programs of Rehabilitation must be so conducted that all children in families where the parents are in training or at work must be adequately supervised during the period when their parents are absent from the home.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Cook County Department of Public Aid is seriously handicapped by poor administration in the District offices which results in the making of many inadequate budgets for people on public assistance and consequently suffering and deprivation of children and adults in these families.

The Public Aid Department of Cook County, in its administration, is sterile, unimaginative and lacking in creative implementation of Federal Government options, which would increase the strength and dignity of recipients on public assistance. Welfare colonialism persists in Chicago.

WELFARE

LEGAL rights AND CRIMINAL CASES

How would you like to arrive home some Spring afternoon from a walk to be pounced upon by two surly plain-clothes policemen, who attempt in the presence of neighbors to implicate you in the theft of a television set? They hurled a torrent of questions evidently expecting to encounter no resistance along civil rights lines. They were reluctant about showing credentials when they were demanded, they avoided mentioning even the right of due process and grew quite abusive when matters were brought up such as the right to demand identification, the right to refuse to answer questions, the right to council, etc.

Irritated by questions from me, they called me a cop-hater, some kind of nut, said that I should go back to England and left still hurling threats and insults.

Although this incident was a brief one, it included such things as:

1. Disregarding and overriding the civil rights of due process.
2. Harassment, abuse and intimidation.
3. Embarrassment before ones neighbors which in itself would amount to defamation of character without justification.

I am thankful that the neighbors were watching this incident for things might have been worse.

How can we be expected to respect law enforcers who are themselves violators of the law?

On Friday morning, July 15, 1966, at approximately 1:30 a.m. I left the 711 Club at 711 N. High St. with a group of friends and work associates. The group was interracial in nature. We had been at the club for about one half hour to forty-five minutes. I had consumed one bottle of beer. To my knowledge no one in the group was intoxicated.

Upon leaving the club I was attacked physically by a group of white males, anywhere from three to five in number. I tried to protect myself by covering my head with my hands and drawing my body into a knot. In a short while the police arrived on the scene with an emergency vehicle and two or three squad cars. The patrolman of the emergency vehicle refused to take me to the hospital stating that he had to make another call. The police stood there and did not question anyone or attempt to make any arrests. They did not even enter the club to find out what had happened. From what I am told by my associates, the persons who attacked me were still on the scene.

Eventually, I was told to get into a police cruiser to be taken to the hospital. I was bleeding profusely at the time. In preparation for leaving to the hospital, one of the females accompanying me questioned the policeman's procedure. The policeman had her taken from the car immediately and arrested on charge of intoxication.

I was finally taken to Doctor's Hospital on Dennison Ave. and told to walk to the emergency room. At the hospital I was told by Patrolman Hawks, Badge Number 488, that I could press charges if I would come to police headquarters and identify my attackers from pictures they have on file. I do not feel that I could identify the assailants in this manner.

I would like to protest the police procedure in this situation. I feel that because of their gross neglect the persons responsible for this act were not arrested. I am still under medical care for a fairly serious head injury. To the best of my knowledge this is an accurate report of what happened. I am available for further testimony and so are several members of the group who accompanied me during the morning of the said incident.

I may be reached at 444-2115 or 291-1495

A REPORT ON POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

On Monday the 20th of July, 1966 at 7:05 A.M. I received a call from Mrs.Warren, a neighbor who lives in the apartment above my business establishment, Gregory's Dry Cleaners. She informed me that earlier that morning at about 5:30 she had called the police to report that someone had broken into her home. She said that when the officer (Officer Jackson) arrived he discovered my establishment had been broken into also. He made out a report and asked her to tell me to call him when I came to open the shop at 7:30 A.M.

After talking with Mrs. Warren, my wife and I immediately went to the shop and found some clothing articles, a transistor radio and a small amount of change missing and our establishment unsecured. I went directly to the telephone and called the police. The officer (Mr. West, Badge No. 611, driving car number 60) arrived at 7:35. Following is an account of our experiences with this officer: His manner upon entering was very cold. He walked past us, proceeded to the end of the counter, disregarding my wife's greeting of "good morning", and asked "What happened here". I recounted the events of the morning as had been relayed to me by Mrs. Warren, and asked why Officer Jackson hadn't secured my place or called us before he left. He answered saying that the officer had no authority or responsibility to do this and added, "You people did it -- You people of the civil rights action, and it's your own fault". I asked him what he meant by these remarks. He answered very curtly "Oh, well, I didn't come here to argue or discuss, I came here to make a report -- Do you want to give it to me or not?" I told him to talk to my wife. HE turned to her and asked, "Are you ready to give me a report?" She repeated the accounts of the incident and asked him again why the place hadn't been secured. He replied," I didn't break into your place, lady. We're not supposed to call you, you're supposed to call us". My wife remarked that she felt he wasn't very cooperative. I then asked for his badge number. Instead of giving me his name and number, he asked me what I wanted it for. Refusing to argue with him further, I copied the badge number down myself and called my attorney. My attorney suggested I call and report the incidentto Mr. Simon, the Safety Director. I called Mr. Simon's office but was told that his schedule was full and it would be a week before I could make an appointment. I then decided that I would try to see him by going to his office personally. Having no success there, I went to the office of Mr. Walter Tarpley, Community Relations Director, and registered my complaint with him. He relayed my complaint to the Chief of Police, who sent a man out to investigate. When I arrived back at my shop the burgulary squad had been there and had told my wife that the officer was wrong in his interpretation of his duties and should have secured my place before he left, and should have also contacted us.

During this whole incident the only contacts I had with the police department came as a result of my insistence to get something done.

The information leading to the arrest of a 16 year old suspect was based on a Temporary Drivers Permit that I had found in my place and turned over to the police. I learned of this arrest after I went to the police department seeking the information myself.

I feel this is another example of the kind of service and treatment individual citizens are getting from our police department.

Mr. Walter Gregory
250 South 24th Street(Columbus)

COMMITTEE OF CLERGYMEN AND OTHERS FOR CIVIL RIGHTS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The recent brutal beating of Frazier Foster, a deacon in the Pilgrim Baptist Church, has brought to a head questions that have long bothered many citizens about local police practices.

1. What explains the repeated reports of unjustified beatings and brutality Administered most often to Negro citizens and always in situations where there are no neutral observers?

2. Why should racial epithets, invasions of privacy and crude indignities be associated with police conduct more than with any others sector of American society?

3. Why do even well-meaning policemen betray such a lack in the elementary skills of human relations?

4. Do not many tactics of the police, such as the use of helmets, riot guns and converging hordes only serve to increase tensions?

5. What explains the unequal methods of law enforcement in different sections of town?

6. Should not the old theory of preventitive enforcement give way to the more realistic one of crisis alleviation?

7. Why cannot a method of handling complaints be devised that will afford protection of civil and constitutional rights.

In the light of these concerns, we have formed a group embracing ministers of the gospel and defenders of both civil and constitutional rights. Out of our meeting and consultation we make the following recommendations:

1. That Mayor Sensenbrenner and Safety Director Simon make a thorough investigation of the Frazier Foster case, and that the report be made public. Only if the facts are allowed to fall where they may will the credibility and honor of the police department be restored.

2. That a crash program on a continuing and ever-enlarged basics be instituted for all policemen in the skills of human relations. Promotion policies should reflect achievement in this area.

3. That a Citizens Advisory Board, of which the present group would be a nucleus, be constituted and/or recognized. The group should include representation of clergy, labor, neighborhood councils, all civil rights groups, the Peoples Poverty Board, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Columbus Bar Association and the Anti-Defamation League. This group should be ready to receive all complaints against police practice, whether actionable or not, and to meet periodically to advise the city and police officials in a frank, constructive way.

4. That inspection teams be named and authorized by the Citizens Advisory Board. These teams should have immediate access to the police station and city jail any hour of the day or night. this right of access would open up what is the big unresolved area of factual confusion.

5. A review board with full administrative power, including that of subpena, for hearing citizens complaints against police in general, or specific officers. This board would then make recommendations to the safety director and mayor. This quasi-judicial administrative board would be made up of 3 to 5 men qualified in such areas as criminology, law enforcement and human relations. The board could be uniformed, as in New York, or civilian as in Philadelphia, Indianapolis and Los Angeles.

6. That recruitment and promotion policies be devised in such a way as to democratize the police force.

We make no claim that these recommendations are the wisest possible ones. We make them as our contribution of our civic welfare in this one area, aware the problem of police practice must be seen in the larger context of the deteriorating housing, employment, racial and educational conditions. Our deepest shared conviction is that only the light of unflinching truth can guarantee the honor and dignity that should be associated with law enforcement in a free, democratic society.

Speak To Tony
V.E.P.
Alvin Hawkins

FREEDOM SCHOOL PROPOSAL

I. PROBLEM AND PURPOSE

This proposal is directed at a two-fold problem -- academic and vocational achievement. One of the characteristics of deprived populations in America has always been the "vicious cycle" of under-achievement academically, and low vocational and economic status, and consequent lack of academic motivation.

In the American Negro community this problem has assumed a ridgidity and size which is staggering, for in addition to the status ascribed to lower-class people, there is the additional burden of low status ascribed as a result of color. The problem is manifested in two ways: the economic, social, and educational structure of Negro life in America, and the psychological structure.

a) Objective structure. Skotch in the economic picture in terms of dimensions of poverty, structure of occupational type, and income differential. This is reflected socially in housing, and other social problems such as adolescent and adult delinquency, etc. It is reflected educationally by underachievement (Central Harlem and Cleveland) in school, Dropout (Mazur study) and (NAIRO), and even low success in higher education (D. C. study).

b) Subjective structure. Sketch in the whole problem of negative self-imagery (Clark, Peck, etc.), and relate it to the lack of motivation. Indication is that psych deterioration operates as much where status is ascribed informally by community as where it is ascribed formally by statute.

In the past, deprived groups have been able to deal with similar problems by availing themselves of some avenues which were open through the use of group power. In the case of white ethic groups, group power expressed at the polls, upward economic and social mobility, combined with "assimilation," have provided an "escape route" for the deprived. For Negroes this was not available. The problem is, with rising social tensions, how can routes be made available?

End of discrimination is not enough. It helps, but we must deal with the built-in effects of discrimination, hostility, and distrust. Models must be built which reveal the possibilities open, and channel energies constructively. Programs are needed which will break the cycle of poor image and objective deprivation.

Programs designed to do this have existed for years. Self-help and self-improvement pregrams are common in Cleveland. Yet this model of change is denied by social reality, and thus they succeed in only a few cases. People don't accept that model of change, for good objective reasons.

WHAT KIND OF PROGRAM ~~WILL~~ CAN SUCCEED?

I. It must break self-concept and self projection patterns.
II. It cannot do this on individual psychoanalytic model... must be group oriented and in a sense, superficial.
III. It must do it in context of activities which give concrete evidence of effects of breaking the cycle, i.e., results.
IV. Must provide room for answering some questions about technique, success, and failure.

VALUES OF THE PROGRAM

1. The main assumption is the the Civil Rights Movement has revealed itself as a powerful force for building pride, etc. WHY? CRM has begun to succeed where other approaches failed. Has been a powerful force for producing pride, solidarity, etc.

2. No program designed to deal with problems defined above can succeed without improved self concept; it is central. The question is, how can it be incorporated successfully?

What are the elements of CRM that can be incorporated into this program?

I. Recognition of problem
II. Develop activities to treat the problem
III. Activity around it
IV. Possibility of success
V. Community centerd ideology, i.e. it is a movement for self-determination, as much or more than for "integration".

Thus, a program, or series of programs could be constructed incorporating these elements.

1. Built around small discussion groups at the beginning, with the aim of developing discussion of problems. Not through abstract reading and history, but thru more emotive material...records, poetry, talks from movement people, personal experience, comparing neighborhoods.
2. Develop rhythm of moving from emotive material amd group recognition of problem to more general analytic and historical content. Go from recognition of problem to its formal dimensions. This raises the question, what can be done about it.
3. Then perhaps to what is being done about it. Again, use of CRM movement stuff. Which brings you to the point of what the group can do. (Disc. of why the group should -- that is, importance of activity, fits in here somewhere)

ACTION COMPONENT

Devising activities is pretty easy...assuring success isn't. Assuming we will be dealing with three groups (pretty solid academic types, potential dropouts, and "street kids"), the payoff will have to be built in with this in mind. You need to take less time for the last than the first.

Action can be built into the discussion phase to a certain extent, in the sense that you are exploring reality. Reality of the problem and reality of what's being done. Each time you find something out and see it, individual or as a group, that's an achievement, and needs to be interpreted as such.

But the more impt kind is action where children don't just probe reality, but try to change it. For this, a mechanism needs to be devised whereby youth can decide whether what they want to do can be carried on under FSC umbrella. If not, then they are off on their own. The sort of thing that can be carried on would likely be: voter registration and poled, community clean-up community information, vista-type activities, in a word. explain

If that distinction holds, then we need to have some notion of the range of action activities for each of the three groups, sorting the activities out in terms of their length. For example, some children who are rather stable personally could see payoff in political work. Others, less organized, might have trouble with this, and might feel more comfortable beginning with shorter-range activities, which are less verbally demanding, less demanding in terms of long term commitment, quicker in payoff, etc. Community work projects could be shaped to meet these demands

Thus the program would imvolve these main components:
a) recognize problem on personal level in group discussion.
b) recognize problem in formal dimensions.
c) Probe reality of problem and solutions.
d) Change reality.

Then we need to design it so that these components are open to the different sorts of youth involved, as outlined above.

This holds for discussion as well as action.

Then we need to shape the program for summer and school-time. I'd say here that all that's involved is expanding the summer program in depth over a longer period. Thus, if we're thinking in terms of, say, a nine-week operating period during the summer, we could use the idea of two sessions, and break it down as follows:

~~4~~ weeks: (three weekdays and Saturday each week)
1 week on discussion
1 week on probing reality
1 week on what is being ineffectively done about it and planning ways to correct it
1 week on inplementing the plans

Summer program should involve daytime classes, and could be quite intensive. For recruiting, develop idea Peace Corps.

It would be best if the program operated out of a center which was staffed full-time, so that other activities could go on in addition to what we program. Thus, if some of the youth move faster, want to do more, etc., they will be unable to. Play down recreation, only for those involved.

On staff training:

a. All together. If there are three centers, train each staff group as a group, at least some of the time, so they get to know each other and ideas and progress are shared.

b. Training involves:
1. Knowledge of the structural problems, history, etc.
2. What's being done, and what's not.
3. Going through some personal bit as the kids with the same materials.
4. Some group dynamics and discussion leading technique.

STAFF DEVELOPMENT

The process of teaching staff development will serve a number of closely related functions. First, it will provide various kinds of objective resources for the FSC staff, such as understanding of group leadership, etc. Second, it will be part of the process of curriculum development, in the sense that all the inputs of staff training will be brought to bear on the FSC activities proper. Third, it will provide a setting in which the staff can participate in curriculum design, either by selecting given materials for future use, or by working with consultants in the preparation of materials they feel are needed. Fourth, the training itself, as well as the experience will be part of a process of leadership development in the Negro community. From this point of view, the training must be oriented not only to the FSC classrooms and activities, but more broadly. All of these objectives, then, must be realized in the training process.

The optimum training period would extend over slightly more than two months, with a minimum of fifteen training sessions. What follows is an outline of the content of those sessions.

1. Group dynamics and leadership development. (Three sessions) The objective is (a) to sensitize staff members to the techniques of group discussion and dynamics; (b) to create awareness of attitudes held by staff which might prove obstructive to their effective functioning; (c) to provide training in the development of leadership in a group setting. (Resources: Eugene A. Nadler, Steven Fink, time donated)

2. The structure of poverty and deprivation. (Four sessions) The object here is to provide systematic insight into and understanding of two major dimensions of this problem, the personal and the structural. (a) Poverty and personality; the most important point which must be covered in this

respect is the attitude structure characteristic of deprivation. The roots of negative self-concept, of hostility, resistance to authority, alienation and apathy, and other behavioral manifestations would be covered. (Resource: Ray Lewis) 2 sessions.
(b) The structure of poverty. The objective and non-personal sources of the problem would be discussed, in order to provide an accurate and objective picture of the nature of poverty and deprivation, locally and nationally. (Resource: Professor S. Peck, WRU, 2 sessions)

3. Youth opportunities. Analysis and survey of present resources available to deal with the problems of deprived youth in Cleveland, from public and private sources. The aims are to acquaint staff not only with what is being done, but with the spectrum of approaches to the problem. (Resources from schools, welfare federation, and city) 2 sessions.

4. Negro history. The object here is to provide an overview of the history of Negro in America, and a perspective on the present situation. (Resource: Charles Crowe, WRU) 2 sessions.

5. Youth work. Problems and techniques of group work with deprived youth. (Resources: CAY person and someone from HARYOU or that type of operation, i.e. Cyril Tyson) 2 sessions

Questions:

Include CRM in 4? How?

Staff selection: Need some objective-sounding criteria; (live in area, age, experience, etc.) Who selects:

Do we include as part of staff development section here idea of their building curriculum with the technicians? I go for that.

How much pay for these sessions?

How prominently do we want to feature leadership development of the staff itself? I like it.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

The curriculum incorporates the following elements. First, recognition of community problems through observations and group discussion. Second, exploration of these problems personally and through reading. Third, exploration of community resources for dealing with the problemsolving.

Different groups and individuals will deal, with these elements in different order and at different speeds. The objective of the curriculum design will be to provide, in discrete blocks, the resources which will allow staff members to respond creatively to the pace and demands of involved youth. It will not be to design a rigid, lock-step curriculum, to be impressed uniformly on the program.

There will be two separate elements in curriculim design.
(a) The use of consultants who are specially skilled or informed in given areas, such as Negro history.
(b) As mentioned above, the staff training.

These two elements will function cooperatively in developing the curriculum resources.

1. Written materials for classroom use on Negro history, poverty, etc., and collection of supplementary materials, written, and recorded, and filmed. (Curriculum Committee)

2. Planning for the exploration of community resources. (a) To deal with problems of deprived youth. (b) Academic and vocational opportunities, etc. (Committee of Social Welfare and enlightened business types.)

3. Planning for exploration of resources involved in community action against problems. (Neighborhood workers and civil rights people)

4. Planning for youth involvement in community action. (See group and #3)

In each case the consultants will serve as advisors and resource to assist in devising the most efficient ways of exposing youth to the various aspects of the curriculum. In all but #1 the time will be donated (since all we really want is advice and help in getting into certain places) and in #1 maybe we can get that free too.

Letter to: Your Eminence ...

His Eminence Lawrence Cardinal Shehan
Catholic Center
320 Cathedral St.
Balt. Md. 21201

Inv. tation for 6 reps to cardinal
call 3 days later + ask Monsegnor
Murphy for an audience to give
him more details so that he can apraise the
cardinal

Francis J. Bein
Exec. Director of the Archdiocesan
Urban Commission
Archdiocesan Bldg.

GUARANTEED ANNUAL INCOME

The United States is the world's richest country, yet one out of every five Americans is poor. These Americans lack adequate food, clothing, shelter, and medical care.

Automation and cybernation (the marriage of automatic machinery with the computer) are eliminating thousands of jobs each week. More and more unskilled and even skilled workers cannot find jobs. These same machines are creating untold riches for the corporations.

The problem is how to get a fair share of these new riches to those who are poor. For many years welfare has been tried as part of the answer. Welfare has failed. It has failed to provide people with enough money to live. Not a single state welfare program comes within $500 of the federal poverty line of $3100 for a family of our. Welfare has destroyed the sense of human dignity and self-respect of welfare "clients".

The time has come to provide adequate money to every person in need. The time has come to replace the degrading idea "client" with self-respect of citizen. Citizens should receive adequate income as a matter of right. Forcing people to grovel and beg for handouts must end.

These goals can be reached by establishing a Guaranteed Annual Income (GAI) determined only by the cost of living and number of persons in a family.

The GAI would replace the many welfare categories (ADC, ADCU, AFD, AB, GR, etc.) with one program paying every family which didn't already have money enough to raise them above the poverty line. A family of four, for example, would receive $3100/year rather than $2400/year now received in Ohio on ADC.

Families would not be penalized for working. People could keep part of what they earned to try to better their income.

The GAI would be a real war on poverty. It would fight poverty by the simple plan of putting money in poor people's pockets.

WHY HURT THE YOUNG?

There are 150,000 extremely poor children in families in Ohio. And 20,000 of them live in Franklin County.

These children and their families receive Aid to Families with Dependent Children.

"Dependent" means they are poor. Most live in homes broken by death, divorce, separation, and desertion....or where their fathers are sick, disabled, blind.... or....unemployed. A few are victims of illegitimacy.

How poor are they?

Each family gets a modest housing allowance for rent and utilities. Some hospital and medical care is provided.

But for all other expenses of food, clothes, household goods, personal needs and the costs of keeping children in school until they graduate, each family member gets only 73¢ per day!

What will 73¢ buy? Look at today's prices! 73¢ is poor. These are Franklin County's neediest children and families.

What happens to them?

Many start out in school with two strikes against them educationally, and are never able to catch up.

They are unable to learn in school because they are hungry. Some drop out because they are ashamed of their clothes and teased by their classmates, or think they can "make out better on the outside."

Some become seriously ill because they can't afford trips to doctors or clinics.

Pushed out of the main stream of our social and economic life, can they have healthy attitudes toward family and home, school....good citizenship? Without education and health, how can they break out of poverty? What chance do they have to become responsible, productive members of society?

Why do children suffer in the midst of prosperity?

Because of two reasons:

The good people of Franklin County and Ohio don't know about their plight.

And because they don't, they haven't informed the Governor and the Legislators of their concern.

Here's what needs to be done:

The Governor should be advised that thoughtful citizens are concerned that a State like ours isn't providing better care for its children.

(over)

The Governor should ask the new Legislature when it meets in January to appropriate enough welfare money to meet their need, and the Legislature should vote the money.

It's fair to expect the Governor and Legislature to spearhead an effort to help hungry children, but they need to know where you stand.

Please write Governor James A. Rhodes, State House, Columbus. There's not very much time. It would be good if you could write today. Perhaps some of your friends would write, too. Tell him of your concern for these children and their parents.

If you believe children should have good health....and education....a future, ask him to do something for them now.

Ask him to seek enough money from the Ohio Legislature to provide assistance grants of 100% minimum subsistence standards for health and decency for children and families, based on today's living costs.

There is really no reason why children and families in a State like ours must have only 73¢ a day for all the necessities of life except rent, utilities, and medical care. There is really no reason why they should suffer in the great and wealthy State of Ohio.

Write the Governor in your own words. Let's help them!

Mrs. Robert Lazarus, Jr., Chairman
Public Welfare Education Committee
United Community Council

P.S. Call us if you write the Governor, want more fact sheets, or want a speaker for your organization....ask for Miss Keller or Mrs. Blueford. If you have questions ask for Information.
Telephone. 228-5696

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE FACT SHEET

Table # 1

Number of persons Recieving Public Assistance as of April, 1966

(latest figures aviable)

Old Age Assistance	2,104,327
Aid to Families with Dependent Children	
Children: 3,465,554	
Adults : 1,129,711	
	4,595,26
Others:	
Medical Assistance for the Aged	219,146
Aid to the Blind	85,059
Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled	583,901
Medical Assistance	363,799
General Assistance	649,000
Total	1,900,985
Total:	8,600,577

Source: U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare: Welfare Administration, Bureau of Family Services

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Table #2

Total Public Assistance Payments for the Monthe of April, 1966

Total:	$498, 252,000
Old Age Assistance	163,397,411
Aid to Families with Dependent Children	161,474,677
All other Programs*	173,379,912

Medical Assistance for the Aged, Aid to the Blind, Aid to the perma nently and Totally Disabled, Medical Assistance, General Assistance
Source: U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, And Welfare, Welfare Administration, Bureau of Family Services

National Average income for Families on the Aid to Dependent Children Program
(monthly)

Per Person	Per family	% Fed. Financing
35.[illegible]	146.47	60.2

*Source: U.S. Department of Health , Education and Welfare, Welfare Administration, Bureau of Family Services.

470. STANDARDS FOR BASIC CONSUMPTION ITEMS

471 471. Basic Consumption Items. Basic consumption items are those requirements which are common to all persons regardless of age or living arrangement. This includes food, clothing, personal care, and minor household supplies.

471.1 Food. The standard for food is the low-cost food plan suggested by the Bureau of Home Economics in 1959. Products contained in theis standard were priced in 1959. in Cleveland and Cincinnati. Thesr prices were updated according to the in the cost-of-living index in Cleveland and Cincinnati between 1959 and December 1965. The cost of the food standard was adjusted for individuals living alone and for groups of two persons. The cost was reduced by five percent for groups of six or more.

471.2 Clothing, Personal and Household Supplies. Standards for clothing and personal care according to age and sex, and common housrhold supplies were developed by staff home economists in 1959. The cost of these items was priced in 1959.and updated according to the change in the cost-if-living index as of December 1965.

471.2 Other Living Experses.

472.2 Children. Two other istems common to most recipients were considered essential--school supplies and school lunches. The costof these items was computed in 1959 as$3.30 a month.

472.2 Adults. For adults, other living expenses include household replacements (such as bedding, towels, kitchen utensils, light bulbs), recreational experses (such as newspapers, magazines, church activitiers), necessary transportation, medicine chest supplies (such as aspirin, cough mediciine), and repair of smalll appliances,

473. Method for Deciding Amount of Standard Allowances.

473.1 For Adult Programs. The standard allowance in each adult program is based on the living arrangement of the applicant or recipient and is applicable to all persons who are living in their own home or as a part of a family group. Since funds do not permit allowing the full amount for all requirements in AB and AFD, the amount established for basic requirements and other living experses has been reduced.

473.2 For Children. The standard allowances for children in ADC and for GR is based on the number of persons in the assistance group. Each ADC family is assumed to consist of one adult and one or more children. The cost of providing basic consumption items and other living expenses for each child was computed by taking into account the age and sex of the children in the ADC caseload. Two-thirds of all children were assumed to be attending school. Since funds do not permit meeting the full cost of these requirements, the standard allowances represent a part of the cost.

484.3 Emergency Payments. Emergency payments necessary to avoid eviction or arising because of loss or theft are subject to reimbursement whether for recipients of relief or of one of the special categories.

484.4 School Clothing and School Lunches. Vendor payments for clothing for children of school age who are recipients of ADC are subject to reimbursement at the beginning of the school year on the basis not to exceed $5 per child. Vendor payments to meet a share of the cost of school lunches are reimbursable when made for children receiving either relief or ADC.

484.5 Requirements Related to Health or Living Plan. Payments made for household help, homemaker, personal or nursing services are reimbursable when made in accordance with the provisions of Section 463 and its subsections.

485. Medical Only Eligibility (GR only). Eligibility for medical assistance for non-recipients may be determined in the following manner.

1. Persons with a net income of less than requirements computed according to the agency's GR standards are considered unable to pay any part of their major medical expenses and may be eligible for payment of health care costs.

2. Persons with a net income of more than the amounts shown in Table IV are eligible for medical care to the extent that the cost of medical care exceeds the excess of net income over total requirements. Medical requirements are to be estimated on the basis of major expenditures only. This means the cost of hospitalization, surgical procedures, or drugs in excess of $20 a month. Not more than 75 days of hospitalization may be figured in computing eligibility. No surgical fees are to be counted if hospital has resident training program.

Example: An applicant ha s net earned income of $320 a month. Deducting the standards in Table IV, plus housing allowance, plus specific circumstance allowance leaves $60 a month available to meet major medical expenses. Surgery is required which will involve ten days hospitalization at a per diem cost of $40. The surgical fee is estimated at $200. This makes a total cost of $600. This expense spread over a period of one year is $50 a month. The applicant is therefore not eligible for medical only assistance. If the hospital period is extended because of complications, the applicant would become eligible for payment for part of the cost.

TABLE II
Class I Counties*

Maximum Allowance for Housing, Including Utilities, in AFA, AB, AFD, ADC, GR

Number of persons in household	Number of rooms 1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	$50	$55					
2	50	60	$70	$75			
3	50	60	70	75	$80		
4	55	65	75	80	85	$90	
5	55	65	75	80	85	90	
6	55	65	75	80	90	95	
7	55	65	75	80	90	95	$100
8	55	65	75	80	90	95	100
9	55	65	75	80	90	95	100

10 or more add $25 per person to maximum if tables are 7 or more rooms.

*Class I counties: Butler, Clermont, Cuyahoga, Erie, Franklin, Greene Hamilton, Lake, Lorain, Lucas, Mahoning, Montgomery Ottawa, Stark, Summit, Trumbull, Wood.

Allowances for Utilities When Not Included in Rent, in AFA, AB, AFD, ADC, GR

Number of persons	Heat	Light	Cooking	Total
1	$5	$3	$2	$10
2	7	4	3	14
3	9	4	4	17
4	11	5	4	20
5	12	5	4	21
6	13	5	5	23
7	14	5	5	24
8	15	5	5	25
9 or more	15	5	5	25

TABLE I

Standard Allowances to Cover Food, Clothing, and Other Living Expenses

ADULT RECIPIENTS				FAMILIES		
Number of persons in the living arrangement	AFA	AB	AFD	Number of persons in the assistance plan	ADC	GR
Alone	$ 60	$ 57	$ 41	1	$ 29	
One other	56	52	37	2	52	
Three or more	53	46	33	3	67	
Eligible couple	120	104	74	4	88	
Three or more	106	92	66	5	109	
Recipient and dependent	99	95	71 /	6	126	
Three or more	90	83	63	7	148	
All meals in restaurant	69	66	60	8	170	
Principle meals in restaurant	64	61	55	9	192	
Non-recipient adult	56	52	52	Add $22 each other person		
				Non-recipient child	35	

See Sections 463 through 463.98 for special budgeting when client requires specific circumstance allowances. The amounts included in Sections 463 through 463.98 are not standard allowances. The amount stated in each of the sections is the maximum that may be allowed.

TABLE III

Cost of Basic Consumption Items*, ADC or GR Families

Size of assistance group	Food	Clothing and Personal Including School Lunches	School Supplies	Total
1	$ 22.93	$ 9.41	$ 2.20	$ 35.00
2	60.07	20.46	2.20	83.00
3	72.99	29.89	4.40	107.00
4	95.92	39.27	6.60	142.00
5	118.85	48.68	8.80	176.00
6	134.69	58.08	11.00	204.00
7	156.47	67.49	13.20	237.00
8	178.26	76.90	15.40	271.00
Each additional person	21.78	9.41	2.20	33.00

Cost of Basic Consumption Items*, AFA, AB, AFD

Living arrangement	Food	Clothing	Other	Total
Adult alone	$36.71	$7.01	$16.00	$60.00
Adult in group of two	34.58	7.01	14.00	56.00
Adult in group of three	32.98	7.01	13.00	53.00

*Not statewide standard allowance that must be used to compute AB, AFD and ADC payments. (See Section 470.)

THE PEOPLES POVERTY BOARD:

AN INFORMAL STATEMENT OF ITS DEVELOPMENT AND PURPOSE

Peoples Poverty Board
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Columbus, Ohio
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DMc:dmc

The Peoples Poverty Board (PPB) is a federation of grass roots neighborhood organizations, block clubs, and interested individuals concerned with the issues of poverty, welfare, and human rights.

PPB came into existence out of the frustration, conflict and delay which surrounded the local efforts of the Community Action Organization in the War on Poverty. Since then the PPB has grown steadily. Today PPB stands as an association of most of the indigenous groups of the inner-city of Columbus. PPB is governed by a Steering Committee which is made up of representatives from these various groups and members elected at large.

Since its beginning, PPB has constituted a significant force in the Columbus community. It has been largely through the efforts of PPB that the Board of Trustees of CMACAO has been expanded until 50% of its members are to be representatives of the poor. PPB made a significant contribution to the Welfare March and Rally effort. PPB has been very active in documenting police brutality cases. It has formed a permanent Police-Community Relations Committee, the purpose of which is to look into these matters in an on-going manner. It is PPB which has attempted to bring about coordination among the neighborhoods of Columbus.

Currently, PPB is sponsoring and organizing a Poor Peoples Conference, which represents a major educational endeavor for a better understanding of the problems of poverty, welfare, and human rights.

It is the purpose of this paper to give a better understanding

of what PPB is all about, its history and its goals.

AN INFORMAL HISTORY OF PPB

On Tuesday evening, March 15, 1966, interested persons from the north, south, and east sides of Columbus met at the study of the Rev. Arthur A. Zebbs, 1204 Windsor Ave., to determine and discuss the status of the community action programs for the city of Columbus, and to explore what steps were necessary because of this situation. Rev. Arthur Zebbs acted as discussion leader. Concern centered around the "Seven Centers Proposal" and the conduct of the Columbus Metropolitan Area Community Action Organization (CMACAO). The summary report issued by the meeting reads as follows:

> "The group discussed its mutual problems in regard to the implementatio of the War on Poverty Program, especially in regard to the Community Action Organization. Because of the unequal representation on the Board of Trustees of CMACAO, the ineffectiveness of CMACAO in developing programs which are acceptable both to the poor of Columbus and the officers of the OEO in Chicago, because of the reluctance of the CMACAO to work with the poor and the neighborhood leadership, and the inability ofCMACAO to comprehend the necessity of giving the decision-making powers to the neighborhood groups which are concerned with the Poverty Program, because of CMACAO's failure to grasp the basic need for intensive community organization in the poverty areas, for these reasons and many more, this group tonight finds it necessary to begin to look into the possibility of forming its own PEOPLES POVERTY BOARD which will take over the activities of CMACAO with regard to the Poverty Program and the OEO offices in Chicago and Washington. As the first step in this direction, the group agreed to inform Chicago of their intentions, set up a communications network between the various neighborhood groups which deal with the poverty problem, and begin a documentation of the activities of CMACAO and the UCC to determine to what extent they have failed to measure up to the demands of this problem."

The Peoples Poverty Board held its second meeting March 24, 1966. The purpose of the meeting was to firm up a list of priorities for PPB. The task of community organization was placed at the top of the list. Poverty has a political as well as an

economic manifestation. The poor have no control over their own destiny. In the Neighborhood Centers proposal PPB sees no provision for giving the poor any power over their own lives. The need is, therefore, political education and an organization of the poor which will speak for the poor.

Concerning CMACAO and the Seven Centers Proposal, the group decided to concentrate on the issue of representation on the CMACAO Board of Trustees, the role of the Advisory Councils for the Neighborhood Centers. PPB asked for full representation of the poor on the CMACAO Board, (meaning at least 50%) and that the Advisory Council be the governing body of the Neighborhood Center. In a word, PPB made as its primary objective the realization of "maximum feasible participation of the poor".

Through April and May PPB arranged several open forum meetings with the CMACAO Board and Staff. The purpose of these meetings was to provide an opportunity for the people of the neighborhoods to express themselves to the CMACAO Board. The most important of these meetings was the one at Schiller Park, April 17, which demanded that the poor should constitute the majority of the CMACAO Board. The discussion was intense, but out of it, all indications point to a better understanding between CMACAO and the grass roots neighborhood groups and individuals.

Meanwhile PPB continued to grow. Its voice was being heard both downtown and in the neighborhoods. In May the Inter-Church Board for Metropolitan Affairs officially endorsed PPB. CMACAO increasingly listened to PPB as a major voice of the neighborhoods. More neighborhood groups began to participate in PPB activities, largely due to the organizational efforts of PPB volunteers.

PPB set up a temporary office at the rear of 1204 Windsor Avenue. Attendance at PPB Mass Meetings grew to such an extent that PPB was able to form a Temporary Steering Committee, which consists of representatives of all the participating neighborhood groups. PPB is now in the process of establishing its Permanent Steering Committee which will consist of official representatives from the neighborhood groups as well as a complementary number of at large delegates elected by the PPB Mass Meeting. The steering committee is intended to act as the responsible on-going governing body of PPB, and is accountable to the Mass Meeting on policy. This relationship between Mass Meeting and Steering Committee is an effort to guarantee the grass roots character of PPB. As anything, any organization grows, there is the probability of institutionalization, that is, the tendency of a group to concentrate its energy on perpetuating itself, instead of throwing all its effort into those issues for which it was formed. Institutionalization cancels out grass roots contact. It destroys the effectiveness of a group that is dedicated to the people. The keynote idea of PPB is maximum participation of the people. PPB is open to anyone. PPB is a forum from which the people can speak with power. The Mass Meeting is open for everyone. Its whole purpose is to make sure that all the people get a chance to make their ideas known and to participate in the decision-making process.

On June 7, 1966, the Temporary Steering committee met and elected the Temporary officers for the SteeringCommittee. Mrs. Jean Mackey of Bolivar Arms was elected Chairman. Mr. Josephus Harmon of the Milo-Grogan Area Council was elected Vice-Chairman. Mr. Walter Gregory of ECCO was elected Secretary-Treasurer.

At this same time, PPB was able to hire a staff to coordinate its

activities. The staff of PPB, which is responsible to the Steering Committee, consists of a staff director, and four organizers. Secretarial work is done at present by volunteers. Fund raising and public relations are handled by the Community Relations Task Force of PPB, a group of interested civic and religious leaders, of which Father Thomas Duffy is the Chairman. The staff of PPB acts as the servant of the PPB. It translates into action the policies established at the mass meetings and at the steering committee meetings.

PPB was able to hire this staff because of a $5000 development grant from the Norman Foundation which came to PPB through the Community Organization Foundation of Franklin County (COFF).

During this summer, the PPB has continued its organizational activities. PPB contributed significantly to the effort which brought about the Walk for Decent Welfare and the rally at the statehouse. PPB has been active in the attempt to better relations between the police department and the community. At the present time PPB is sponsoring and organizing the POOR PEOPLES CONFERENCE, a major educational effort in the areas of poverty, welfare and human rights.

A TENTATIVE STATEMENT OF GOALS FOR PPB

PPB's motto, "Let the people decide", is thekey to understanding PPB. The purpose of PPB is to take whatever steps necessary to promote and insure the right of the people to effective control over their own destiny. PPB's effort is educational, that a person might understand the possible consequences involved in personal choice. PPB's effort is political, that the choice of the people might be effective, that it might be heard, that their decision might carry through into reality. PPB's effort is social, that the individuals might come together to work out a common, coordinated effort to attack common problems

PPB is based on the principle of "One man-one vote", that a man, by the very fact that he is a man, is capable of making intelligent decisions by which he can govern his own life. PPB came into existence to enable a man to fully exercise his power of social decision.

In view of this, PPB is firmly committed to the principle of "maximum feasible participation of the poor" in the poverty program. PPB will make every effort to carry this principle through into the realities of the war on poverty in Columbus.

PPB recognizes that intelligent decision can be limited by lack of understanding, by faulty self images, by apathy, by despair. Therefore PPB is committed to promoting major efforts at political education such as the POOR PEOPLES CONFERENCE in order to promote a knowledgeable participation in society.

PPB recognizes that intelligent decision cannot be realized in action without some access to power. Therefore, PPB is committed to community organization as a necessary measure to insure that power rests where it should--with the people. Access to power demands coordination and communication--these are the needs which PPB seeks to fulfill.

PPB understands that a misdirected, though well-meaning, paternalism is no substitute effective choice and participation. Therefore, PPB is committed to cooperative efforts among the people, efforts at self-help, rather than services administered by an agency. Accordingly, PPB is promoting cooperative neighborhood stores and warehouses, credit unions, and welfare unions, organizations of the people and for the people.

PPB sees the need for creative social change. Change is something that we must not pretend does not exist. Rather it is a fact of life to be celebrated. Creative social change denotes a willingness to alter the structure of our institutions to deal with the problems of the post-modern era. Any theory of creative change necessitates an understanding of the

problem of culture. One must be sensitized to the effects of three hundred years of political, economic, social, and cultural slavery upon the soul of a people. One must be aware of the problem of basic alienation, which a poverty caste system breeds and perpetuates. PPB, therefore, is committed to programs which take these factors into account, such as the Training Proposal of the Inter-Church Board for Metropolitan Affairs.

PPB demands that brain power of this nation turn to the problem of jobs and roles in this post-modern world, that there be a rethinking of what constitutes socially productive activity for which a person deserves a living income, that, for example, a mother might act as "resource person" for her own children and expect a living income for that productive work. Therefore, PPB endorses such efforts as that which seeks to secure a Guaranteed Annual Income for such persons.

Ultimately, PPB is dedicated to people. PPB seeks to restore the dignity of the Human person in a society which seems to have lost sight of this the most basic right of the individual.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

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PUBLIC EDUCATION IN AMERICA

Floyd B. McKissick

October 16, 1967

The system of public education in America has failed for both Black and White Americans. This failure is most disastrous to the Black Population, who can least afford to be without the skills and knowledge needed to eke out a living in this vicious, competitive society.

This failure is due primarily to the following:

1. Public Education, instead of combatting racism, feeds upon and perpetuates racism: The result is white children infected with racist ideology and Black Children ignorant of their culture and identities. This results in the destruction of our most precious natural resource, our children -- and prevents any chance of communication between Black and white.

2. Public Education is a monopoly: Black People have no alternative to public education. They are trapped in public schools until they are old enough to drop out.

(cont.)

3. Lack of accountability of teachers and administrators: The general assumption is that the student's failure to learn is completely controlled by environmental factors outside the school, is inherent or simply incurable. Rarely are deficiencies in teaching methods, curriculum, or administration taken into account.

4. Lack of competent administration: Boards of Education and administrators are subject to massive political pressure. Those men with political power control the schools — and it is in their interest to maintain the status quo.

5. Public education does not teach practical skills to children: Those basic skills needed to earn a living. Even children headed for college should have at least one marketable skill by the end of Junior High School. Even if a youngster drops out -- for whatever reason -- he should be armed with a skill he can use on a job.

Many children refuse to learn because they can see no practical application for what they are taught in school. They lose respect for teachers because they realize that teachers have nothing to teach which is relevant to their lives — hence, there is no motivation to study.

6. Boards of education and teachers are not responsible to the community, in Black Areas: They are most definitely responsible to the parents in middle class areas. They respond to the desires of the white community (This is perhaps most clearly shown in the almost unanimous refusal to

(cont.)

desegregate schools, as ordered by the United States Supreme Court in 1963 — a clear response to the mandate of white racist communities. They have also, in most areas, refused to divert funds into Black areas — to help educate Black Kids in their own neighborhoods. All the goodies, in the form of experienced teachers and advanced equipment, are reserved for the white child, the child of the politically influential.

7. Independent thought is neither encouraged or rewarded: There are few imaginative programs designed to maintain the interest of ghetto children.

8. Educational opportunities are limited: Schools must be available night and day — summer and winter. Schools must be accomodated to the needs of the community, not vice versa.

These factors must be attacked if we are to halt the vicious circle of racism in America. Those who teach our children are products of racist education. Teachers and administrators must be re-educated and new standards must be enforced.

Comprehensive courses in Black History, Black Literature, African languages (i.e. Swahili) and Black Culture, must be mandatory to all practicing and potential teachers, regardless of the subjects they will teach. Teachers ignorant of Black Culture cannot respect Black People — children or adults — unless they have knowledge and appreciation for Black Heritage.

All children, Black and white, must be given an opportunity to learn about

(cont.)

Black Culture. (In most high schools, extensive and repetitive courses are available in American and European history. Few high school graduates have any knowledge of Latin American, South American, African or Asian History. The curriculum of most of our schools ignore the history and cultures of three-quarters of the world.) Graduates of American high schools and even colleges are grossly ignorant of the world in which they live.

Often they remain in ignorance for the rest of their lives. Such inadequate education makes them incapable of evaluating America's policies — domestic or foreign, past or present — and precludes an intelligent electorate.

Teachers must be made directly accountable to the Black Community in which they serve, not to the Union or the Board of Education. Black Parents cannot be expected to show interest in the education of their children if they have no power to implement this interest.

Black Children must daily see Black People in positions of authority and power: Black Educators, fully knowledgable of their own history and values — must be visible and in close contact with Black Children.

We cannot continue to blame all the other forces in society for the failure of our educational system. When that system is set aright we can begin to rid our other institutions of racism. But public education is the guardian of our children's minds and is one of the first and paramount influences in their lives.

We cannot afford less than excellence.

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480
We cannot afford less than excellence.

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The Urban Review
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PUBLIC EDUCATION IN AMERICA: WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Floyd B. McKissick

October, 1967

In America, racism is a way of life. All of our institutions are geared and designed to maintain that way of life.

The American system of public education is no exception. Because of the crucial nature of its responsibility -- the development of young minds -- racism in education is perhaps the most evil and seditious.

Racism exists in many forms in our schools:

Black History and culture are virtually ignored. Graduates of American high schools and even colleges are unaware of the vast contributions of Black People to world civilization. They are usually under the erroneous impression that all that matters was created or developed by white men.

Hence, if the young person is white, he has no respect or understanding for Black People. If he is Black, he lacks the self-respect and self-confidence he so desperately needs.

Segregation is practiced in schools just as it is practiced in all other aspects of American life. Segregation is used as a tool to guarantee that Black Children will not receive adequate education to function in a competitive, industrial society: For children in Black Schools receive less: less money, less supplies, less facilities, less educational materials. (cont.)

Black Children are first isolated and then systematically under-educated. Such isolation is guaranteed by the neighborhood school concept: In America, neighborhoods are segregared and so, therefore, are the schools.

But I do not trust those who believe that the solution is wholesale integration. When they talk about integration, the assumption is alwasy that when you add whites to a Black School, that upgrades the school, but if you add Blacks to a white school, you upgrade the Blacks and you downgrade the school.

It is not lack of integration per se that is the heart of racism. I do not believe that Black Children have to sit in the same classroom with white children in order to learn.

The heart of racism is pure and simple, -- inferior education. And the way this country is set up, Black People suffer most from a school system that does not teach -- a school system that does not live up to its responsibility.

When a white kid graduates from high school, he is unprepared for life. He has not been prepared for citizenship. He has not been taught to act on his own, as an adult. He usually does not have a marketable skill. He is not ready to assume family responsibilities with maturity..

But he can usually get by. If he has that diploma, he can either get a job and learn a skill or if he has some money, he can go to college and get four more years of the same: When he graduates from college, he can get a job and learn a skill. But the job will be better and the skill more expensive.

Black Kids have no such alternatives. In the first place, Black Kids are far more likely to drop out of high school by the time they are sixteen than the white kids. He is far more likely to be forced into the streets,

(cont.)

than his white counterpart.

This happens for many reasons, some economic, some psychological. And when he drops out, he is even more unprepared to face life than if he had stayed. For he has not been provided with a skill he can sell -- and the business world ppts a great deal of stock in the otherwise meaningless high school diploma.

Even if the Black Child stays in school and graduates, he feels the failure of our educational system more acutely than anyone else. For if he is poor and especially if he is poor and Black, that diploma, that high school education, is just about worthless. That diploma only has meaning in a middle class world. In the ghettom it means nothing.

The Black Kid in the ghetto knows that the kind of education he is offered means nothing. And after a while, he stops trying, He knows that he has no power over his own future -- and there is nothing in our educational system that gives him hope that such power can be acquired.

If this vicious pattern is ever to be changed, a complete revamping of our educational systems will be necessary. Education will have to redesigned in terms that are relevant to daily living. A kid with a high school diploma, whether that kid is Black or white should be able to deal effectively with bureaucracy; he should be fully aware of his legal rights -- as a tenant, consumer, citizen and human being. He should be able to type as well as have one other marketable skill. He should be able to read, write, do arithmetic, spell -- and think independently.

Education should be preparation for life: It can be made to be so.

Any program to do away with racism must start with accountability, of educators. Teachers, principles, Boards of Education -- all must be directly accountable to the community which they serve.

Black Parents cannot be expected to take an interest in their children's

(cont.)

education unless they have the power to implement that interest. As things are now, it is the politicians and the unions to whom the educators are responsible. The politicians and unions have no interest in changing the status quo. Their only interest is in the maintainence of their own power.

If the cruelty and racism is to be eliminated from the American structure -- it must first be eliminated from the school systems. That accomplished, we will be able to attend to the monumental task of rebuilding America in the image of justice and equality.

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URBAN REVIEW - 1

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~~The image of the Black Man as noble savage of docile, contented slave is reinforced by our schools. --No serious attempt is made to~~

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I can't accept that kind of thinking (low) and respect for

URBAN REVIEW - 2

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The heart of racism is pure and simple,—inferior education. And the way this country is set up, ~~a Black man can't receive~~ ~~integrated education is denied~~ Black People suffer the most from a ~~system~~ school system that does not teach -- a school system that does not live ~~up~~ up to its responsibility.

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The Black Kid has no such alternatives. In the first place, the Black Kid is far more likely to drop out of high school by the time he is sixteen than the white kid. He is far more likely to be forced out into the streets, than is his white counterparr.

This happens for many reasons, some economic, some psychological. and when he drops out, he is even more unprepared to face life than if he had stayed./ For he has not been provided with a skill he can sell -- and the business world puts a great deal of stock in the otherwise meaningless high school diploma.

Even if the Black Child stays in school and graduates, he feels the failure of our educational system more accutely than anyone else.

For if he is poor and especially if he is poor and Black, that diploma, that high school education, is just about worthless. That diploma only has meaning in a middle class world. In the ghetto, ~~xxx~~ it means nothing.

The Black Kid in the ghetto knows that the kind of education he is offered means nothing. And after a while, he stops trying, He knows that he has no power over his own future -- and there is nothing in our educational system that gives him hope that that power can be acquired.

If this vicious pattern is ever to be changed, a ~~xxxxxxx~~ complete revamping of our educational systems will be necessary. Education will have to be redesigned in terms that are relevant to daily living. A kid with a high school diploma, whether that kid is Black or white should be able to deal ~~x~~ effectively with bureaucracy,; he should be fully aware of his legal rights -- as a tenant, consumer, citizen and human being. He should be able to type ~~xxxxx~~ as well as have one other marketable skill.

He should be able to read, write, do arithmetic, ~~xpxxx~~ spell and think independently.

~~Thxrexixsxnexgoodxreasonxthatxx~~ Education should be prepareation for life: It can be made to be so.

Any program to do away with racism must start with accountability. of educators.
Teachers, principles, boards of education -- all must ~~prxdxcx~~ be directly accountable to the community which they serve.

Bkack pareats cannot be expected to take an interest in their children's education unless they have the power to implement that interest. As things are now, it is the politicians and the unions to ~~wxxch~~ whom the educators are responsible. The politicians and unions have no interest in changing the status quo. There only interest in in the maintainenee of their own power.

If the cruelty and racism is to be eliminated from the American way of life, it has to be gotten out of the educational system, and fast. For ~~evxrxdaxxxxxx~~ every day that such racism is allowed to be rampant, lives are wasted, human resources are left undeveloped and.

February 8, 1967

Carl Rachlin, Esq.
Scholarship, Education and Defense
  Fund for Racial Equality
150 Nassau Street
New York, New York 10038

Dear Carl:

We received your letter of November 30, 1966, in which you resigned as General Counsel of CORE. We regret that we have not replied earlier but many considerations required we seek legal and other advice prior to answering your letter.

As you know, Marvin Rich, while in his capacity as Community Relations Director of CORE, helped to create and establish SEDF to receive tax deductible contributions for the purpose of supporting CORE's tax exempt programs. Now, he has become Director of SEDF, and SEDF certainly has not carried out the purpose for which SEDF was created.

For example, under the agreement between CORE and SEDF, as reflected from the minutes of the BAC, CORE retained the right to hire and dismiss Legal Counsel, but SEDF would pay for the Legal Counsel of CORE as well as an Associate Legal Counsel and a legal secretary.

Thus, before we can accept your resignation, we must have firm assurances that SEDF will honor its agreement to defray the costs of CORE's legal defense program.

If we do not receive such firm assurances, we must be concerned with the ethics of a situation in which you resign as General Counsel of CORE and accept a position with SEDF while litigation which you commenced and other litigation for which you are responsible as General Counsel of CORE are now pending in courts throughout the country.

Assuming we can resolve these issues, CORE has no records of

the cases which you have handled or are handling. Before we can accept your resignation, we need full and complete records of these cases. Also, all files regarding CORE which you now possess to be returned to our office.

There are also other issues outstanding between CORE and SEDF. One is to what extent funds received by SEDF actually belong to CORE. Another is SEDF's violation of its agreement with CORE by sending out a general mailing. Another issue is SEDF's apparent intention to carry on CORE's Art Show. Another issue is SEDF's violation of its agreement with CORE to pay the rent for CORE at 38 Park Row.

It is impossible to settle any single issue involving CORE and SEDF, as these matters are interwoven. A solution would require complete agreement and settlement in every area of disagreement between the two organizations.

I think it is necessary for us immediately to discuss these matters. It is also imperative that we be honest with one another and be as frank as possible in our dealings. This is most important if we are serious in our attempts to bring power to black people in this country, who so desperately need it and who have been so long deprived.

Sincerely,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

FBMcK:ilh
CC: William Josephson, Esq.
Strasser, Spiegelberg, Fried & Frank
120 Broadway
New York, New York

Friedman & Tandler
112-10 Farmers Boulevard
St. Albans, New York 11412

George Schiffer, Esq.
157 West 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

Writings

RACISM IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

By: Floyd B. McKissick
National Director of CORE

Prepared for:
The National Convention of the
Congress of Racial Equality
Oakland, California

Date: June 30, 1967

Often I have been questioned by newspaper reporters, "what is the number one problem in this society, housing, education, ~~schools for black people and etc.; what do Black people want.~~" Really, the real answer to that question is not what we want, not what Black people want. The number one problem in American society is racism. It is not the so-called Negro problem or the Black man's problem. The number one problem is racism and that means the racist white man. For it is he who has created the Black problem. For actually the real problem in American society today is the white man. That is the racist white man. What we must realize today is that housing, poor schools, slums, inferior education, under-employment, unemployment, the failure to enforce laws are all indications of

symptoms of the white racist society as concocted and as conceived by the racist white man.- to educate every black man in America and not to re-educate every racist white man in this country is to leave the country in the same condition it was before we started the educational process. What really needs to be done is that the white man must be educated to his own evil tendencies. His extraordinary and American ingenuity in the creation of evil processes to deprive people of ——

You see, the racist white man conceives of himself as being superior to all other people. He believes that he can only be right. He believes that his fore-parents were always right. That they committed no wrongs against Black, Afro-Americans, notwithstanding all of the psychology, the sociology and the science. He is still convinced even in the face of the historical fact that he himself is supreme and [redacted] Black people create his problems. He did not create his problem because he is not possible of evil, so he thinks. And you created his problems because of your black skins. The racist perceives of himself as being right in his control and domination of you

Floyd,

When you get to the part of how the racist thinks and you mention "secondly, he owned land," what about "secondly he <u>stole</u> land?

and he justifies his position. That is the reason the problem is always characterized as the "Negro problem" or the"Black man's" problem. My friends we do indeed have problems in this country but let us really analyze and examine the problems and let us be fair in our examination of the problems. Let us look at the problems in this society from the overview or the view of the white racists. One must realize that ~~he~~ one must be fair and in being fair he must understand how the white racist thinks. First of all, he was an owner of slaves. Secondly, he ~~owned~~ stole land which now owns Thirdly, he made the laws. Fourthly, he enforced the laws and fifthly, he had total thought control over the law and of the processes of thought. Education was what he said it was. And he sincerely believes that he is superior to Black people. (Repeat) Therefore, he created a concept called "law and order" made in his image. That is, law and order was perceived by the white man for the white man and that automatically means that it is not for the Black man. So one day he looks up and he sees acts of violence by Black people in the streets,and what is his reaction??

The Capitalist System and the Black Man. The BM is not known in the system and because of this fact he opposes the system - As he sees it it is designed to keep him out, keep him poor - all because he is black. He is not a capitalist, because he is not in the C System, he has no capital NO property - NO land.

The Problem in American society today is Not The
so call Negro Problem, Nor the BLACK MAN. The Problem
in this Country is Racism. What's really wrong
is this society Today is the racist white man. It was
He who created the black problem
He is the creator of our problems - He is NO Racist
in his thinking that he has convinced himself
that he right, that his forebears were always
right, they they committed NO wrongs against
the Black - Afro Americans - Not withstanding
Psychology - sociology - science he has been convinced
himself that is supreme to you - that you - because
you are black you are the creator all of their problems
you're blackness in skin color makes him
loose sleep.

The Racist premises of himself as being correct
right - that is positive negative - that you as
a black man are wrong. Black men interfere
with easy way of living. You prick his conscious

Dowbe Thinks of us - Dred Scott

Crime Do The Shed

RACISM IN EDUCATION

AMERICAN EDUCATION: A PARTNER IN THE PERPETUATION OF RACISM?

PROGRAM

for the

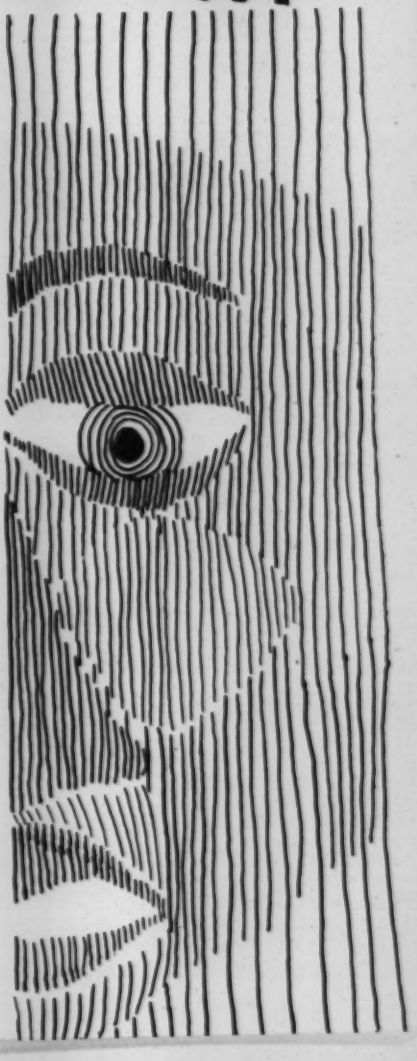
Detroit Federation of Teachers
and Michigan Federation
of Teachers

Regional Conference on
Afro-American History

University of Detroit
Memorial Fieldhouse

Detroit, Michigan

May 11, 12, 13, 1967



Conference Registration Schedule

Thursday, May 11 ..... 4:00 p.m.- 6:30 p.m.

Friday, May 12 ..... 8:00 a.m.- 9:30 a.m.
11:00 a.m.-12:30 p.m.

Saturday, May 13 ..... 8:30 a.m.- 9:30 p.m.

Registration Tables Are Located in the Lobby

Special Offices and Meeting Room Assignments

Conference Office .....South Memorial Building Office

Press Headquarters .....Main Memorial Building Office

Exhibits and Materials.....Girls Gymnasium and Classrooms

Workshop Areas.....Commerce and Finance Building

Exhibits—See Your Conference Kit for Scheduled Times

"If I were a member of the class that rules, I would post men in all the neighborhoods of the nation, not to spy upon or club rebellious workers, not to break strikes or disrupt unions, but to ferret out those who no longer respond to the system under which they live. The millions that I would fear are those who do not dream of the prizes that the nation holds forth, for it is in them, though they may not know it, that a revolution has taken place."

Dick Wright—"The Man Who Went To Chicago"
From **Eight Men**

THURSDAY, MAY 11

"American Education: A Partner in the Perpetuation of Racism?"

7:00 p.m.—Auditorium .....Art Reese
Moderator

Welcome .....Zeline Richard
Conference Chairman

"Bourgeois Teachers in Ghetto Schools" ....Dr. Nathan Hare
Professor of Sociology, Howard University

"Education Through the Eyes
Of A Black Novelist" .....John Oliver Killens
Author and Lecturer

"The Crisis in Education in
The Urban Ghetto" .....Floyd McKissick
National Director, Congress of Racial Equality

Question Period

Adjournment .....10:30 p.m.

"If you have to lie about my role here, if you have to pretend that I hoed all that cotton just because I loved you, then you have done something to yourself. You are mad."

James Baldwin—"A Talk to Harlem Teachers"

FRIDAY, MAY 12

"The Miseducation of the American Teacher"

8:30 a.m.—Auditorium .....Harold Lawrence
Moderator

Music .....Durfee Junior High School Orchestra
Anderson White, Director

Welcome .....Mary Ellen Riordan
Detroit Federation of Teachers

"Race, Science and Humanity" .....Dr. Ashley Montagu
Anthropologist, Author, Lecturer

Question Period

Lunch .....12:15 p.m.

Afternoon Session—Auditorium .....2:00 p.m.

"A New Approach to African History," John Henrik Clarke
Director Heritage Teaching Program
HAR-YOU ACT

Question Period

Group Workshops
Commerce and Finance Building .....3:00 p.m.-5:00 p.m.

Dinner .....5:00 p.m.-6:30 p.m.

Educational Films .....6:00 p.m.-7:30 p.m.

Evening Session—Auditorium.....7:30 p.m.

"Racism and the Teaching of History: the Case
Of Slavery and Anti-Slavery".....Dr. James McPherson
Associate Professor of History, Princeton University

"From the Dark Tower: Black Thoughts
On America Since the Civil War" .....Dr. Vincent Harding
Professor of History, Spelman College, Atlanta, Georgia

Question Period

Adjournment .....10:30 p.m.

"We have all been 'niggerized' on one level or another. And all of us are determined to 'deniggerize' the earth. To rid the earth of 'niggers' is the Black Man's Burden; human reconstruction is the grand objective."

John Oliver Killens—**Black Man's Burden**

SATURDAY, MAY 13

"Cultural Differences: Myth or Reality?"

9:30 a.m.—Auditorium ..... Carolyn Reese
Moderator

Welcome ..... Henry Linne
President,
Michigan Federation of Teachers

"Cultural Differences, Reality and Myth" ..... Dr. Alvin Rose
Professor of Sociology,
Wayne State University

Question Period

Plenary Session

Lunch ..... 12:00 p.m.

Afternoon Session ..... Auditorium—1:30 p.m.

"The Living Text" ..... The Detroit Repertory Theatre
Bruce Millan, Producer

"A New Mythology" ..... Arna Bontemps
Author, Historian, Lecturer

Close ..... 3:00 p.m.

Sponsors

Detroit Federation of Teachers
Mary Ellen Riordan, *President*

Consultants

Harold Lawrence
Arthur Reese

General Chairman

Zeline Richard

Planning Committee

Williams Ayers, *Publicity*
Musette Billings, *Hostesses*
Barbara Birch, *Communication*
Myra Eder, *Communication*
Connie Quinn, *Publicity*
Carolyn Reese, *Materials and Exhibits*
Beulah Tumpkin, *Registration*

Margaret Ashworth
Leontine Beverly
Catherine Blackwell
Martha Blaine
Ethel Bonner
Edna Burgess
Juanita Carey
Helen Carney
Charles W. Cheng
Judy Cheng
Jeannette Daitch
Phyllis Davis
Morlean Daye
William J. Drinkwater
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Andrew Manier
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Evelyn Pack
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Jim Saad
J. B. Samples
Grace Sayers
Barbara Shedlock
Sister Mary Constance, I.H.M.
Sister Rosemarian, I.H.M.
Mary Gene Sturkey
June Sutton
Ruth S. Vincent
Lenore Weiss
Gertrude E. Williams
Maria Williams

Conference Coordinator

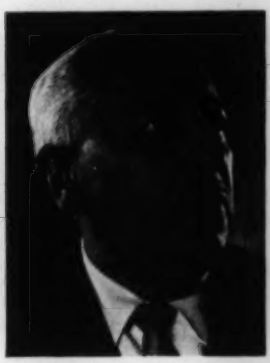
Edward Simpkins

Exhibitors

American Federation of Teachers
Bell and Howell
Detroit Artists and Sculptors
Detroit Classroom Teachers and Pupils
International Afro-American Museum, Incorporated
La Tanya's
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
Negro Heritage Library
P. A. R. (People Against Racism)
Poor Peoples' Corporation
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
Urban League
Vaughn's Bookstore
Zampty's Art Imports

Private Collectors

Catherine Blackwell
George Norman
Sylvia Obradovic
Helen Thomas



ARNA BONTEMPS

Arna Bontemps, the distinguished librarian from Fisk University, is a prolific writer. He is a two time winner of the Julius Rosenwald Fellowship and the winner of a John Guggenheim Fellowship. His books include **100 Years of Negro Freedom, Story of the Negro, God Sends Sunday,** and **George Washington Carver.**

JOHN HENRIK CLARKE

John Henrik Clarke is book review editor of the **Negro History Bulletin,** associate editor of **Freedomways** and Director of the Heritage Teaching Program of HAR-YOU ACT. His articles and poetry have appeared in **Freedomways, Journal of Negro Education, Journal of Human Relations, Phylon, Presence Africain, Lunes de Revolution, Negro Digest** and **New World Magazine.**

DR. VINCENT HARDING

Dr. Vincent Harding is Assistant Professor of History at Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia. His articles and poetry have appeared in **The Crisis, Christian Century, Negro Digest** and **The Reporter.** He is also the author of a book, **Must Walls Divide?**

DR. NATHAN HARE

Dr. Nathan Hare's articles have appeared in many publications including **Social Forces, Negro Digest, Phylon Review, American Sociological Review,** and the **Saturday Evening Post.** He is President of the Howard University Chapter of American Association of University Professors and is the author of **The Black Anglo-Saxons.**

JOHN OLIVER KILLENS

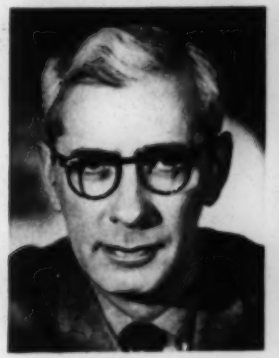
John Oliver Killens is the author of **Youngblood, And Then We Heard the Thunder** and **Black Man's Burden.** His latest novel **'Sippi** will be released in June. Killens is currently writer in residence at Fisk University.

FLOYD McKISSICK

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), has enjoyed an outstanding career as an activist in the civil rights movement. He was Youth Director of the N.A.A.C.P. in North Carolina and took part in freedom marches, sit-ins and other demonstrations. As counsel for hundreds of young demonstrators, he fought some of the legal battles against Jim Crow laws through local courts and the U. S. Supreme Court.

DR. JAMES McPHERSON

Dr. James McPherson, associate professor of history at Princeton University, is the author of **The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil War and Reconstruction** and **The Negro's Civil War.**



DR. ASHLEY MONTAGU

Dr. Ashley Montagu authored the famous UNESCO statement on race. He is the author of a number of books including **The Fallacy of Race, The Natural Superiority of Women, Man: His First Million Years** and **Race, Science and Humanity.** His latest book, written under the pseudonym Academicus Mentor, is **Up the Ivy.**

DR. ALVIN ROSE

Currently a professor of Sociology at Wayne State University, Dr. Alvin Rose is a two-time winner of the Julius Rosenwald Fellowship. His many honors also include the Walgren Distinguished Scholar Award in the Social Sciences. Dr. Rose has been a Ford Foundation Fellow at the Sorbonne in Paris, France, a lecturer in sociology at the University of Lausanne in Switzerland, a visiting Professor of Sociology at Lovaniun University in Leopoldville, Congo, Africa and a Visiting Professor at the University of Montreal in Montreal, Canada. He served as United Nations Senior Advisor to the Republic of the Congo in 1962-3 and his many articles have been appearing in academic and sociological publications since 1948.

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'67

Racism & Education

When I received your invitation to speak, there was only one thing about it that puzzled me. Why would you need anybody to tell you about racism in e dcuation, when you see it, feel it, experience, it every day at every level of the school system. And you too are its victims.

Racism is a mighty beast, hard to define. It's like the the story of that elephant being described by five blind men, each feeling a different part.

There are some who would point to the first grade readers and say: Tom and Jane are always white. That's racism. Their slogan is "Color me Black". But if you did color Tom and Jane black in ever primer in the United States, you would nothave eliminated- eliminated racism. The beast is bigger than that.

~~There are others who say racism is a refusal to teach Negro history in the schools, and Negro culture in the school~~

Others have other definitions.

~~They point to the failure to teach Negro history and culture in the schools. And they say that is racism.~~

~~But that is just~~

~~And there are others who stress de facto segregation and say that is racism. And they point to real things:~~

-- the failure to teach Black history and culture in the schools. That's racism.

-- segregation. That's racism. Except today, we have other names for it.

They call it the neighborhood school concept. And they draw the boundary lines very carefully. That's racism

That's racism.

The track system. They use culture biased, race biased, class biased tests to label Black children DUMB -- except they don't call them DUMB. they call them culturally deprived and they put them in a special grouping called "special academic".

It that

Less money, less experienced teachers, less supplies, less facilities, less educational materials for black schools. That's racism.

Assigning whites only to white schools, keeping Blacks outof white schools, refusing to let Negro educators hold top supervisory and administrative posts. All of thatis

racism.

But I do not trust those who keep telling me that the solution is integration. Have you ever noticed that when they talk about integration, it is always assumed that when you add whites to a black school, that upgrades the school but if you add blacks to a white school, you upgrade the blacks and you downgrade the school. Now what does that tell you.

The heart of racism is not lack of integration per se. The heart of racism is what has always been the result of segregation -- and that is pure and simple, inferior education.

Racism is not a matter of intent, of motive, of purpose, of sincerity, it is a matter of result.

And when in one major city, you have more (Black) dropouts over a five year period then you have high school graduates -- then you have racism. ~~Regardless of~~

When tests reveal that youngsters in a refromatory get a beter educationthan they did in the schools, then you HAVE RACISM.2

When each year, a Black child falls farther and farther behind, then you have racism. A system of designed ~~retardatio~~ retardation. Designed -- not in terms of motive. But in terms of results.

~~for me racism racism takes two forms which most peopl people don't talk about when they talk about~~

So when people talk about integration, or more money for ~~schools, or remedial prog~~ ghetto schools, or teaching ~~Negro~~ Black history, I don't think they have described racism. They are just feeling one part of the beast.

For me Racism takes two principle forms.

The first is lack of accountability. That is the cause -- I shall deal with it later.

The second is that education in this country is ~~simply~~ just no damn good. I'm not talking just about ghetto schools. Or about dropout rates. I'm talking now about high school graduates -- the ones whom the system rates as successes. Because that is where real racism lies.

What have they learned? What is this wonderful education they have gotten?

Does it prepare them for citizenship? No.

Do they know how to cope on their own as adults? No.

Do theyhave a marketable skill? No.

Can they assume family responsibilities with maturity? No

The long and the short of it is: they can't earn, they can't cope, they can't survive -- even if they stick with the system and succeed on its terms. So at eighteen, what have they got -- black or white; rich orpoor. They have a piece ofpaper that says they are ignorant but docile, immature but not dangerous, useless but pliable,

What can they do with that piece ofpaper. If they are middle class, they can use it to stay ignorant foranother 4 years in college. Or maybe, they can get a job -- with an employer who will teach them something useful.

But if they are poor, and especiallyif they are poor and black, that paper is worthless. That piece ofpaper is only good in a middle class world. In the ghetto, it's like confederate money. And believe me, brother, the South will not rise again.

You may ask -- whyis that ~~kind~~of education -- education that leaves a youngster ignorant-- whyis that racism when it leaves white and black equally ignorant. why It's racism because a black youngster can't afford to stay ignorant. He can't afford to wait until he's eighteen or twenty twobefore he starts to learn to survive. He has to learn from day one. By age 10 or twelve, he's had several run-ins with the police. He seen sex,alcoholism, drug addiction, broken families, crime, violence, riots, discrimination and everything seamy in life that whites are only allowed to see when they are writing their doctoral dissertation and doing what is fashionably called "field work."

To prove alcohol was bad for human consumption

It reminds me of this science class in a black school. The teacher dropped a worm in a glass of alcohol and the worm withtered upand died. Sheturned to the class and asked themwhat that showed. A forestof arms shotup. She calledonthe firstone andhe said: it showsthat if you have worms, you can get rid ofthem bydrinking alcohol. That was practical daily to day answer.

Education isn't education in this society. It's a kind of debutantes ball -- a coming outparty -- a puberty rite. But it doesn't teach you anything, doesn't give you waht youneed. And I callthat racist. And I say that black youngsters recognize that what they are getting isueseless -- and thatisone of the reasons they don't learn,don't perform -- why they do dropout.

You tell me. I don't know. I'm not the expert. Whatarethese kidslearning.
Geography -- but can they read a road map. Can they find their way around town.
French -- but do they know English.
Civics and government. But do they know their rights -- their legal rights.
Biology -- All But do they know about sex and birth control? Do theyknow about medicine andillness?
Social studies. But do they know how to fight injustice.
Home economics -- but do you tech them how to cook chitterlings and hog maws?/

Education that teaches nothing useful may be culturally desirable. Itmaymakeone well mannered and sociallymore adept. Butthatkind of education is a luxury -- and the Negro can't black youngster afford can't afford it. He just gets one day older --butno nearer to making it. His problem is survival. So even when you dish out equal education, integrated education, multi-colored education, if it is equallyuse-useless to all, itis racist. If it is not quality education. Because only the middle classand the wealthy can afford to waste thatmany years of their life.

quality

5

The Coleman report brought this out in a different way: it said that the factor which correlates most highly with academic achievement was not school facilities or quality of education but rather is correlated most highly with "his feeling that he can control his own destiny."

If you aren't giving a youngster anything to help him control his own destiny, anything that has feed back and payoff, how do you expect him to perform-- when each year he gets older, things look worse-- and he comes to realize how heavy the odds are against him. He sees family break up, he gets a police record, he doesn't have money for clothes or shoes to wear to school, he goes to school without breakfast and can't get lunch. No wonder he becomes increasingly convinced he can't control his own destiny. Because he can't and the quality of educatin he gets certainly doesn't help.

why he reaches LSD, + poor Man Kicks

But underlieng this form of racism is the first kindof racism -- more basic, more subtle, more pernicious.

It lies at the heart ofthe whole system: lack of accountability.

~~But underlieing even this form of racism is an even more subtle, more vicious, and more pernicious form of racism.~~
~~Unequal education is racist.~~
~~Poor education -- even if equally poor for all -- is racist.~~
~~But at the heart of our system lies an even more evil for-~~
~~something still worse.~~
~~LACK OF ACCOUNTABILITY.~~

The public schools are a monopoly. ~~At least for the ne-gro~~ --there is no competitor. You buy education from the company store -- and you get deeper in and deeper in hock year in and year out -- each year you fall further and further in areas-- its the old share cropper system transferred to education.

And the reason is simple: you are dealing with a monopoly
a white monopoly
a professional monopoly
~~a government monopoly~~
a class monopoly

And if you are Black and poor - you are out of it.
You have to buy the product - whether you want it or not --
and you have to buy it on whatever terms it is offered.

And the monoplists say: ~~if our product doesn't suit you~~ then that's your fault, not ours.

I ask you: if a doctor had a sick patient, and ~~he~~ the patient got sicker and sicker, wouldn t the doctor try a different medicine. Or would he just curse the patient and say You stupid black so and so. Why don't you get well.

~~Well~~ Well tht's what our educaion system does: it says You stupid black so and so -- why don't you learn.
But it never occurs to them to change the medicine, to offer a different course of treatment-- to diagnose and prescribe for the individual patient -- for the child -- for his needs, his strengths and his background.

8

And it is this lack of accountability that ~~it~~ underlies racism ~~in all its other forms~~ --
the inequality
the poor quality
the uselessness
~~the~~

How do you deal with lack of accountbiiltiy. How do you ~~deal with a monopoly that is insulated from competiton.~~

~~CORE~~ has come up with two answers. They have never been given a full chance, a fair chance. But where ~~they~~ have been given any chance at all, they have shown results.

The first answer to monopoly is the classical one: competition. ~~You have to start competing school systems -- or some way of meas-~~ But how can you compete with the public schools. It's damn near impossible. But we have tried it on a small scale with our ~~freedom~~ schools. By teaching ~~technic~~ techniques that were relevant to survival, relevant to progress, relevant to dignity. We have taught techniques of organization and of protest. We have taught ~~current events~~ the history of the civil rights movement, we have taught ~~governm~~ government. And we have succeeded only where it was tied to action, to events in the community, to direct participation in shaping the society in which ~~Negroes live~~ these youngsters lived.

(living)

From the point of view of social action.

This year, ~~w~~ are planning to modify the ~~freedom~~ schools in design because this is a different year and a different age. We have to teach youngsters how to deal with a world that doesn't respond to moral appeals, that ignores ~~picket lines and marches~~, that has closed its eyes and its ears and ~~has~~ its heart to injustice --
that says: get off my back. I don't want to look at your troubles anymore. I don't give a damn. So stop bothering me or I'll call out the riot police.
How do you deal with that kind of a society. How do you offer relevant education that offers youngsters a sense that ~~in their terms of the Coleman reports, makes them~~ believe that they can affect their own destiny. -- in an age and at a time when it gets harder and harder for the ~~Negro~~ Black man to ~~freedom~~ change anything at all.

How

By education that doesn't tell me them ignorant
By educatin that teaches them how to deal with
bureaucracy
By education that teaches them about legal
rights -- that's right legal ~~traiing~~ training
about welfare rights, rights of juveniles,
rights of tenan s, rights as consumers
rights of citiz enship — this is their white in school
By education that is learning by DOINg -
by actual internships in complai t centers, inhelpin
opeople to fill out applications formedicare,
helping them to file complaints with the code enforcemen
division, helping thempress complaints
against police or teachers, orprincipals
orwelfare case workers.

One way of dealing with monopoly is competiton --
butit takesmoney to go into competiton. And money
we ain't got -- we can do it ona pitifully small scale.
But it is very hard to buck the- a monopoly - particularly
when the monop oly is government.

Sowhat's theother solution -- whatis ~~cure's~~ COCE's
other answer tolack of accountability.

The answer is participatory democracy -- The answer is
having a say at every level and in every way in the school
system. The answer ismaking thatmonopoly accountabile
to the consumer- genuinelyaccountable. This is not usual accepted procedure for any recog.
monopoly - telephone co electrical co etc

Public utilties have tooffer decent service at
reasonable rates.

Why shouldn't schools be held accountabile if they don't
teach children how to read? Why shouldn't text books be
abandoned if they don't do their job? Why shouldn't
teachers promotions and salaries be based on production
incentives. Whyisn't education subjectedd to the same
production standards andquality controls thatother consumer
products are? I know that sounds
horrifyin , commercial, inhuman. But do you think the
system of designed retardation, of perpetuated ignorance,
is any more humane? Do you think we like seeing our
children, thea pple of our eyes, getting older--and no
wiser-- steppinginto our shoes -- only to learn they
are going to walk the same path to poverty andunemployment,
and dperivation and hopelessness? How does that feel.
~~We entrust our child~~

We aretaxpayers too. We are citizens too We fightin
your the militant too. We are the victims of crime and unempl
unemployment andinflation too. We share in thelotof this
society.

and he should know how to fight injustice, exploitation and discrimination

So I say to you: that a program to do away with racism in education has to start with accountability.

1. That means setting up performance standards. By a certain age, every child should know how to read, By an other age, he should be able to have mastered a certain vocabulary and have certain comprehension and computation skills. Don't tell me about his broken home, his father and his mother, his cultural deprivation. That's passing the buck. Prescribe the ~~tea~~ right treatment for the patient and stop trying to cure him by calling him stupid. You can do it. It has been done. These children are educable. So let's make sure that we set up standards so we know when some one is falling down on he job. Let's set up a n early warning system that sets up a ~~loud alarm when a child is starting to fall behind.~~ And let's take actin then-- not ten years later when he is ~~is~~ in juvenile ~~dou-~~ court.

2. That means teaching subjects that have pay off, that have ~~rel~~ relevance, that offer something real and tangible to the youngster. To my mind by the twelfth grade every child, ~~I mean every child should~~

be able to read, write, do arithmetic, ~~and know how to -type~~ and type

he should have a ~~least one merchantable~~ the basic foundation of one merchantable skill-- even if he is going on to college, he should know how to do one thing that has value on the ~~market place~~ employment

he should know about sex, ~~about birth c-~~ and about birth control + mediums

he should know about the law, about his rights and his responsibilities on ~~his rights under~~

what about discriminating employers?

If you began to make education impart those kinds of things, then maybe you would have youngsters who saw a future in staying in school, who saw a real pay off, now a phony promise in gong to class and learning.

3. You have to establish accountability to the community -- ral accountability. It is perfectly clear now that the school exists in virtual isolation from the community. You could transplant most school systems to a totalitaran country and never know the difference in terms of baasic accountability -- accountability means community participation in policy formation -- it means parents and members of the community on the staff of the school -- it means getting the schoool involved in the life of the community so that it can contrib- speak rlev relevantly to the problems of the community and the reality of the environment of the child -- ~~would you treat a patient without fi-~~ The parents of these children know that unlike white middle class parents, they have no place and no power in the New York school system.

3. You have to establish accountability to the consumer -- to the child, to the parent and to the immediate community. I'm not talking about phony PTA's. They can be kept ignorant, led around by the nose, and made to see kept busy with an annu annual cake sale. Yet, it is a fact of life that children in ghetto schools are pushed around, unjustly accused, punished and even exxpelled --without anybody being able to intevene in their behalf.

OMIT

Last week in New York, a court handed down a ruling that said that the constitution requires that every youngster have a lawyer present in school exxulsion proceedings. Tha at seems revolutionary. But to me, if you have a constitutional right to a lawyer before they sentence you to a year or two of jail, how about much more do you need a lawyer -- when you are a child -- and when you are about to be sentenced to a lifetime of ignorance, poverty, unemployment, dependency and perhaps crime.

It would be better though if the system were fairer, if built into the system were safeguards against unfair treatment, against neglect, against the kind of trivial but crippling humiliations which are part of the slum child's daily life.

I remember hearing a story from an eminent expert in child development of a child who was sent home because he was actin g sleepy in class. It was assumed that the chi d had been staying up watching television and that it was the fault of the home situation and the parents. In this particular school, a position called "community aide" had been established and members member of it was a parent filled that position and decided to look into this. She found out that the child had been in an accicent in the playground, but had been hit in the head with a baseball bat but the health forms had never been filled out so that no X-ray or other tests had been performed. The child was suffering from a severe concus- concussion. These things happen. No one admits they happen. But they happen with surprising regularity. And youngstes need -- inside the school system helpers, tutors, advocates, who can go to bat for them. To get them help.

In addition, we have found that youngsters of high school age can tutor younger child ren very effectively -- more effectively than teachers sometimes. And that in doing they tutoring, these teenagers improve academically themselves. They feel -- and they know they can do something useful. They can contribute. And they do so.

That's what I call accountability -- building into the school system an opportunity for the community to find out what is going on, to take remedial action -- and also, and I stress on this, to contribute to the quality of education.

In addition, we have found that high school youngsters can tutor young children very effectively. And when they do so both benefit.~~//the/turn/~~

So when we talk about accountability

~~I mean three things~~
a chance to find out what is going on
a chance to take remedial action
a chance to have a voice in policy decisions
and finally
a ~~ch~~chance to make a contribution, to participate in the school system, to shape ~~the/way~~ what kids learn and how ~~they learn it~~.

The system doesn't do that now. Instead it blames the parent and the home. If the child doesn't learn, it can't be the teacher's fault; it can't be the school's fault. So it must be the fault of the parent because he or she is dumb and ignorant.

~~But~~ and do you realize what the cost of passing the buck is. ~~What does that say to the child? What~~ does that say about his chance for a future? ~~Wh//t/d/~~ How does that affect his image of his home, his family and his community.
How does that affect his sense of being able to achieve.

~~And what does that do for his sense of fairness if the teache r is wrong, if the teacher has blamed the wrong person, or made a mistake, or singled one child out for humiliation,~~ or favored the girls over the boys or picked out a teacher's pet.

If we are to get at the roots of racism , we have to begin with ~~respect for the individual. And that respect does not exist in a monopoly where there~~ is no competition and ~~no accountability to the child, to the parent and to the~~ community. You cannot tell a man he is a man and treat him lik like a dog. You cannot tell a child he has dignity and treat him and and his parents like dumb ignorant inferior beings who have nothing relevant to say about that child's education, his needs and aspirations. Because the child reads that message, reads it loud and clear.

If we are to root out racism, we must begin with the lack of accountability -- the omnipotence, the isolation, the insulation of the school system.

we must balance the power of the education system with the power of the community
the power of the school administrator with the power of the home and of the ~~parents~~ parents groups
the power of the individual teacher with the aroused and alerted concern of the parent.

And, anyway, we are told -- the school system cannot be held accountable for a racist structure. After all, on graduating a Black youngster will be faced with bigoted employers, biased trade unions and prejudiced landlords.

This we conceed. But each part segment of this structure must be made accountable for its actions -- each profession, each institution, each individual. Or, as in Nazi Germany no one will ever admit their share of the guilt. And the educational part of that system which ~~As the segment which molds the~~ young -- which decides what facts children will and will not learn -- which has control over the young for the most decisive years of their lives -- You are accountable.

You are a part of an educ system that has control over children
The educational system
And the guilt of an educational system is great.
system cannot be immune.
It too, must own up // We
can't afford to luxury of
passing the buck.
Remember. those who are now being educated
in our schools will grow up
to be the perpetuate those
institutions of a racist
system unless they are
taught otherwise. now.

That is how we will root outracism. That is how we will create quality education in a democracy.

1. Queen Mother - Queen Mother
2. James + Grace Boggs
3. Zilene Richard

Nat Turner
Gabriel Prosser

Fourth
Valerie
Castoriel

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BY

35 minutes

FLOYD B. McKISSICK

TO: DETROIT FEDERATION OF TEACHERS AND MICHIGAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

University of Detroit,
Memorial Fieldhouse
Detroit, Michigan

May 11, 1967

AMERICAN EDUCATION: A PARTNER IN THE PERPETUATION OF RACISM?

When I received your invisation to speak, there was only one thing about it that puzzled me. Why would you need anybody to tell you about racism in education, when you see it, feel it, experience it, every day at every level of the school system. And you, too, are its victims.

Racism is mighty hard to define. It's like the story of that elephant being described by five blind men, each feeling a different part.

There are some who would point to the first grade readers and say: "Tom and Jane are always white." That's racism." Their slogan is "Color me Black." But if you did color Tom and Jane black in every primer in the United States, you would not have eliminated racism. The beast is bigger than that.

Others have other definitions.

The failure to teach Black history and culture in the schools. That's racism.

Segregation. That's racism. Except today, we have other names for it.

They call it the neighborhood school concept. And they draw the boundary lines very carefully. That's racism.

The track system. That's racism. They use culture biased, race biased, class biased tests to label Black children DUMB -- except they don't call them DUMB. They call them culturally deprived and they put them in a grouping called "special academic."

Less money, less experienced teachers, less supplies, less facilities, less educational materials for Black schools. That's racism.

Assigning whites only to white schools, keeping Black children out of white schools, refusing to let Black educators hold top supervisory and administrative posts. All of that is racism.

But I do not trust those who keep telling me that the solution is integration. Have you ever noticed that when they talk about integration, it is always assumed that when you add whites to a black school, that upgrades the school, but if you add blacks to a white school, you upgrade the blacks and you downgrade the school. What does that tell you?

The heart of racism is not lack of integration per se. The heart of racism is what has always been the result of segregation -- and that is pure and simple, inferior education.

Racism is not a matter of intent, of motive, of purpose, of sincerity, It is a matter of result.

And when in one major city, you have more dropouts over a five year period than you have high school graduates -- then you have racism.

When tests reveal that youngsters in a reformatory get a better education than they did in the schools, then you have racism.

When each year a Black child falls farther and farther behind, then you have racism. A system of designed retardation. Designed -- not in terms of motive. But in terms of results.

So when people talk about integration, or more money for ghetto schools, or teaching Black history, I don't think they have described racism. They are just feeling one part of the beast.

For me, racism takes two principle forms.

The first is lack of accountability. That is the cause -- I shall deal with it later.

The second is that education in this country is just no damn good. I'm not talking just about ghetto schools. Or about dropout rates. I'm talking now about high school graduates -- the ones whom the system rates as successes. Because that is where real racism lies.

What have they learned? What is this wonderful education they have gotten?

Does it prepare them for citizenship? No.

Do they know how to cope on their own as adults? No.

Do they have a marketable skill? No.

Can they assume family responsibilities with maturity? No.

The long and the short of it is, they can't earn, they can't cope, they can't survive -- even if they stick with the system and succeed on its terms. So, at eighteen, what have they got -- Black or White; rich or poor.

They have a piece of paper that says they are ignorant but docile, immature but not dangerous, useless but pliable.

What can they do with that piece of paper? If they are middle class, they can use it to stay ignorant for another four years in college. Or maybe, they can get a job -- with an employer who will teach them something useful.

But if they are poor, and especially if they are poor and Black, that paper is worthless. That piece of paper is only good in a middle class world. In the ghetto, it's like confederate money, And believe me, Brother, the South will not rise again.

You may ask -- why is that kind of education -- education that leaves a youngster ignorant -- why is that racism when ~~it leaves~~ LEAVES white and black equally ignorant.

It's racism because a Black youngster can't afford to stay ignorant. He can't afford to wait until he's eighteen or twenty two before he starts to learn to survive. He has to learn from day one.

By age ten or twelve, he's had several run-ins with the police. He's seen sex, alcoholism, drug addiction, broken families, crime, violence, riots, discrimination and everything seamy in life that whites are only allowed to see when they are writing their doctoral dissertation and doing what is fashionably called "field work."

It reminds me of this science class in a Black school. The teacher dropped a worm in a glass of alcohol to prove that alcohol was bad for human consumption. The worm withered and died. She turned to the class and asked them what that showed. A forest of arms shot up. She called on the first one and he said: "It shows that if you have worms, you can get rid of them by drinking alcohol." That was a very practical answer. JOKE

Education isn't education in this society. It's a kind of debutantes ball -- a coming out party -- a puberty rite. But it doesn't teach you anything, doesn't give you what you need. And I call that racist. And I say that Black youngsters recognize that what they are getting is useless -- and that is one of the reasons they don't learn, don't perform -- why they dropout.

You tell me. I don't know. I'm not the expert. What are these kids learning?

Geography -- but can they read a road map? Can they find their way around town?

French -- but do they know English?

Civics and government -- but do they know their rights -- their legal rights?

Biology -- but do they know about sex and birth control? Do they know about medicine and illness?

Social studies.--but do they know how to fight injustice?

Home economics -- but do you teach them to cook chitterlings and hog maws?

Education that teaches nothing useful may be culturally desirable. It may make one well mannered and socially more adept. But that kind of education is a luxury -- and the Black youngster can't afford it.

He just gets one day older -- but no nearer to making it. His problem is survival. So even when you dish out integrated education, if it is not quality education, it is racist. Because only the middle class and the wealthy can afford to waste that many years of their life.

The Coleman report brought this out in a different way: It is said that the factor which correlates most highly with academic achievement was not school facilities or quality of education but rather is correlated most highly with "his feeling that he can control his own destiny."

If you aren't giving a youngster anything to help him s control his own destiny, anything that has feed back and payoff, how do you expect him to perform -- when year after year, he gets older, then things look worse -- and he comes to realize how heavy the odds are against him.

He sees his family break up. He gets a police record. He doesn't have money for clothes or shoes to wear to school, he goesto school without breakfast and can't get lunch. No wonder he becomes increasingly convinced he can't control his own destiny. Because he can't, and the quality of education he gets certainly doesn't help.

But underlying this form of racism is the first kind of racism -- more basic, more subtle, more pernicious.

It lies at the heart of the whole system: Lack of accountability.

The public schools are a monopoly. For the Negro -- there is no competitor. You buy education from the company store -- and you get deeper and deeper in hock, year in and year out -- each year you fall further and further behind in areas -- its the old sharecropper system transferred to education.

And the reason is simple: You are dealing with a monopoly.

A white monopoly,
A professional monopoly,
A government monopoly,
A class monopoly.

And if you are Black and poor -- you are out of it. You have to buy the product -- whether you like it or not -- and you have to buy it on whatever terms it is offered.

And the monopolists say: "If our product doesn't suit you, then it's your fault, not ours."

I ask you: If a doctor had a sick patient, and the patient got sicker and sicker, wouldn't the doctor try a different medicine. Or would he just curse the patient and say: "You stupid black so and so. Why don't you get well?"

Well, that's what our educational system does: It says "You stupid black so and so -- why don't you learn?" But it never occurs to them to change the medicine, to offer a different course of treatment -- to diagnose and prescribe for the individual patient -- for the child -- for his needs, for his strengths and his background.

And it is this lack of accountability that underlies racism in all its other forms -- the inequality, the poor quality, the uselessness.

How do you deal with lack of accountability? How do you deal with a monopoly that is insulated from competition?

CORE has come up with two answers. We have never been given a full chance, a fair chance. But where we have been given any chance at all, we have shown results.

The first answer to monopoly is the classical one: Competition. But how can you compete with the public schools? It's damn near impossible. But we have tried on a small scale with our Freedom Schools. By teaching techniques that were relevant to survival, relevant to progress, relevant to dignity. We have taught techniques of organization and of protest. We have taught the living history of the civil rights movement. We have taught government, from the point of view of social action.

And we have succeeded only where it was tied to action, to events in the community, to direct participation in shaping the society in which these youngsters lived.

This year, we are planning to modify the Freedom Schools, in design, because this is a different year and a different age. We have to teach youngsters how to deal with a world that doesn't respond to moral appeals, that ignores picket lines and marches, that has closed its eyes and ears and its heart to injustice -- that says: "Get off my back." I don't want to look at your troubles anymore. I don't give a damn. So stop bothering me or I'll call out the riot police."

How do you deal with that kind of a society? How do you offer relevant education that offers youngsters a sense that, in the terms of the Coleman report, makes them believe that they can affect their own destiny -- in an age and at a time when it gets harder and harder for the Black man to change anything at all.

How?

By education that doesn't leave them ignorant, by education that teaches them how to deal with bureaucracy, by education that teaches them about legal rights -- that's right -- legal training about welfare rights, rights of juveniles, rights of tenants, rights as consumers, rights of citizenship. By education that is learning by DOING, by actual internships, complaint centers, in helping people to fill out applications for Medicare, helping them to file complaints with the code enforcement division, helping them press complaints against police or teachers, or principals or welfare case workers.

One way of dealing with monopoly is competition -- but it takes money to go into competition. And money we ain't got -- we can do it only on a pitifully small scale.

But it is very hard to buck a monopoly -- particularly when the monopoly is government.

So what's the other solution -- what is CORE's other answer to lack of accountability?

The answer is participatory democracy. The answer is having a say at every level and in every way in the school system. The answer is making that monopoly accountable to the consumer -- genuinely accountable. This is accepted procedure for any other monopoly -- for the telephone company or the electric company.

Public utilities have to offer decent service at reasonable rates. Why shouldn't schools be held accountable if they don't teach children how to read? Why shouldn't text books be abandoned if they don't do their job? Why shouldn't teachers promotions and salaries be based on production incentives?

Why isn't education subjected to the same production standards and quality controls that other consumer products are?

I know that sounds horrifying, commercial, inhuman. But do you think the system of designed retardation, of perpetuated ignorance, is any more humane? Do you think we like seeing our children, the apples of our eyes, getting older -- and no wiser -- stepping into our shoes -- only to learn they are going to walk the same path to poverty and unemployment, deprivation and hopelessness? How does that feel?

So I say to you: That a program to do away with racism in education has to start with accountability.

That means setting up performance standards.

By a certain age, every child should know how to read, by another age, he should be able to have mastered a certain vocabulary and have certain comprehension and computation skills.

Don't tell me about his broken home, his father and his mother, his cultural deprivation. That's passing the buck. Prescribe the right treatment for the patient and stop trying to cure him by calling him stupid. You can do it. It has been done.

These children are educable. So let's make sure that we set up standards so we know when someone is falling down on the job. Let's set up an early warning system that sets up a loud alarm when a child is starting to fall behind. And let's take action then -- not ten year later when he is in juvenile court.

That means teaching subjects that have payoff, that have relevance, that offer something real and tangible to the youngster.

To my mind, by the twelfth grade every child, I mean every child, should be able to read, write, do arithmetic, and type. He should have the basic foundation of one merchantable skill -- even if he is going to college, he should know how to do one thing that has value on the employment

market.

He should know about sex, and about birth control. He should know about the law, about his rights and his responsibilities.

If you began to make education impart those kinds of things, then maybe you would have youngsters who saw a future in staying in school, who saw a real pay off, not a phony promise in going to class and learning.

You have to establish accountability to the consumer -- to the child, to the parent and to the immediate community. I'm not talking about phony PTA's. They can be kept ignorant, led around by the nose, and kept busy with an annual cake sale. Yet, it is a fact of life that children in ghetto schools are pushed around, unjustly accused, punished and even expelled -- without anybody being able to intervene in their behalf.

I remember hearing a story from an eminent expert in child development, of a child who was sent home because he was acting sleepy in class. It was assumed that the child had been staying up watching television and that it was the fault of the home situation and the parents.

In this particular school, a position called Community Aide had been established. A parent filled the position and decided to look into this. ;She found out that the child had been in an accident in the playground, had been hit in the head with a baseball bat, but the health forms had never been filled out so that no X-ray or other tests had been performed.

The child was suffering from a concussion. These things happen. No one admits they happen. But they happen with surprising regularity.

And youngsters need -- inside the school system -- helpers, tutors, advocates, who can go to bat for them.

In addition, we have found that high school youngsters can tutor children very effectively. And when they do so, both benefit.

So when I talk about accountability, I mean a chance to find out what is going on, a chance to take remedial action, a chance to have a voice in policy decisions and, finally, to make a contribution, to participate in the school system, to shape what kids learn and how they learn it.

The system doesn't do that now. Instead it blames the parent and the home. If the child doesn't learn, it can't be the teachers fault: It can't be the school's fault. So it must be the fault of the parent because he or she is dumb and ignorant.

And, anyway, we are told -- the school system can't be held accountable for a racist structure. After all, when he graduates, a Black youngster will be faced with bigoted employers, trade unions and landlords.

This we conceed. But each part of this structure must be made accountable for its actions. And the educational system can't be immune. It, too, must own up.

Remember, those children who are now being educated in our schools will grow up, only to carry on this racist system -- unless they are taught otherwise -- now.

We can't afford the luxury of passing the buck.

Do you realize what the cost of passing the buck is? What does that say to the child? What does that say about his chance for a future? How does that affect his image of his home, his family and his community? How does that buck-passing affect his sense of being able to achieve?

And what does that do for his sense of fairness, if the teacher is wrong, if the teacher has blamed the wrong person, or made a mistake, or singled one child out for humiliation, or favored the girls over the boys or picked out a teacher's pet?

If we are to get at the roots of racism, we have to begin with respect for the individual. And that respect does not exist in a monopoly where there is no competition and no accountability -- to the child, to the parent and to the community. You cannot tell a man he is a man and treat him like a dog. You cannot tell a child he has dignity and treat him -- and his parents -- like dumb, ignorant, inferior beings, who have nothing to say about that child's education, his needs and aspirations. Because the child reads the message, reads it loud and clear.

If we are to root out racism, we must begin with the lack of accountability -- the omnipotence, the isolation, the insulation of the school system.

We must balance the power of the educational system with the power of the community -- the power of the school administrator with the power of the home and of parent's groups, the power of the individual teacher with the aroused and alerted concern of the parent.

That is how we will root out racism. That is how we will create quality education in a democracy.

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Playboy March, 1966 p. 83-151

Article by Nat Hentoff ——— What's behind the smoke screen of sound and fury — and the public furor — that obscures the motives & meaning of the new generation and — establishment social activists!

New left groups discussed:
- SNCC
- SDS
- Free Speech Movement
- NSM (Northern Student Movement)
- CORE
- SSOC (Southern Student Organizing Committee)
- PLP (Progressive Labor Party)
- duBois Clubs

Mainly discusses discontent in this generation with (1) Government (2) Bureaucracies (3) Freedom of Self (4) " individuals in politics (5) Individuals (6) Whole of society (7) Whole Amer. system

Statement about CORE specifically —
(1) One of new directions of CORE is switch to politics
- quotes Jim Farmer — "our goal is power, political power."

Playboy, Jan, 1966
" Feb, 1966

- opening storefront community centers in North & South
- mobilizing Negro ghettos into a force for political & community action —

— Says — CORE will either encourage "freedom dem. movement" within the Democratic Party or it will start parallel parties

Ex. Brooklyn Freedom democratic Party

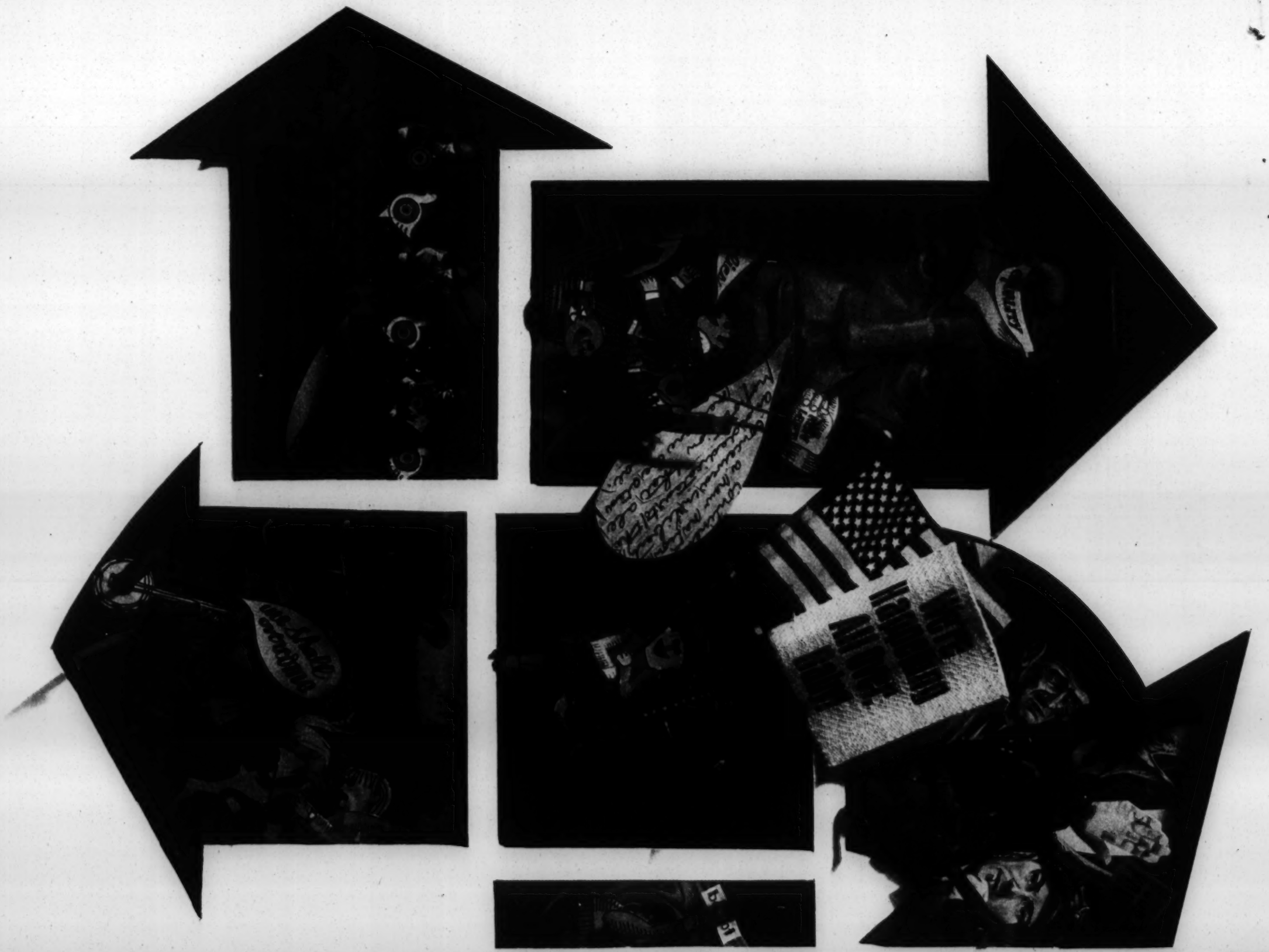
quotes Major Owens suggests ties between NY group & Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

— Core sees no reason why there cannot be parallel labor unions —

— CORE has Freedom schools (adopted from SNCC's initial efforts in South)

— Mentions CORE in Philadelphia [where they are active in Poverty Program and other social, econ. & political problems of controversial nature]

* Rather objective picture of things on whole — praises CORE and gives no undue credit for mistakes by org. —



A NEW SET OF SEX MORES

a breakthrough proposal for revising connubial customs to conform to the libidinal needs of marital partners and to spread the wealth through "tritalamonomy"—a swinging idea that may well end divorce

satire **By AURO ROSELLI** THE RETRAINING COURSES for workers proposed by the present Administration may be a necessary step toward the Great Society, but, in our opinion, they should not stop at professional skills. There is also an art, a skill of living, and, as everybody knows from modern literature, movies and advice columns, this is the era of incommunicability between men and women. Everything has become more and more complicated. How can we cope with the complexities of modern world policies, social upheavals and automation if we must also confront the complications in modern conjugal techniques? The Great Society clearly needs reorientation courses for husbands and wives as well. To provide them, we dare propose a bold and sweeping change: tritalamonomy.

The word derives from the Greek and it should mean "the rule of the three beds." It is a word that we had to make up, because the Greeks led a simpler life and did not have need for it. They did not even have the problem; the happenings on their pottery are much clearer than the movies of Bergman or Antonioni or Truffaut. So it is left to us to explain that by tritalamonomy we mean the custom of having every person, male or female, marry three times: the first time at the age of 15 with a 30-year-old, the second time at 30 with a 15-year-old and the third time at 45 with another 45-year-old.

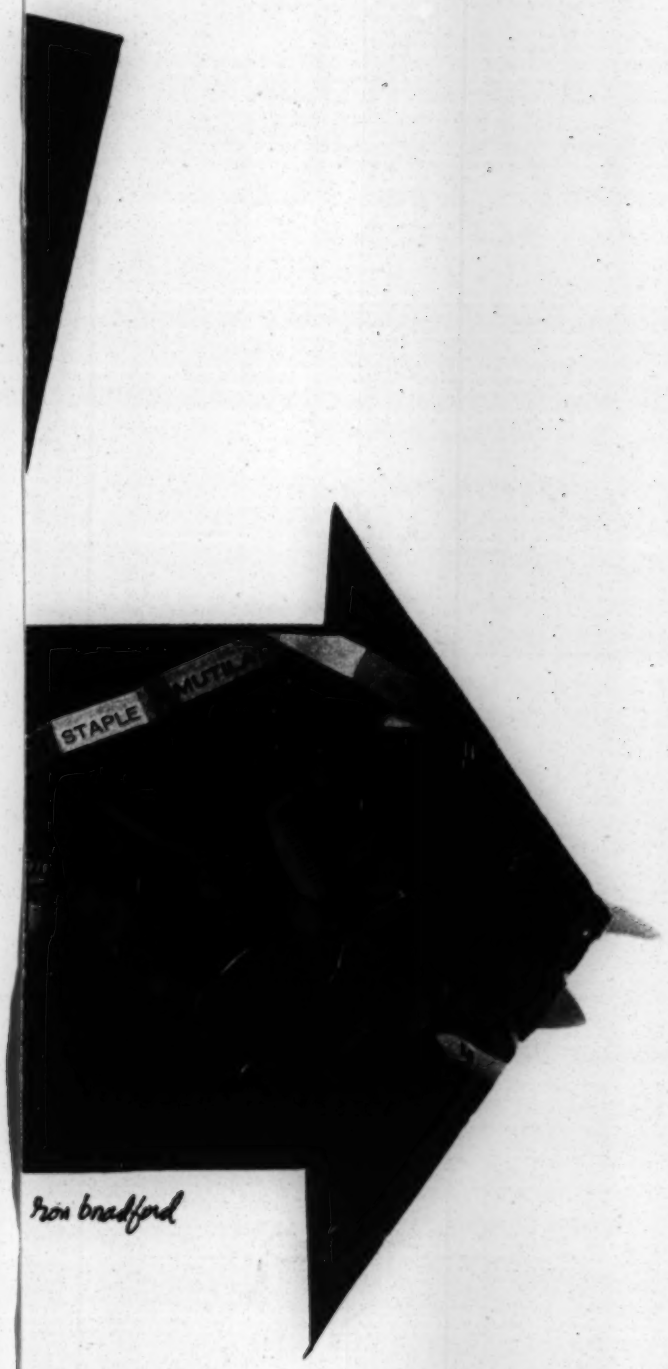
The 15-year-old, of course, marries a 30-year-old who has been freed, after 15 years of marriage, by a spouse now 45 and, after 15 more years, leaves his or her 30-year-old spouse free to marry another 15-year-old, while he or she, now 45, marries another 45-year-old. This last marriage would have renewal options at the end of the 15-year term. Anyway, from 60 on, every citizen who can live in sin would be congratulated, in a tritalamonomic society, not censured.

The advantages of tritalamonomy over our present system can be understood only if we place it in the proper historical perspective. We live now in what is called "the second industrial revolution" and/or "the sexual revolution" (of which, we suspect, there were far more than two in history). Once again "a specter is haunting the world," but this one would make Marx and Engels blush under their beards. The old values are crumbling and the average man is afraid to lose his chains, because he senses that man will always need a set of moral principles by which to judge others. So what we propose is not to do away with mores, as some sexual revolutionists suggest, but to replace them. The old mores totter because they were based on a digest of folksy precepts and revelations that would be dismissed as "hearsay" in any modern court of justice. We propose an entirely new set based on scientific research and the opinions of the experts.

Kinsey and following sexologists discovered that early adolescence in the human male and early maturity in the human female are the ages of maximum sexual potency and receptivity. Early adolescence in the human female and early maturity in the human male are ages of relatively milder desires. This means that all our sex and marriage practices up to now have been wrong. This means that our ignorance of this fundamental law of nature may well be the cause of all our troubles.

So we do something about it: We propose mores based on this fundamental law of nature.

To see how it would work, in practice, let's consider, for instance, the case of a boy. He grows up in a big happy family of parents and their spouses-in-law (as their ex-husbands and wives would be called), and when he reaches 15, his family, school P.T.A., Y.M.C.A., P.A.L. and similar associations will gently and teasingly pressure him into looking around for a wife (or a mistress in decadent western European countries). He will be nudged at parties, balls, family gatherings, church benefit sales, wherever he would be likely to meet 30-year-old women who have just ended their first marriage to a man now 45. Actually, the pressure is only meant to suggest that initiative is his manly prerogative, for immediately after marriage the woman will take over as the head of the family and remain in charge for the next 15 years. Leadership, in the tritalamonomic family, does not depend on sex, but on age and responsibilities. Each sex has a turn at the helm from 30 to 45 years of age. Each sex comes prepared to the task from 15 years of marriage as a junior partner. At the beginning of the first marriage, the junior partner is just an adolescent, accustomed to being bossed around; at the end, that is, approaching 30, he or she can afford forbearance thinking that, anyway, that marriage will soon be over. Many divorces today are caused by questions of leadership in families where industrial and sexual revolutions have blurred the once obvious reasons for male dominance. Other divorces are caused by panic, when a partner realizes that he or she is *(continued on page 152)*



DURING THE WEEKEND of October 15 to 17, 1965, nearly 100,000 Americans—more than half of them students—demonstrated against their Government's involvement in the war in Vietnam. Close to 30,000 marched down New York's Fifth Avenue, while 14,000 paraded in the San Francisco Bay Area. Many of the latter tried to advance on the Oakland Army Terminal to hold a "teach-in" aimed at the military personnel there, but they were twice turned back by police. Protesters were in the streets in Pittsburgh, New Haven, Cleveland, Detroit, Seattle and Los Angeles. In Ann Arbor, 38 were arrested, including students and professors from the University of Michigan, as they staged a sit-in at Selective Service headquarters. Fifty students from the University of Wisconsin marched on Truax Air Force Base in an unsuccessful attempt to make a citizen's arrest of the commandant for acting as "an accessory to mass murder and genocide."

In the following weeks, demonstrations continued, punctuated by the public burning of draft cards in several cities, and high-

article **By Nat Hentoff**

what's behind the smoke screen of sound and fury — and the public furor — that obscures the motives and meaning of the new generation of anti-establishment social activists

lighted in late November by a massive anti-Vietnam march on Washington—coordinated by the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy—that attracted more than 25,000 protesters. Meanwhile, Students for a Democratic Society, the largest of the student groups on the left, insisted that wide-ranging opportunities for nonmilitary service must be provided those youngsters who will not kill. "Work in Watts [the Negro section of Los Angeles which erupted in violence during the summer of 1965] with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, in the Peace Corps," proclaimed Paul Booth, national secretary of SDS, "should be seen as being as high a duty as burning a village."

These protesting students are admittedly a minority on the nation's campuses, but they are a larger minority of dissent than has ever existed before in this country. And their numbers are growing. For the past three years they have seemed to be everywhere—as nonviolent guerrilla fighters against the "power structure" throughout the South; as organizers of the poor for power in Northern black ghettos; as marchers against American foreign policy; as agitators on more and more campuses for freer speech and against the machinelike impersonality of the multiversity. They are the New Left—the most action-oriented, radically searching generation of the young in American history.

Their placards and buttons proclaim their restless independence and their fervent identification with the voiceless, the dispossessed: LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE! YOU CAN'T TRUST ANYBODY OVER 30! REGISTER FOR POWER! STAND BACK AND DON'T BUG US! MAKE LOVE, NOT WAR! And one banner, at the University of California, heralds what they hope is a rising wave of *(continued on page 98)*

FINE FORM

miss march is a champion parbuster who hopes to make professional golf her livelihood

IF YOU BELONG to those legions of weekend linksters who never expect to score on the bright side of 80, it may come as somewhat of a shock to learn that petite Priscilla Wright—our 5′2″ March Playmate and gatefolddom's foremost lady golfer to date—has been a mid-70s swinger since childhood. The towheaded 22-year-old, daughter of a Huntington Beach, California, golf pro, Priscilla—or Pat, as she prefers being called—gave early notice of her parbusting potential when, at 13, she stroked her winning way to the title of Southern California Junior Champion. "As soon as I was old enough to hold a putter," she recalls, "my dad and I would put in at least an hour a day on the greens. While all my girlfriends were building their doll collections, I was busy polishing my first set of irons. Even after my parents separated and I lived with Mom, Dad and I always had a steady weekend date to play the back nine at whatever course he happened to be working."

An artful miss—both on and off the fairways—pert Pat helps out in her artist-mother's Palm Springs studio weekday mornings ("Mom says I might make a pretty fair commercial cartoonist if I ever hang up my clubs"), then drives out to Huntington Beach for some late-afternoon pointers from her dad on how to prepare for the rigors of full-time tournament

Above: Fore and aft, shipshape Miss March shows why life in California's sunny outdoors suits her to a tee. "Dad's usually busy coaching club members when I get to the course," says Pat, "so I manage to get in plenty of extra sun-bathing time on the beach nearby while waiting for my afternoon lessons." We can't imagine a better tanned or more winsome testimonial to the pleasures of Pacifica.

We're Happening All Over

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dissent: WE'RE HAPPENING ALL OVER, BABY!

Adults try to understand the roots of the new radicals' anger; they try to at least categorize the commotion. A middle-aged liberal Republican stockbroker asks a youngster picketing New York's Chase Manhattan Bank because of its participation in the economy of apartheid South Africa: "Do you think your actions can change the world?" "Maybe not," the picket answers. "But I want to make sure the world does not change me."

Harry Reasoner, an analyst for CBS News, looks for a connective thread in the tumult: "What is new is that a sexual revolution is sweeping across campuses today as young people seek greater freedom. And this has somehow become all involved with politics. As though some fateful equation existed between sexual freedom, free speech and a rejection of the values of an adult generation."

That equation does exist. The young radicals insist they have declared war against all the interconnecting, life-smothering forces in the society—from anachronistic parental prohibitions of premarital sex to the constant imminence of a finger on the button that sets off Armageddon. They further insist that they can only find themselves, realize their full capacities, in direct action to change the society.

Kate Coleman, a lissome, 22-year-old member of the Free Speech Movement (now the Free Student Union) at the University of California, tells of what spurred her to confront that multiversity, in which some classes have as many as 1200 students: "I feel I am being swallowed up by a faceless crowd. I don't know whether I am dead and they are alive or they are dead and I am alive. I feel lost in a machine. It is lonely. It is impersonal. It is cold."

In Washington, on April 17, 1965, 25,000 march—the largest American peace demonstration until the march in New York on October 16—in a student-organized protest against the war in Vietnam. In front of the Washington Monument, 26-year-old Paul Potter, then president of Students for a Democratic Society, lashes them to answer a question: "What kind of system is it that leaves millions upon millions throughout the country impoverished and excluded from the mainstream and the promise of American society, that creates faceless and terrible bureaucracies in which people spend their lives and do their work, that consistently puts material values before human values—and still persists in calling itself free and still persists in finding itself fit to police the world?"

His voice rises, and the young seem to ignite in assent: "What place is there for ordinary men in that system and how are they to control it, make it bend itself to their wills rather than bending them to its? We must name that system. We must name it, describe it, analyze it, understand it and change it." At the end, he tries to span the world for himself and his listeners: "In a strange way the people of Vietnam and the people on this demonstration are united in much more than a common concern that the war be ended. In both countries there are people struggling to build a movement that has the power to change their condition. The system that frustrates these movements is the same. All our lives, our destinies, our very hopes to live, depend on our ability to overcome that system."

Their elders listen, and some ask why more of the new radicals do not also attack other systems—the Russian, the Chinese. J. Edgar Hoover claims to have the answer. Before the House Appropriations subcommittee in March 1965, he says of the student revolt at the University of California the previous fall: "A few hundred students contain within their ranks a handful of Communists that mislead, confuse and bewilder a great many students to their detriment. Communist Party leaders feel that based on what happened on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley, they can exploit similar student demonstrations to their own benefit in the future."

Adding to the chorus of alarmed concern is Dr. Stefan Possony, Director of International Studies at the Hoover Institute, Stanford University. In May 1965, appearing before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, he warns that "the radicalization of American youth is proceeding beyond the wildest expectations of the Communists."

There are, indeed, Communists in the bristlingly diversified New Left; but they are a small minority. And while they have tried, they have not been able to manipulate such of the major cadres of the new radicals as SDS, SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee), NSM (Northern Student Movement), SSOC (Southern Student Organizing Committee) and the newly politicalized CORE (Congress of Racial Equality).

The influence on the militant young of the limp, shuffling American Communist Party is practically nonexistent. At 54, Gus Hall, the Party's general secretary, presides over a barren domain of 8000 to 10,000 aging members.

More vivid, more voluble and much younger are the new Communists—the pro-Mao adherents of the Progressive Labor Party. That center of apocalyptic rhetoric was organized in 1961 by 38-year-old Milton Rosen and 40-year-old Mortimer Scheer—who had been expelled by the vintage Communist Party. The membership of PLP, centered mainly in New York and San Francisco, is 1400 and its average age is 25. The stance of PLP is violent. It aches for the red glare of cities exploding into battlefields between the virtuous, invincible poor and the helmeted minions of capitalist oppression. Its literature persistently—and laboriously—calls for revolution rather than "collaboration."

Ominous rumors proliferate concerning PLP—stories of stacks of hidden arms; subterranean funds from Red China; classes in the techniques of karate, disguises and forgery as preparations for going underground. None of these rumored attempts to tool up for actual revolution has yet been proved, though not for want of trying. All phones in PLP offices are tapped; its leaders are under surveillance; and undoubtedly there is more than one FBI member in the guise of a PLP foot soldier.

The visible activities of the Progressive Labor Party have so far been attempts to sink roots in the slums of Harlem, the Lower East Side and San Francisco. PLP organizes rent strikes, remedial-reading clinics, child-care services and demonstrations against police brutality. In the process, they try to sell their Marxist-Leninism and their roaring newspapers—*Challenge* in New York and *Spark* in San Francisco. There is no evidence that they have converted more than a few of the black and Puerto Rican poor to their credo of cosmic cataclysm. "They get some support," says a CORE worker in Harlem, "on the immediate, gut issues like slumlords and the cops. But the people here just don't give a damn about foreign affairs and Marxism. They want jobs. And PLP ain't about to be able to get them any jobs."

Charges of pro-Soviet Communism have been made against another group of dissidents—the DuBois Clubs, named after the patrician Negro intellectual, William DuBois, one of the founders of the NAACP. Late in his long, energetic life, DuBois joined the Communist Party. He died, mordantly anti-American, an expatriate in Ghana. The DuBois Clubs are strongest in San Francisco, where they were formed in June 1964. They have grown to 44 chapters with more than 2000 members on campuses and in cities.

Judging from their literature and from talks with their leaders, the DuBois Clubs are vaguely socialist, unreservedly critical of the United States, and committed to the achievement of a "socialist America" through democratic political processes rather than revolution. The leaders maintain, as one of them puts it, that "the Soviet Union and the whole socialist bloc—including the new nations in Africa and Asia—have broken loose from some of the basic problems that are at the heart of this country's social system."

A smaller core of rebels—with 500 to

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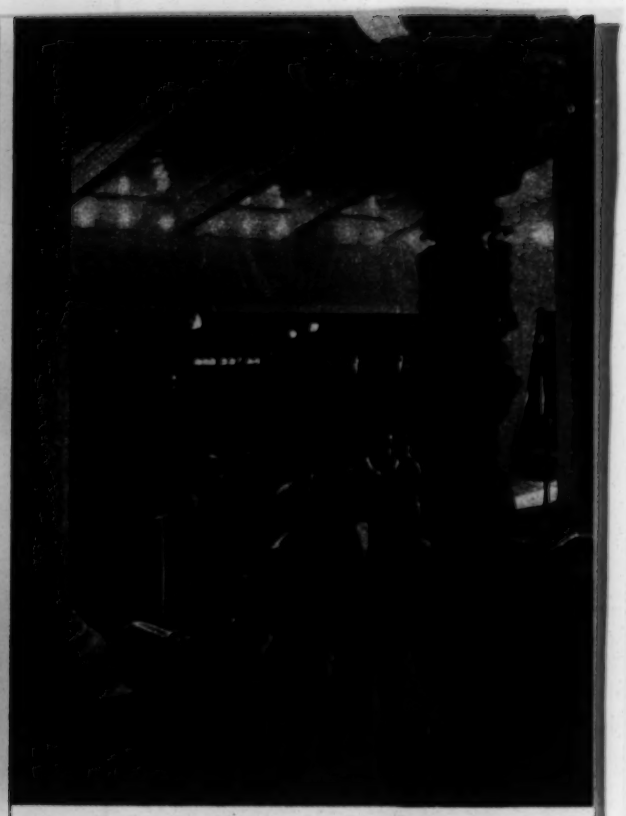

A quiet dinner for two at one of Copenhagen's most elegant restaurants requires just the right sartorial touches. The chap musing over coffee with a delightful Danish pastry matches the formality of the occasion in black wingtip calf bluchers, by Weyenberg, $24.

The happiest of landings is scored by the air-minded gent and his flying machine. In control on the ground as well as in the air, he opts for the comfort of a pair of hand-sewn, smooth-grained, high-ankled waxhide demiboots, by Dexter, $16.

An evening of dining and dancing at New York's Plaza Hotel really calls for a fellow to put his best foot forward. The lad with a double date all to himself puts his best in black patent-leather formal shoes with strap and velvet-buckle closure, by After Six, $25.

We're Happening All Over

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600 active members on several campuses —is the May 2nd Movement, an outgrowth of the May 2nd Committee formed at a socialist conference at Yale in March 1964. Its name comes from the fact that on May 2nd of that year, the Movement organized a march on the United Nations, protesting the war in Vietnam.

Like the DuBois Clubs, the May 2nd activists consider what they term "American imperialism" their primary target. Admitting frequent, informal ties with the Progressive Labor Party, May 2nd leaders deny they have been taken over by the PLP. They call their nascent organization "a radical student peace organization," but they are not pacifists. "We cannot," says one of their leaders, "ask the Vietcong or the black people in Northern ghettos to be nonviolent. Oh, I used to be a pacifist, but I never had to try it out. However, a Vietnamese peasant confronted by a Marine or a black man being hit by a cop cannot be asked to be nonviolent. Pacifism is irrelevant for them."

Old-line, anti-Communist leftists such as Socialist Norman Thomas and Bayard Rustin, chief strategist for Martin Luther King, condemn the overt communism of the PLP; and they consider the DuBois Clubs and the May 2nd Movement as at best politically naïve and at worst easy prey to manipulation by Communists. SDS, SNCC and the Northern Student Movement resent the implication that they can be successfully infiltrated. They will cooperate with the DuBois Clubs and the May 2nd Movement—though not with the rigid, raucous PLP—on specific projects, maintaining their own stubborn independence. Since they practice total inner democracy and have no patience with pat ideologies, whether Soviet or Chinese, they are confident they can protect themselves.

On one occasion, a PLP member infiltrated a SNCC unit in the South, becoming editor of that group's local newspaper. When the paper began to look as if it had been programed by a computer in Peking, the journalistic James Bond of the PLP was dismissed.

"Look," says C. Clark Kissinger, a short, wiry, 24-year-old graduate of the University of Chicago (where he majored in mathematics) and now a full-time strategist for SDS, "we began by rejecting the old sectarian Left and its ancient quarrels. We are interested in direct action and specific issues. We do not spend endless hours debating the nature of Soviet Russia."

In agreement with Kissinger is 28-year-old Bill Strickland, a tall, slim, pervasively hip Negro who directs the Northern Student Movement from an office in Harlem. A *magna cum laude* graduate of Harvard who wrote his master's thesis on Malcolm X, Strickland speaks for the majority of today's radical American young when he insists: "Whatever 'revolution' does occur will be an American revolution, coming out of the American experience. We'll have to evolve our own ideology. You can't impose an alien ideology in the United States. We're not interested in a guy's memorizing Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution or in some Stalinist with a line. We're interested in creating new forms and new institutions."

"Man," adds a member of SNCC, "the Communists, they're empty, man, empty. They've got the same stale ideas, the same bureaucracy they've always had. When he gets mixed up with us, a Commie dies and a person develops."

The Northern Student Movement—the SNCC of the North—was formed in 1961. Manned largely by college students, some of whom dropped out of school for a time to work in the field, the NSM at first concentrated on tutorial programs for children in Negro slums. In the last year, its focus has changed to helping the poor—the black poor—organize themselves into power blocs.

With some 2000 student members on 73 campuses, the Northern Student Movement has 32 field secretaries and 40 full-time volunteer workers. Now nearly all in the field are Negro. Engaged in community organizing in Boston, Hartford, Detroit, Philadelphia and Harlem, they are acting as catalysts for rent strikes, political action, pressure on War-on-Poverty officials to enlist the poor in decision making, and otherwise as stimuli for the previously voiceless to join forces. "We go way beyond voter registration," says Strickland. "What's the point of getting people registered so that they're swallowed by the same old mechanistic political machines? We're engaged in creating new political structures for a really new society."

A switch to politics is also a major part of the new direction being taken by CORE. Formerly, CORE concentrated its energies on civil rights breakthroughs —from public accommodations to jobs— but now, CORE's former national director, James Farmer, emphasizes, "our goal is power, political power" (see *When Will the Demonstrations End?*, PLAYBOY, January 1966, and *Mood Ebony*, PLAYBOY, February 1966). One route to that power is the opening of store-front community centers, North and South, to mobilize the Negro ghettos into "a force for political and community action." Depending on

PLAYBOY PANEL

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agreed mainly to disagree with the other panelists about not only the nature of, the reasons for and the consequences of the current crisis in relations between the police and the public, but also what to do about it. He shares the conviction of many law-enforcement officials throughout the country that recent Supreme Court rulings in the civil-liberties field are handcuffing the police in their efforts to maintain law and order in the face of what FBI and metropolitan police figures indicate is a national crime wave of unprecedented dimensions. Neither he nor the other panelists, however, agree with those who feel that the police should be given carte-blanche authority to "stop and frisk" any citizen in the streets, to enter and search any home without a warrant, to use wire taps, hidden microphones and cameras, peephole surveillance, lie detectors and other such constitutionally controversial devices in order to stem this alleged crime wave.

Citing such abuses as police brutality, illegal invasions of privacy and unethical interrogation procedures, other panelists felt that police power—far from being inadequate to cope with crime, which they denied is on the upsurge—has already exceeded its rightful authority and, in some cases, even the bounds of the Constitution, and must therefore be abridged rather than expanded. As a deterrent to such violations of individual rights, several members of the panel recommended the establishment of civilian review boards empowered to investigate complaints of improper law-enforcement practices and to enforce appropriate disciplinary action. Feeling that such boards would serve only to further frustrate the police in the performance of their duty, Professor Inbau and Judge Leighton thought that police departments should be allowed to police themselves via internal investigative agencies. It was suggested, finally, by Mr. Pemberton, Judge Leighton and Dean Lohman that the quality of law enforcement must be improved by adopting training programs for police recruits that would include schooling not only in the best modern techniques of police work but in the scope of civil liberties and the limitations of their own authority.

Though your assessments of the problem, and the solutions you've suggested for it, have been widely divergent, we feel that the light and heat generated by this exchange has helped not only to confirm the complexity of the crisis but to clarify the issues involved—and to point the way toward understanding. Thank you, gentlemen.

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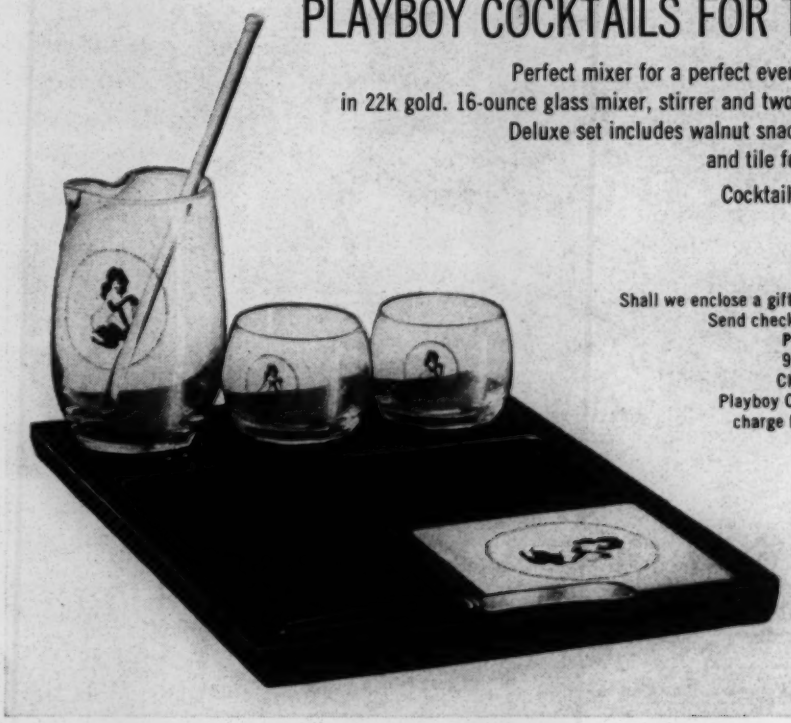

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the circumstances, CORE will either encourage "freedom democratic movements" within the Democratic Party or it will start parallel parties, as it already has in the Brooklyn Freedom Democratic Party.

The concept of parallel institutions—new groupings when traditional institutions are failing the poor—is central to many of the new student movements. SNCC has its Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; members of SDS and other organizations are planning a parallel Congress in Washington as a means of dramatizing their protest against the war in Vietnam; and both CORE and SNCC see no reason why there cannot be parallel labor unions when regular unions persist in discriminating against Negroes.

The most advanced of the new radical movements in the South, and one from which Northern activists draw many of their ideas, is SNCC. Started five years ago as an outgrowth of the first sit-ins and Freedom Rides, SNCC has primarily worked in rural areas, but is now expanding into such Southern cities as Atlanta, Montgomery and Birmingham. SNCC is not a membership organization, although "Friends of SNCC" exist on many campuses. To be in SNCC itself, however, requires a total commitment of time and energy. Making that commitment are 200 paid workers in the field (paid at the barest subsistence level) and 250 full-time volunteers.

After organizing voter registration campaigns—often under extremely hazardous conditions—SNCC, too, has moved into politics. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party has been able to force its challenge of the five Mississippi seats in the House of Representatives onto the floor of the House itself. It did not win the challenge, but it brought abrasive national attention to the fact that the present Congressmen from Mississippi hardly represent all of its citizenry.

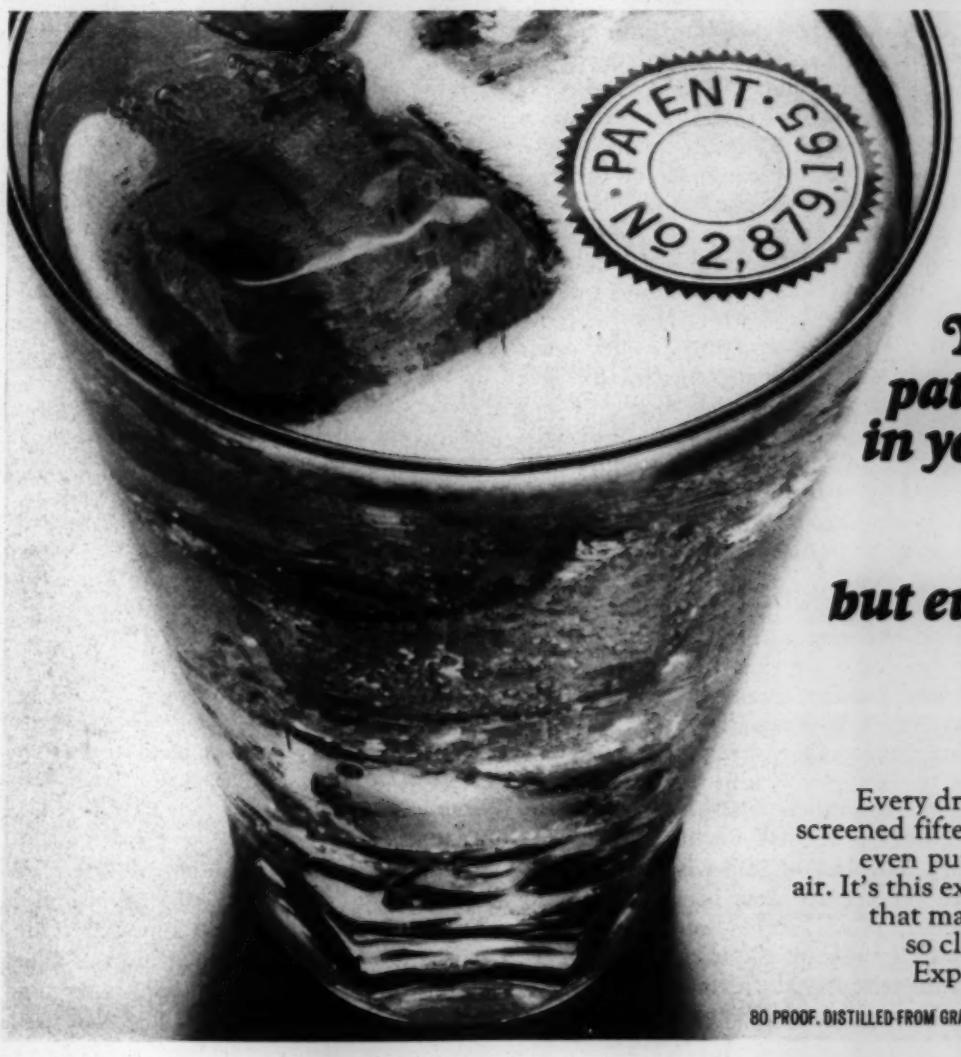
SNCC pioneered in another kind of parallel institution—the Freedom School. In protest against the inferiority of Mississippi education for Negroes as well as against the absence of Negro and African history in Negro schools, SNCC set up its own classes. The idea has been taken over throughout the North by such groups as CORE and the NSM. The newest SNCC parallel institution is the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union. In the Mississippi delta, where laborers are paid 30 cents an hour, the MFLU's basic demand of plantation owners is that they comply with the Federal minimum wage law of $1.25 an hour. Despite reprisals by exacerbated employers, strikes continue and membership is spreading.

In all of its activities, the heart of SNCC's philosophy is "participatory democracy" and the right of the poor to decide for and by themselves what the policies of SNCC and its affiliates should be. Participatory democracy means that every member should share in the decisions of any organization or government to which he belongs. As a result, SNCC's own meetings tend to be lengthily contentious until a "consensus" is reached with which everyone can agree. The word "leader" is suspect in SNCC, and although the tough, sharp-edged Jim Forman and the impregnably fearless John Lewis usually act as SNCC spokesmen, their authority comes from below.

SNCC's ultimate goal is to have leaders come directly from the poor—a process that has already worked in the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, one of whose directors is the blunt, charismatic Fannie Lou Hamer, a former sharecropper. SNCC distrusts—and is sometimes distrusted by—other organizations, such as the NAACP and Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which are not operated with the egalitarianism of SNCC.

An intriguing and little-publicized offshoot of SNCC is the Southern Student Organizing Committee, formed in April 1964 by white Southern college students to spread the word for "a new politics for a new South." Now, with affiliates on 50 campuses, recently including several Negro colleges, SSOC has more than 2000 supporters.

For Negro student radicals in the



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North, a first meeting with the blonde girls and the reedy boys of SSOC, their accent redolent of the South, takes some adjusting. "I hear *what* they say," says a CORE militant, "but I hear *how* they say it, and it's hard to associate that accent with those ideas. Yet they're for real. I don't know how they got that way, but they are."

"Participatory democracy" is as endemic to SSOC as it is to SNCC. Also obsessed with that concept and with the conviction that the poor can and should be their own leaders is the nationwide SDS, which has the widest representation on campuses of all student groups and is engaged in community organization in more ghettos than any of its contemporaries.

In three years, SDS has attracted more than 3300 members in 100 chapters in 41 states. By the end of 1965, its membership was growing swiftly as a result of its intensified focus on activities against the war in Vietnam. In the field are 70 full-time staff members—300 during the summer—engaged in creating an "interracial movement of the poor." The beginnings of this movement have been planted by SDS in ten Northern and Midwestern cities. In Newark, for instance, the Newark Community Union Project—despite persistent opposition from the mayor, the police and even some liberals who felt they were being displaced—has succeeded in defeating an urban renewal plan that would have destroyed a viable Negro neighborhood. It has also put effective pressure on absentee landlords in the ghetto to repair their buildings, and it has propelled some of its local members into decision-making positions in the council distributing War-on-Poverty funds.

As its ghetto components grow, SDS is working on ways to link them as the first stage in a national alliance of the poor. Two conventions of "community unions" from around the country have already been held, and more are planned. Bill Strickland of the Northern Student Movement also envisages the growth first of local centers of power and then a network of the militant poor that could bring regional and eventually national changes in the way the poor live. "To get rid of the ghetto," says Strickland, who veers easily from Harvard speech to the argot of the street, "you have to get to the nitty-gritty. And that means candidates from the ghetto who are responsible to the ghetto."

It is groups such as SDS, SNCC and the Northern Student Movement that have the most powerful appeal to those on the nation's campuses who have not yet committed themselves to full-time careers as changers of "the system" but who do support these organizations with money and with their bodies at demonstrations.

A basic attraction of these groups is that they are not extensions of the adult Left. They were formed by students and are led by students. Accordingly, they satisfy the fundamental need of today's dissident young—to make their own decisions. "This generation," says 23-year-old Jeffrey Shero at the University of Texas, "has witnessed hypocrisy as has no other generation. The churches aren't doing what they should be doing. There is lie after lie on television. The whole society is run and compounded on lies. We are the first generation that grew up with the idea of annihilation. In a situation like this, you have to go out and form your own religion."

A reason, on the other hand, why the Progressive Labor Party has not been successful on campuses is that it parrots an old, tired, adult line—in its case, that of the Chinese Communists and those who polemicize with similar furious oversimplification.

This decision by more and more of the young to create their own ideology, often by existential experience in action for social change, is relatively new. During most of the 1950s, the young were the "silent generation," intimidated by McCarthyism, traumatized by The Bomb and anxious only for materialistic security. Then came the "Beats," who expressed their disdain for the values of the majority society by cutting themselves off from it.

For the dissatisfied young of the late 1950s and early 1960s, the passive, self-protective alienation of the Beats began to lose its charm. The reasons were several, and intersecting. The first major thrust for re-evaluation of themselves by the young was the accelerating civil rights movement in the South. Seized by the courage of the initial sit-inners and Freedom Riders, Northern students began to hold parallel demonstrations, picketing local stores of chains that discriminated in the South. They gave money, and gradually began to give themselves. Significantly, many of the students who emerged in the fall of 1964 as leaders of the Free Speech Movement at the University of California had spent the preceding summer in Mississippi teaching Negroes how to pass voter registration tests.

Ironically, another impetus for the rise of the new radicals was the House Un-American Activities Committee. After student protests against HUAC's hearings in San Francisco in 1960, the Committee made easily available throughout the country a film of that confrontation, *Operation Abolition*. "We are indebted to HUAC for that film," says Clark Kissinger of SDS with wry satisfaction. "It showed these big cops clubbing students. Civil rights and anti-HUAC groups sprang up all over the place."

Robert Hutchins, former chancellor of the University of Chicago, provides another reason why the young were ready for action: "There has been a shift in the composition of the student body. Years ago, those who went to college were members of the establishment when they entered. Their purpose in coming was to confirm and improve their positions in it. In recent years, however, as the number of students has tripled, the social spectrum they represent has widened. More students are in college because they are bright and interested in learning something."

Because more of them are bright, they have been drawn to the viscerally relevant social movements outside the classroom, particularly since they regard so much of their curriculum as dully irrelevant. The Free Speech Movement—and some of its counterparts on other campuses—began in reaction to administration attempts to restrict on-campus activity in civil rights and politics. But it soon expanded into a pungent, penetrating criticism of the very quality of the computerlike education being offered the protesters.

Mario Savio, the bushy-haired, 22-year-old former chief spokesman for the Free Speech Movement, escalated his contempt for the dehumanization of education to a jeremiad against the dehumanization of society at large: "There is a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart that you can't take part; you can't even passively take part, and you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus and you've got to make it stop. And you've got to indicate to the people who run it, to the people who own it, that unless you're free, the machines will be prevented from working at all."

At Berkeley, the urge to be heard above the whirring of the machine led some students to extend the Free Speech Movement into what university administrators and the press called "the filthy speech movement." In March 1965, a group in their early 20s demonstrated on campus with placards on which were written the most common four-letter Anglo-Saxon word in American speech. They also sang and chanted the word. Adults were shocked. Even the American Civil Liberties Union considered their case "indefensible."

Why did they do it? One of them, 22-year-old John Thompson, told the San Francisco *Open City Press*: "I made that sign as a protest against the hypocritical climate, the lack of love I've found on this campus . . . I could walk around this campus for weeks with a sign that said MURDER or SHOOT or KILL and no one would pay the least attention. I write this one little word and, *bam*, into jail I go. Isn't it absurd that people here only get involved with this one word when they *should* get involved with

war, with murder—the kind of murder that's going on every day in Vietnam."

It has been in the past year especially that American foreign policy—as practiced in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic—has acted as a further source of student unrest. At Columbia University, in June 1965, 100 student demonstrators blocked the doors of Low Memorial Library and forced the postponement of a military review and awards ceremony of the university's officer training unit. In the same month, 75 Cornell students disrupted a Reserve Officers' Training Corps ritual by a sit-in. At Harvard, when McGeorge Bundy, a principal Presidential advisor on foreign policy, was selected as orator for the June literary exercises of the Harvard Phi Beta Kappa chapter, more than 100 members of that honor society, in an unprecedented move, made a public statement of protest. And when Bundy came, he was picketed.

Meanwhile, college faculty members were also becoming restive. During the tumult at the University of California, many professors came out forcefully on the side of the students, and some spoke of their own shame that it was the students rather than the professors who had dramatized the need for more individualized and more humanized education. The faculty revolt reached its apogee so far in the unprecedented wildfire of teach-ins—campus conclaves in lengthy opposition to American policy in Vietnam. Started in March 1965 by a group of University of Michigan professors, the teach-ins proved contagious, and soon hardly a university or college of prominence was without its home-grown variant. The initial climax of the teach-ins was a debate in Washington in May, which was televised to 100,000 on more than 100 campuses and to many more in those cities with television and radio stations that made the proceedings generally available. Moreover, two of the antagonists at the Washington teach-in were guests on NBC's *Meet the Press* with its audience of 10,000,000.

In May, the most Gargantuan of all teach-ins—a nonstop, 30-hour protest meeting—took place before 27,500 students at the University of California in Berkeley. In defense against the spreading campus opposition, the State Department felt itself compelled to send out teams to explain the Government's position. They failed to convert the dissidents. In one skirmish, at Adelphi University on Long Island, the State Department spokesmen were drowned out in a geyser of wild cheers and applause from 400 faculty members and students when a teenager in the audience shouted, "Isn't the United States getting ready for World War Three? Is this what we want?"

In the months during and since the proliferation of the teach-ins, a particularly significant development in the New Left has been the increasing fusion of protests directed against both America's internal and its external policies. No longer is the "peace movement" virtually alone, as it was more than five years ago. It has found swiftly multiplying allies among those of the young who began their apprenticeship as revolutionaries preoccupied with civil rights.

In May 1965, hundreds of University of California students marched on the Berkeley draft-board headquarters and presented the stunned coordinator of the board with a black coffin. Forty of them burned their draft cards. Steve Weissman, a leader of the Free Speech Movement, toured Southern campuses for the Southern Student Organizing Committee, telling his audiences: "Our movement started on a narrow issue—free speech on campus. But soon we found ourselves face to face with a more basic question: Who makes the decisions that govern our lives? And the further question is: How can *we* have a part in making the decisions?"

In June 1965, Bill Strickland insisted: "Events in Vietnam and Santo Domingo, Harlem and Mississippi are all related. They all raise the question as to what is the true face of America." John Lewis, the former divinity student who is currently national chairman of SNCC, agreed: "Black people must start protesting all injustices. We should broaden our perspectives to cross national and international boundaries, fighting injustices whether they be in America, South Africa or Vietnam." Clearly, the civil rights movement had broadened its scope enormously in the five years since students first conducted sit-ins for a cup of coffee at lily-white dime stores and cafeterias in the South.

When Students for a Democratic Society organized its mammoth April 17, 1965, March on Washington to End the War in Vietnam, it had no difficulty obtaining SNCC as one of its co-sponsors. And letters came from students in Mississippi Freedom schools saying they wanted to attend. Many did. That same month, at an SDS rally in Cleveland to protest the bombing of North Vietnam, two of the three speakers were poor whites in one of SDS's projects in that city. And in a bulletin issued intermittently by the Newark Community Union Project, one of the Negro poor who had gone to a later Washington conference on peace, wrote: "We say poor people should get together and unite. Poor in Vietnam or Newark, we are all alike."

While the students and some of the poor with whom they work are increasingly concerned with such issues as Vietnam, it remains true that to most of those who live in the slums, as Bill Strickland says, "Vietnam is hardly a consuming passion." Therefore, the major efforts of those in the New Left working in the ghettos concern basic changes in domestic institutions. The specter they see is that of an increasingly automated society that will further divide the elitist decision makers and the highly trained technicians from the undereducated and the underskilled. And among the latter, among those whom Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal calls "the underclass," they see a disproportionate percentage of Negroes.

The new radicals are not impressed by the steadily rising gross national product. Instead they underline, for instance, that while in 1947 the nonwhite unemployment rate was 64 percent higher than the white rate, in 1962 it was 124 percent higher. They see a persistently rising unemployment rate among Negro teenagers. Many of these black youngsters, moreover, have been made "unemployable," in an automated era, by the poor schools they had to attend.

The new radicals know that nearly 1,000,000 youngsters of all colors drop out of school every year. Where are *they* to find jobs? They know that ten years ago there were 2,200,000 Aid to Dependent Children cases receiving welfare funds. Today the figure is almost double. They know that the pressure of the population explosion will require that 9,000,000 new jobs be found during the next five years. Yet between 1947 and 1964, jobs increased at less than half that rate. They see, as Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary of the NAACP, puts it, the antipoverty program becoming "an extension of white welfare paternalism," with politicians rather than the poor in control in most of the cities receiving War-on-Poverty funds.

The new radicals see—and are bitter about—a country with astonishing resources but with so many poor. They would agree with Senator Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania who, in the summer of 1965, criticized the newly passed, vastly inadequate LBJ housing bill, emphasizing: "We are the richest nation in the history of mankind. When we fail to provide a decent home for every American, it is not because we can't, but because we won't."

"It was essential," says a member of CORE in Philadelphia, "that we went beyond civil rights into programs for major social, economic and political changes. By itself, the civil rights movement had a built-in dead end, because when the basic civil rights issues are settled, there still won't be enough jobs for everyone."

What do the new radicals propose? There is as yet no coherent, cohesive program for change with which all sections of "the movement" agree. They do agree, however, on the urgent necessity for the poor to organize themselves and acquire political power. And they agree that political power should be used to

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attain massive housing rehabilitation and massive construction of new housing as well as to create new jobs.

The more traditionally socialist members of the New Left stick to New Deal–like solutions for unemployment—extensive public works and similar Government-financed expansions of activities in the public sector. But the radicals point out that, as job qualifications become more complex, to limit the poor largely to construction work is to ensure their being frozen in the underclass. They demand, therefore, a redefinition of work along with fundamentally improved public education. For some, a corollary of redefining work is a basic annual income, an idea first popularized by economist Robert Theobald, who is convinced that every American citizen by right should receive an annual sum from the Government. Advocates of the plan differ as to the amount. Martin Luther King, a convert to the idea, thinks the minimum per family should be $3000 a year. Others consider King's proposal to be at the level of poverty, and would raise the annual guarantee.

With an annual income, its proponents claim, families would be freed from the indignities and the dependency spawned by the existing welfare agencies. If, simultaneously, public education were so improved as to stimulate rather than stifle spontaneity and curiosity, the poor could become interested in all manner of jobs that are concerned with social services rather than with the production of goods—which will increasingly be taken care of by machines in any case.

Tom Hayden, an SDS worker and one of the organizers of the Newark Community Union Project, foresees the possibility of "thousands of new vocations in the areas of education, health care, recreation, conservation. Imagine a society which subsidized community-level art and journalism, health clinics, recreational facilities, libraries and museums; it would establish the basis for common culture for the first time in America."

Hayden and others of the new radicals, furthermore, would agree with U Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations, that the day should come when "the average youngster—and parent or employer—will consider that one or two years of work for the cause of development, either in a faraway country or in a depressed area of his own community, is a normal part of one's education."

But they would ask, "Why one or two years? Why not a lifetime of work as political and community organizers, as members of an international SNCC, as explorers of new ways to reach and rehabilitate the socially discarded, as creators of new forms of art to be enjoyed and participated in by large numbers of people?"

While these designs for a new society are being debated, the hard present task of moving the underclass to get the power to demand such a society continues. The goals of the new radicals for the immediate future are to step up block-by-block organization of black ghettos, to increase the still minute amount of similar work among poor whites, South and North, and to arrange closer and more frequent contacts between the various elements in the New Left.

When Major Owens, a CORE organizer in Brooklyn, established the Brooklyn Freedom Democratic Party in the spring of 1965 to contest a local election against a candidate from the regular Democratic machine, he had Fannie Lou Hamer of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party come North for his opening rally. Owens has since proposed a formal unification of the two groups. The Northern Student Movement and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party have been discussing a possible exchange of staffs from time to time so that the experience of each organization can be broadened.

There is an even more basic, more immediate problem. How many of those students who are now full-time sowers of the new radicalism will stay as they go deeper and deeper into their 20s and are increasingly tempted by affluent positions inside the majority society as well as increasingly threatened by Government action against burners of draft cards and others who try to impede the war effort in Vietnam? And how many of the thousands of supporters of the New Left still in school will choose to spend five or ten or more years as community organizers? It is too soon to tell. The only evidence up to now is that volunteers for field work in SNCC, SDS and the Northern Student Movement have increased every year.

Nor are the new radicals easily intimidated. Many have been jailed for demonstrating, and they keep coming back. Mario Savio, for instance, was offered a choice in July 1965 between 120 days in jail or a two-year period of probation during which he could not take part in political demonstrations. The sentencing was for Savio's role in an all-night sit-in at the University of California in December 1964, which resulted in the arrest of nearly 800 students. Savio chose jail. "I welcome the chance to reject probation," he told the judge, "because probation imposes orders on how men should act. Revolution is a positive duty when power is in the hands of the morally and intellectually bankrupt." Many of the other students who were offered the same choice made the same decision as Savio. Among them was his wife, Suzanne, who had also been a leader of the Free Speech Movement.

Even among the most committed, however, there are inevitably moments of acute doubt. Some months before he, too, was sentenced to jail for his part in

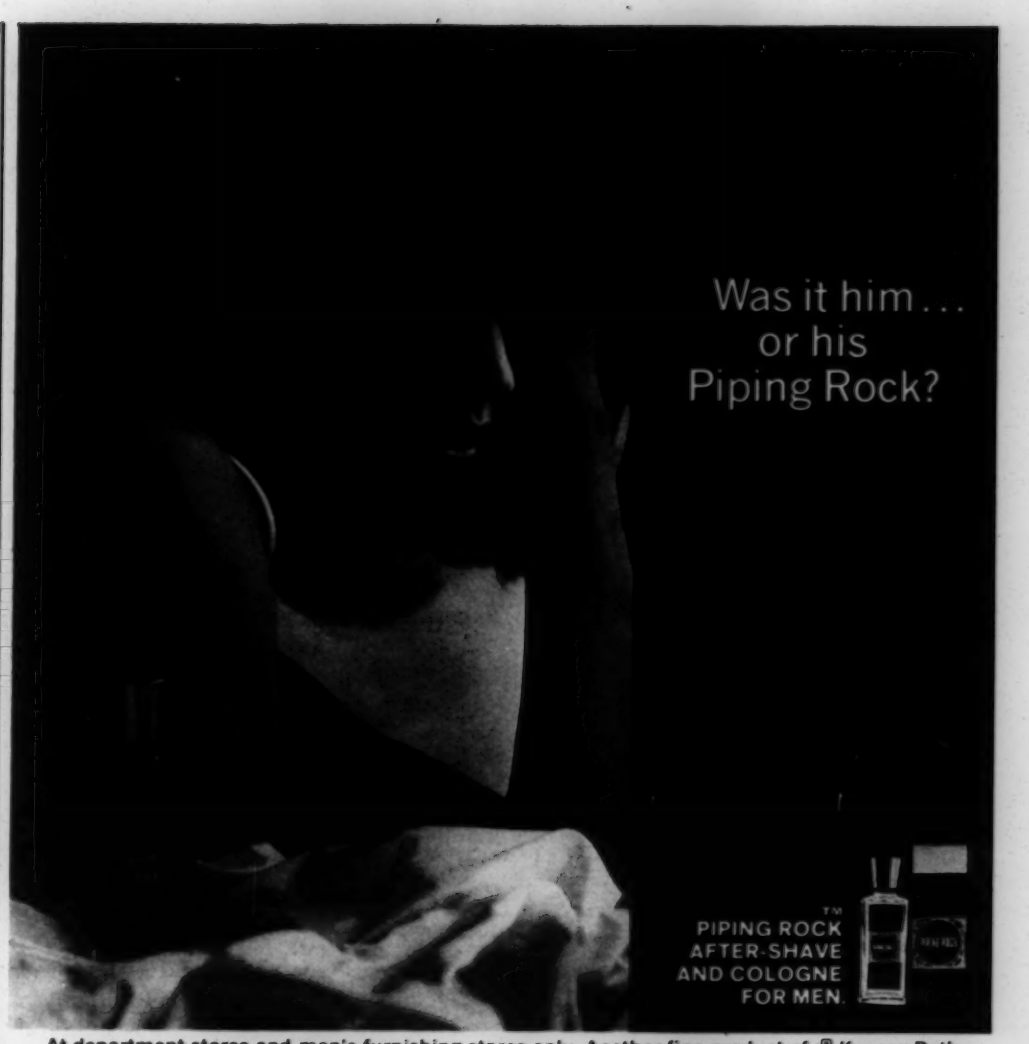
the December sit-in at the University of California, Mike Rossman, a 25-year-old graduate student, said: "It's hard. It's incredibly hard to make changes in this society. It's hard in particular for young people to make changes, because we're so alone. There is all this incredible inertia around us. But if you try hard enough, something gives way and now something's beginning to tremble."

Brightening, Rossman went on: "We may get not only defeated, but broken. But the curve of our actions has been rising. It will keep rising. We are going to be more and more active."

At the best times for the new radicals, there *is* that sense of being part of what could become an irresistible tide—although the odds are against it. Staughton Lynd, a 36-year-old professor of history at Yale and one of the very few adults who can accurately say he speaks for many of the radical young, was remembering during the summer of 1965 how it had been in Washington the previous April 17 during the SDS March to End the War in Vietnam: "It was unbearably moving to watch the sea of banners and signs move out from the Sylvan Theater toward the Capitol as Joan Baez, Judy Collins and others sang *We Shall Overcome*. Still more poignant was the perception—and I checked my reaction with many, many others who felt as I did—that as the crowd moved down the mall toward the seat of Government, its path delimited on each side by rows of chartered buses so that there was nowhere to go but forward, toward the waiting policemen, it seemed that the great mass of people would simply flow on through and over the marble buildings, that our forward movement was irresistibly strong, that even had someone been shot or arrested, nothing could have stopped that crowd from taking possession of its Government.

"Perhaps," Staughton Lynd continued, "next time we should keep going, occupying for a time the rooms from which orders issue and sending to the people of Vietnam and the Dominican Republic the profound apologies which are due; or quietly waiting on the Capitol steps until those who make policy for us, and who like ourselves are trapped by fear and pride, consent to enter into dialog with us and with mankind."

Another characteristic of the new radicals at their most hopeful times is a conviction that the individual can still make his presence felt in even the most complicated power confrontations. At the end of the year, the same Staughton Lynd, pursuing this conviction, was one of three Americans who flew to North Vietnam in an attempt to find out for himself the avenues to peace, with the hope that on returning he might be able to help change the national consensus.



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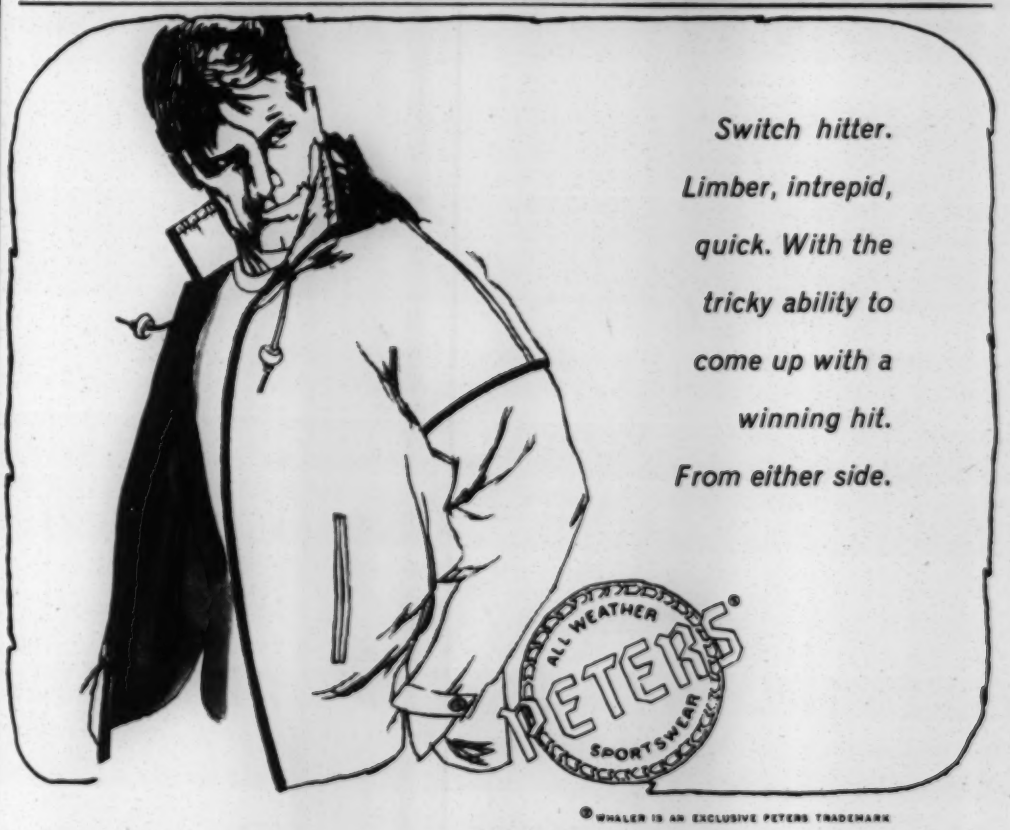

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SEX MORES *(continued from page 81)*

stuck with a disenchanting spouse. In a tritalamonomic culture, there would be no cause for this kind of problem. Marriage would last only 15 years, unless renewed, and it would take continued enchantment and what would be called an "unnatural" attachment to keep a couple together, after the term, among neighbors who do not see the reason for it.

Tritalamonomy would help the individual and it would help society. It is well known, among the experts, that much of today's juvenile delinquency comes from sexual frustration. The adolescent feels urges he does not know how to define. He feels, nevertheless, that society is against it, so he deduces that society is against him, therefore he is against society. Tritalamonomy defines the urges and makes them not only respectable but even dutiful, thereby purging them of all their morbid fascination. We can be confident that a tritalamonomic world would be a world without momism, with little antifeminism, little homosexuality, nice female characters in literature and on the stage, unobtrusive leather jackets and silent motorcycles.

The 30-year-old woman who marries a 15-year-old boy will overcome most of her present internal conflicts, even if she does not know it and does not want to admit it. The sexual conflicts have already been revealed by surveys and advice columns. Of course, sex is not all in marriage, although it helps a lot, as the experts have been discovering with great wonderment for the last 5000 years. There is also a sentimental element to consider. There is, for instance, in any newly emancipated group, class or sex, the latent hostility toward the deposed tyrant, the need for a new leadership, the fear of not finding it—all the dark forces that combine in making so many modern women press on their husbands the role of immature adolescents. Well, in a tritalamonomic culture this problem, too, would be solved. When a woman reaches 30 and thinks she has all that capacity for love-give, she will be matched with an immature adolescent with a complementary great avidity for love-take. She will have to do all she tries to do now with often disastrous results, and with justification and a much better chance of success. She will have to understand, advise, help, console *and* pay the bills, work, see her husband through his schooling and start him in his professional career. If she will put on saintly airs and a martyred expression, she will be believed and applauded, not just dismissed as a nagger and a bore, as it so often happens in modern society, even when she is a saint and a martyr.

On the other hand, she is less likely to assume this role. Her previous husband, the one she was married to from 15 to 30 years of age, gave her lessons in family leadership, experience in masculine capabilities and needs and, as a mature man of 45, he has presumably left her with the feeling that men can be respectable. Today many fathers cannot command this feeling because in times of rapid changes they seem old-fashioned too soon, and if a husband tries to achieve it, he can be sued for mental cruelty.

A 30-year-old woman, however, is only half a generation away from a youth of 15 and eager to forget it. Given a pretext, she will adopt fashion, tastes, ideas, jargon that make her look younger, thereby reducing the distance. She would find added incentives to use cosmetics, dietary foods, gymnasiums, beauty parlors and other services of increasing importance to the free-enterprise system. Between half generations communication is still possible, rebellions still avoidable, Beatlemania and allied phenomena still unnecessary.

Yet the greatest social advantage of tritalamonomy would be its response to the challenge of automation. Today machines can already do better than men with many years of schooling, and only more schooling can keep future generations ahead of future machines. We know today what a hostile world a "dropout" of 15 faces. Every year, according to statistics, we pile up an additional 200,000 of this potentially explosive human refuse. What will happen when they are joined by dropouts who are 25 years old? Shouldn't conservative groups who worry so much about subversion of our social order worry a little about such huge subversive forces? Shouldn't they start financing tritalamonomic cells, chapters, communities, promoting and contributing to tritalamonomic candidates?

Surely the lengthening dependence of the human offspring on their parents has gone far enough. Parents, too, should appreciate a society where they can marry their children off at 15 and let their spouses worry about ending their schooling and starting their professional careers. After all, we appreciate the beauty of our children especially when they are small. After 15, 20, 25, somebody else appreciates it better and has more use for it. He or she should be made to pay for it. Evening gowns and sports cars should not be paid for by parents, but by those they are meant to thrill or impress. The 40s should be a second youth for parents: years of travel, horizon broadening, new experiences.

After having been married for 15 years to an experienced woman, completed his schooling, found good employment, stayed out of trouble and slept conjugally relaxed at night, a man of 30 thinks he has mastered the essentials in life and love. This, then, is his time and his turn to teach, and the natural thing to do would be to set up another

"If I hear you say 'We missed the boat' once more——!"

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November 10, 1966

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Thank you for your article for the 1967 Year Book LIVING HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

A check for $50 is enclosed, the honorarium mentioned in my letter of September 15.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Robert H. Doherty

RHD:bb

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SEP 26 1966

September 23, 1966

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Thank you for your letter of September 19th. I am pleased to hear that you will write the article for the yearbook.

Sincerely,

Robert H. Doherty

RHD:cff

September 19, 1966

Mr. Robert H. Doherty
Stravon Publishers
43 West 61st Street
New York, New York 10023

Dear Mr. Doherty:

Thank you for your letter of September 15th, requesting that I submit an article on the philosophy of "black power" for the 1967 Year Book LIVING HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

I would be glad to write such an article and will submit the article in advance of the October 15th deadline. The honorarium of fifty dollars ($50.00) is acceptable and it is understood that the article will carry my by-line.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

FBMcK/ilh

STRAVON PUBLISHERS
43 West 61st St. New York, N. Y. 10023 JUdson 6-3657

September 15, 1966

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Would you be interested in writing a brief article on the philosophy of "black power" for an encyclopedia yearbook we publish.

You would be at liberty in your selection of material for this 800-word article, which would appear in the 1967 Year Book LIVING HISTORY OF THE WORLD. The manuscript would be due on October 15, 1966, and there will be an honorarium of $50.00. The article would carry your by-line.

Editor-in-chief of the yearbook is Dr. George D. Stoddard, former Chancellor of New York University. The yearbook is distributed by Parents' Magazine Enterprises in conjunction with the ten-volume Cultural Library, their junior encyclopedia, and with the five-volume edition of the Columbia Encyclopedia.

If you would like to see last year's book before making your decision, please telephone me and I shall send you a copy.

Sincerely,

Robert H. Doherty

RHD:cff

February 22, 1967

James E. Hamilton
4106 Cliff Drive
Everett, Wash.

Dear Mr. Hamilton:

Because he has been hospitalized in recent weeks (a painful slipped disc) and prevented by doctor's orders from doing all but the most essential duties, Mr. McKissick asked that I respond to your card written in response to the December 3 New Republic article.

Although he has not yet been able to write elsewhere on the subject, it may interest you to know that we have been busily engaged in putting our ideas to work in New York City. Two of our staff members are working presently with parents' groups in Harlem and the People's Board of Education and are finding that the ideas expressed in the article are in fact concerns of citizens with whom we work.

Thank you for your note. We will be sure to appraise you of new articles on the subject.

Sincerely,

Ruth Turner, Special Assistant
to the National Director

FEB 7 1967

MRS. HUGH D. CLARK
STAR ROUTE
MANSFIELD DEPOT
CONNECTICUT 06251

Ruth

February 3. 1967

Mr. Floyd McKissick
38 Park Row
New York City. N.Y.

Dear Mr. McKissick,

In a recent column, Joseph Alsop mentioned that you had an article in the New Republic concerning the Coleman Report, "Equality of Educational Opportunity." I haven't been successful in finding the article and wonder if there is a reprint available which I might purchase.

Ever since reading Dr. Nichols review in the Bloomberg Science I've been watching for further comment, thinking it strange that such disturbing implications would go unchallenged, and I'd very much appreciate reading what you have to say.

Sincerely yours.
Ellen Clark

February 22, 1967

Mrs. Hugh Clark
Star Route
Mansfield Depot
Connecticut 06251

Dear Mrs. Clark:

Thank you for your letter of February 3 requesting information on the article "Is Integration Necessary?" which appeared in the December 3 1966 issue of New Republic. Unfortunately, we do not yet have reprints of that article available although we are planning to secure them in the near future.

Mr. McKissick, who is recuperating from a slipped disc, asked that I tell you your suggestion regarding a response to the review by Dr. Nichols is well-taken. Unfortunately, he has been hospitalized in recent weeks and has been restricted in his activities by order of his physician. He has the intention of responding to Dr. Nichols however as soon as he is able.

We appreciate your interest. We will be glad to send you a reprint of the article as soon as they are reproduced.

Sincerely,

Ruth Turner
Special Assistant to the
National Director

4106 Cliff Dr.
Everett, Wash.
Dec. 11, 1966

Dear Mr. McKissick:

I have rarely admired an article as much as I have your "correspondence" in the Dec. 3 New Republic. Have you written elsewhere on this subject? I wish your ideas could have wide distribution. Yours,

James E. Hamilton

DEC 19 1966

April 3, 1967

Professor Arnold Kaufman
Department of Philosophy
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Professor Kaufman:

Thank you for your telephone call regarding your forthcoming book and the status of the note which you signed for CORE with the Chemical Bank of New York.

Enclosed herewith you will find a copy of a letter which Mr. McKissick sent to Mr. Jacobsen of Atherton Press, granting permission for you to quote his article "The Civil Rights Movement is Dead -- Long Live the Black Revolution," in your forthcoming book.

Every effort is currently being made to pay off the loan for which you were one of the signers. Please be assured that these efforts will continue.

Thank you very much for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
enclosure (1)

April 3, 1967

Mr. Jacobsen
Atherton Press
70 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10011

Dear Mr. Jacobsen:

Thank you for your recent telephone call regarding a forthcoming book by Professor Arnold Kaufman, in which Professor Kaufman quotes from an article quotes from an article I wrote entitled "The Civil Rights Movement is Dead — Long Live the Black REvolution."

Although this article has not yet been published, we hereby grant permission to Mr. Kaufman to quote from the text.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

FBMcK:ilh

Founded 1909

THE PROGRESSIVE

MARY SHERIDAN
Managing Editor

MADISON, WISCONSIN 53703

May 18, 1967

Mr. Floyd McKissick
National Director
CORE
200 West 135th Street
New York, N. Y. 10030

MAY 22 1967

Dear Mr. McKissick:

I think that you will be interested in reading "A New Kind of Power" by Martin Luther King, Jr. on Page 13 of our new June issue.

I am hoping that you might like to make a 300-word comment on Mr. King's article for our July issue. If so, I should have word from you by Monday, May 29.

Sincerely,

Mary Sheridan
Managing Editor

MS/bh
Enclosure
Airmail

MAY 25 1961

MONTHLY REVIEW MR PRESS 116 WEST 14th STREET · NEW YORK, N. Y. 10011 · CHELSEA 2-6494

Editors:
LEO HUBERMAN
PAUL M. SWEEZY

Dear Mr. McKissick,

In November of this year Monthly Review will publish an issue commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. The purpose, however, will not be ceremonial but to help readers to think fruitfully about the world-wide meaning of the October Revolution, what has happened in the Soviet Union in its first half century of existence, and where Soviet society is now going.

Obviously MR is not the place for systematic or scholarly articles on the many topics which are suggested by this statement of purpose. Rather what we think we can do most usefully is to publish the summary views of a variety of people who have long been concerned with and closely followed Soviet developments. We have in mind brief but carefully thought-out essays of approximately 2,000-3,000 words.

As an indication of what readers are deeply concerned about, let us quote from a letter recently received from a subscriber in California:

> "What interested me most in the April issue was the review of the book by the Yugoslav economist Branko Horvat, Towards a Theory of Planned Economy. Ernest Mandel makes out a very good case for believing that Yugoslavia is following a path that will lead to, not an avant garde socialist showcase, but a welfare state scarcely distinguishable from that of several Western nations.
>
> "But what most of your readers will ask themselves is the question: 'Is the USSR travelling in the same direction?' If one sixth of the earth's surface which is the USSR should also take this path of retrogression back to a welfare state instead of forward to communism, this would indeed be tragedy on a grand scale."

Our subscriber does not profess to know the answer, and perhaps no one can know at this stage. But answers must be sought and their implications explored. And this is one of the main areas we would like to see occupy the attention of contributors to our commemorative issue.

Other areas might be: The impact of the Revolution on the developed and underdeveloped countries respectively; the balance sheet of the Stalin era; the Stalin-Trotsky conflict in perspective; the role of

the Soviet Union (and the CPUSSR) in the future of the world socialist movement.

But these are only suggestions; you will have your own ideas about what subjects are most important to raise on this 50th anniversary, and it is these ideas, not answers to our questions that MR readers will want to have before them.

Since an issue of this kind involves more than the usual complement of editorial problems, we shall have to have manuscripts in our hands by September 1. MR's normal honorarium of $25.00 is nominal but it is nonetheless offered as a sincere token of our gratitude for your cooperation.

We list below the persons to whom this letter is being sent. We believe that if there is good and representative response, MR's commemorative issue will be not only widely read but greatly influential among radical socialists, of all parties and of no party, on all continents.

May we have your acceptance by return airmail? We enclose an addressed envelope for your convenience.

With thanks for your attention and fraternal greetings,

Cordially yours,

Leo Huberman

Leo Huberman

Paul M. Sweezy

Paul M. Sweezy

William Blake
~~Hans Blumenthal~~
Harry Braverman
Stokely Carmichael
E. H. Carr
Issaac Deutscher
Maurice Dobb
K. S. Karol
Joshua Kunitz
Owen Lattimore
Staughton Lynd
Floyd McKissick
Carey McWilliams

Hans Blumenfeld

Ernest Mandel
Vittorio Rieser
Raul Roa
Joan Robinson
Bertrand Russell
Jean Paul Sartre
Rudolf Schlesinger
Frederick Schumann
Franz Shurmann
Edgar Snow
I. B. Tabata
Shigeto Tsuru
Peter Weiss

MR PRESS
Monthly Review
116 West 14th Street
New York, N. Y. 10011

DR. PAUL SWEEZY
MONTHLY REVIEW
116 WEST 14th STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y.

June 1, 1967

Mr. Pedro Scaron
Marcha
Rincon 577
Montevideo, Uruguay

Dear Mr. Scaron:

Thank you for your letter of recent date requesting a copy of CORE's statement regarding the war in Vietnam. As per your request, a copy is herewith enclosed.

Also enclosed, for your information, is a copy of Mr. McKissick's letter of commendation to Muhammad Ali, Heavy-weight Champion of the World.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
enclosures (2)

MARCHA

RINCÓN 577 - MONTEVIDEO
URUGUAY

MAY 17 1967

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director - CORE
200 West 135th Street
New York, N.Y. 10030
Estados Unidos

Dear friend:

We are very interested in your work. We want to publish (gratis, of course) your declarations and manifestos. Please keep us posted.

"Marcha" is a very influential Uruguayan weekly. We are against the dirty war in Vietnam and support the International War Crimes Tribunal. We want to demonstrate that many Americans are also against the crimes of the American government.

Yours truly,

Pedro Scaron

Inclosure

MARCHA
RINCON 577
MONTEVIDEO
URUGUAY

Algunas opiniones recientes sobre "MARCHA", aparecidas en los siguientes periódicos:

The Economist, Oct. 8, 1966: "**Marcha** (is) the best left-wing weekly in the Continent."

The New York Times, Jul. 28, 1966: "The Uruguayan magazine (**Marcha**) is often likened to the New Statesman, the British weekly. It is generally read by intellectuals. Marcha's circulation is estimated at 60.000, of which 6.000 are sold in Buenos Aires."

Casa de las Américas (de La Habana), Nov.-Dic., 1966: "**Marcha** es acaso el semanario hispanoamericano de mayor influencia entre los intelectuales del continente."

Le Monde, A. F. P., Jul. 29, 1966: "L'hebdomadaire **Marcha** est considéré comme l'une des meilleures publications politiques d'Amérique du Sud."

Buenos Aires Herald, Jul. 27, 1966: "**Marcha** has been called Latin America's New Statesman, voice of Britain's intellectual leftwingers. It is leftwing but individualistic and independent... In general the magazine is a 'views' paper reflecting a very wide area of leftwing opinion."

June 1, 1967

Mr. Ernest A. Rueter
Field Director in Employment
Gary Human Relations Commission
401 Broadway
Gary, Indiana 46402

Dear Mr. Rueter:

Thank you for your letter of May 12, 1967, requesting a copy of Mr. McKissick's speech presented to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, April 20. Please forgive the delay in replying. As per your request, a copy of that speech is enclosed.

Also enclosed, for your information is a pamphlet which summarizes the testimony Mr. McKissick presented to the Ribicoff Committee in December, 1966. A copy of the speech he delivered to the Michigan Federation of Teachers, "American Education: A Partner in the Perpetuation of Racism?" is also enclosed.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
enc. (3)

GARY HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION

401 BROADWAY GARY, INDIANA 46402 886-2461

A. MARTIN KATZ
Mayor

CHARLES H. KING, JR.
Executive Director

ERNEST RUETER
Field Director

MAY 16 1967

May 12, 1967

CORE
180 Park Row
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

I was very interested in Mr. Floyd McKissick's speech before the editors in Washington, but I do not believe that even the Sun-Times here in Chicago reported the meat of it.

If you have any extra copies, I would like to have one. I believe the substance of it would help me interpret matters to some opinion leaders here.

Sincerely,

Ernest A. Rueter

Ernest A. Rueter
Field Director in Employment

EAR/g

COMMISSIONERS

E. Joseph Blanning - ~~Robert F. Chambers, Jr., Chmn.~~ - Charles Chandler - Rev. James A. Coriden - Jesse Cruz
Rev. Julius James - Rev. John W. Johnson - Jack Russell - David Sheer - Quentin Smith - Curtis Strong - Burton Wechsler

June 1, 1967

Miss Patricia M. Green
6806 South Dante Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Dear Miss Green:

Thank you for your recent note requesting copies of Mr. McKissick's speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, April 20, 1967. As per your request, those speeches are enclosed.

Also enclosed, for your information, is the speech Mr. McKissick presented to the Michigan Federation of Teachers, May 11. Also enclosed is a pamphlet which summarizes Mr. McKissick's December, 1966 testimony to the Ribicoff Committee.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
enc. (3)

[redacted]

Mrs Kissick

Dear Sir,

Would you please send me (3) three copies of the speech you made to the News Paper Editors if there is a ~~Cost~~ bill Me. Please Until I here from you.

Thank Again

Ruth Green

July 18, 1967

Miss Joan Wexler
Simon & Schuster, Inc.
Rockefeller Center, 630 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10020

Dear Miss Wexler:

Thank you for your letter of July 10 and for the complimentary copy of the book, "Black and White: A Study of U.S. Racial Attitudes Today" by Louis Harris and William Brink.

Enclosed herewith you will find, as per your request, a copy of the names and addresses of CORE's Board of Directors, the National Action Council, so that you may send these individuals copies of that book.

Thank you very much for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
enc. (1) NAC List

JUL 12 1967

SIMON AND SCHUSTER

The Trade Book Division of
Simon & Schuster, Inc.
Rockefeller Center, 630 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10020
Telephone 212 Circle 5-6400

July 10, 1967

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Simon and Schuster is proud to have just published BLACK AND WHITE: A STUDY OF U.S. RACIAL ATTITUDES TODAY by Louis Harris and William Brink. Based on the same massive and in-depth Newsweek-sponsored survey which characterized their book The Negro Revolution in America (1964), BLACK AND WHITE covers everything from Black Power to the Moynihan Report to Watts and Hough. In the introduction, the authors state: "The book is dedicated to informing the reader not only of what has happened since 1963, but how and why."

In order to bring this book to the attention of the appropriate people in the civil rights movement, we would be grateful if your office would furnish us with the names and addresses of your Board of Directors so that we may send them complimentary reading copies.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Joan Wexler

P.S. A copy of BIACK AND WHITE has been sent to you separately with our compliments.

AUG 16 1967

The New York Times
TIMES SQUARE NEW YORK N Y 10036

August 13, 1967

Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135 Street
New York City

Gentlemen:

To aid us in prompt and accurate coverage of the news, we maintain in our News Room a confidential file of addresses and telephone numbers for use as the need arises. Could you assist us in this work by having the enclosed card filled out and returned in the accompanying envelope?

Because The Times is a morning newspaper it often is necessary to gather news after normal business hours. Therefore, we respectfully request home addresses and telephone numbers if you see fit to give them to us. We will avoid using them except in emergency, and will keep them confidential.

Very truly yours,

Arthur Gelb
Metropolitan Editor

enclosure

Department of Speech
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington 98105

August 18, 1967
(date)

Mr. Floyd McKissick
200 West 135th St.
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

We are preparing a textbook anthology of readings tentatively entitled RHETORIC OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, approximately 50,000 words in length, to be published by Random House, Inc. Present plans call for publication in the Fall of 1968.

May we have your permission to reprint in all editions of this work the materials specified below? Full credit will, of course, be given to author, title, and publisher. If you wish to amend or add to these acknowledgments, please do so.

In signing, you warrant that you are the sole owner of the rights granted herein, and that the work does not infringe upon the copyright, or other rights of anyone.

This letter is being sent to you in duplicate, so that you need only sign and return one copy for our files. As we are eager to include the material in our work, we would appreciate an early reply.

Very truly yours,

Haig Bosmajian

Haig Bosmajian, Associate Professor

Hamida Bosmajian

Hamida Bosmajian, Instructor

MATERIAL TO BE REPRINTED:
Speech (in its entirety) presented by Floyd McKissick to the National Conference On Black Power, July 21, 1967.

Permission granted: _____

By: _____ Date: _____

Form of copyright acknowledgment:

August 23, 1967

Mr. Eugene M. Falken
Vice President, General Manager
Hayden Book Company, Inc.
116 West 14th Street
New York, New York 10011

Re: Africa in Perspective by F. Seth Singleton and John Shingler

Dear Mr. Falken:

Thank you for your note of July 14 and for forwarding a copy of the above mentioned. book.

Although I have not yet had an opportunity to read the book, I will forward any comments I may have upon completion.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

FBMcK:ilh

File
With the Note of Thanks

HAYDEN BOOK COMPANY, INC.

116 West 14 Street, New York, New York 10011, ORegon 5-5020

a subsidiary of Hayden Publishing Company, Inc.

JUL 17 1967

July 14, 1967

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10002

My Dear Mr. McKissick:

I'm happy to send you a complimentary copy of AFRICA IN PERSPECTIVE by F. Seth Singleton and John Shingler.

I do hope you find the book interesting, and if any of your contacts are interested in buying a copy, the price of the paperback edition is $3.96; in addition, a clothbound edition is available at $5.46.

We certainly would appreciate receiving any comments you may wish to make about this new book.

Sincerely,

Eugene M. Falken
Vice President
General Manager

EMF:JR

Enclosure

September 8, 1967

Professor Haig A. Bosmajian
Department of Speech
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington 98105

Re: Speech by F. B. McKissick to National Conference on Black Power

Dear Mr. Bosmajian:

Thank you for your letter of September 2, 1967, suggesting an honorarium of fifty dollars ($50.00), for permission to reprint the text of the above named speech, in full, in your forthcoming textbook, "Rhetoric of the Civil Rights Movement."

The stated honorarium will be satisfactory and permission is granted for reprinting of the above named speech.

Your cooperation and interest are appreciated.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH

SEP 5 1967

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98105

September 2, 1967

Department of Speech

Mrs. Irma L. Hellinger
CORE
200 West 135th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Hellinger:

I have your letter of August 23 asking whether an honorarium would be involved in our reprinting of Mr. McKissick's speech presented to the National Conference on Black Power held in Newark on July 21, 1967. Yes, I think an honorarium would be appropriate. Would a $50.00 (fifty dollars) honorarium be OK?

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Haig A. Bosmajian

Haig A. Bosmajian
Associate Professor

hold

August 23, 1967

Mr. Haig Bosmajian
Department of Speech
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington 98105

Dear Mr. Bosmajian:

Thank you for your letter of August 18, regarding permission to reprint the speech presented by Mr. McKissick to the National Conference on Black Power, which was held in Newark, New Jersey, July 21, 1967.

Please notify us, at your earliest convenience, whether there will be an honorarium for the speech. Frequently, we have received honorariums for the reprinting of speeches and articles by Mr. McKissick.

We are looking forward to your reply.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH

AUG 21 1967

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98105

Department of Speech

August 18, 1967

Mr. Floyd McKissick
CORE
200 West 135th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. McKissick:

I have received a copy of your July 21, 1967 speech (delivered to the National Conference on Black Power) which I requested. If you grant me permission to reprint the speech in my forthcoming college textbook, RHETORIC OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, please let me know if there are any corrections in the speech you would want to make before it is sent in for publication.

Sincerely,

Haig Bosmajian

Haig Bosmajian

from A. C. SPECTORSKY

SEP 8 1967

Dear Mr. McKissick:

It is our pleasure to send you tearsheets from the September issue of PLAYBOY Magazine and call your attention to the article by Nat Hentoff "YOUTH - THE OPPRESSED MAJORITY".

We would be delighted to hear -- and would certainly value -- any comments you have concerning this article which we might use in our Letters to the Editor column.

Cordially,

A. C. Spectorsky

A. C. Spectorsky
Editorial Director

PLAYBOY / 919 n. michigan • chicago ill.

youth—the oppressed majority

denigrated, disenfranchised and put upon by police, parents and a consciousness-constricting educational system, the under-25 generation is sealed off from society

article **by nat hentoff** TO MOST ADULTS who read about it, the analogy must have seemed preposterous. Here was John Lindsay, the mayor of New York, actually telling a group of Princeton undergraduates last November that they were like black youngsters in a ghetto. "The distance between these groups—educationally, economically, socially—has certain psychological bridges," he said. "The frustration of the sophomore alienated from his university by its size and impersonality is not very much different from the resentment of the ghetto youth who is alienated from his city because its opportunities and rewards are foreclosed to him. Both suffer the malady of powerlessness—powerlessness in the face of huge, authoritarian institutions that routinely cause fundamental dislocations in the lives of the people they affect each day."

The young powerless? According to Al Capp, J. Edgar Hoover, editorial writers for *The New York Times* and practically any parent, the trouble with the young—the poor dutifully excepted—is that they have too *much* power. They are self-indulgent, willful and more disrespectful of their elders than any previous generation of adolescents. Accordingly, they must be curbed and prepared for "responsibility," for unfortunately, they *will* inherit the earth. The more the young rebel, the more firmly they must be suppressed; for is it not the obligation of their elders to make certain that the young grow up into replicas of themselves? If the young do not, what meaning has there been in the lives of their parents? "We must die," say the old, not really believing it, "but at least the values we lived by will remain."

And it is there that the dissident among the young make their attack: the values of those responsible for society as it is. In December 1966, Ray Mungo, then editor of the student-run *Boston University News*, wrote, under the head "BLACK CHRISTMAS": "We are nothing if not an educational institution, and yet our graduates tend to fall, unquestioningly, into the same narrow sphere of

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35
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DRAWINGS BY SEYMOUR ROSOFSKY

exclusive self-interest in which most men move. And even this self-interest does not pervade the self; we know ourselves as little as we know others. . . . So we do not examine our own sexuality, we won't study the history of China and we're unspeakably cold to murder by the thousands in Vietnam. We have ceased functioning as human beings capable of some sympathies beyond our own offices . . . our Beauty is an idealized Beauty rather than the one we'd joyously climb on and inseminate."

That's one skirmish in the generational war. Others of the young do not attack at all but try to remain private. "It goes beyond your class or the color of your skin," a wiry Indian girl from Maine declares. "It's the color of your mind they want to control. They want you preprocessed before you can have what they call autonomy. But they won't get *me*." Lines are continually being drawn by the young to preserve what they can of their youth—ways of dress, of wearing hair, of music, of speech. But most learn that in terms of making the most basic decisions about their lives, they are indeed without power. "Adolescents," writes sociologist Edgar Z. Friedenberg, "are among the last social groups in the world to be given the full 19th Century Colonial treatment."

One way to measure this society's attitude toward the young is their status in the courts. In many states, juveniles accused of breaking the law are deprived of such essential elements of due process as the right to appeal, access to records, the right to trial by jury and even the right to make bail. The rationale is that the proceedings are not "criminal" in nature, since they take place in a civil court and besides are intended to "protect" the young. However, juvenile courts do have the power to confine the adolescent or administer other punishment. And as many as one fourth of the young who are confined are placed in adult jails.

Some progress toward applying constitutional guarantees to juveniles was made last May in a landmark decision by the Supreme Court, which ruled that the young must at least be given notification of the right to counsel, who, if necessary, will be appointed by the court; the right to confront and cross-examine witnesses, including complainants; warning of the privilege against self-incrimination and the right to remain silent; and timely notice of the charges against them. The case before the Court involved a 15-year-old accused of making obscene phone calls. The juvenile-court judge, without informing the adolescent of his constitutional rights and without giving him a chance to confront his accuser, sent him away for six years to a state training school. The sentence was upheld by Arizona's highest court, then was reversed by the U. S. Supreme Court.

Although Justice Abe Fortas, speaking for the majority, noted that "it would, indeed, be surprising if the privilege against self-incrimination were available to hardened criminals but not to children," the courtroom reforms introduced by the Justice still omit a number of other basic constitutional guarantees—from the right to bail to the right of appeal. Furthermore, as Fred P. Graham noted in *The New York Times*, "Experience has demonstrated . . . that merely informing a child's parents that counsel will be provided upon request . . . will not bring many lawyers into juvenile courts. In the District of Columbia, where free counsel has been offered, between 85 and 90 percent of the parents have waived their children's rights to legal assistance. By comparison, when adults are defendants in felony cases, approximately the same percentage—85 to 90 percent —accept assigned counsel for themselves."

Nor does the new Supreme Court decision affect how adolescents are treated by police—before they come to

"The police harass the 'oddball' and the 'disrespectful.' "

"We know ourselves as little as we know others . . ."

court. Juveniles are still not protected, for example, from self-incrimination in police interrogation. And in other respects as well, their position as colonials in the way they are treated by the police in most communities will undoubtedly remain the same for the foreseeable future. Since police attitudes are consonant with how most adults feel about the young, cops regularly roust not only teenagers in black ghettos but also white middle-class youngsters who dress, talk and otherwise disport themselves in a manner considered "oddball," "rebellious" or "disrespectful."

For more than a year, Los Angeles police have not only established a ten-P.M. curfew for those under 18 on Hollywood's Sunset Strip but they frequently arrest any adolescent who "appears" rowdy or who "jaywalks." On November 28, 1966, *The New York Times* reported: "Baton-swinging armed officers marched shoulder to shoulder down Sunset Boulevard, the main artery, shoving the protesters into side streets or clubbing them to the pavement. Those arrested were often prodded with night sticks or repeatedly shoved to the ground before being loaded into police buses." Had this been instead a picket line of Negroes protesting job discrimination, these police abuses would have provoked lead editorials in the press and statements of concern by civic officials.

In Chicago, during the first six months of 1965, Peter Meyerson writes in *The Young Americans*, "a total of 10,660 teenagers were arrested for violations of a curfew that, one youth lamented, would be 'martial law' if applied to adults." In Philadelphia's Rittenhouse Square, interracial groups of the young with long hair, sandals and occasional beards—though otherwise innocent of breaches of the peace—are not allowed to gather in groups of more than six, are told where they can and cannot sit and have been swept up indiscriminately in "narcotics" raids. And in Jackson Square, in New Orleans' French Quarter, a group of youngsters was sitting and singing on a Sunday last November. Suddenly, 17 of them were hustled into a police wagon. The charges: "littering and creating a scene."

A characteristic illustration of cavalier police action against the young was described in April 1966 by *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist Ralph Gleason. He had taken his children to hear the Paul Butterfield Blues Band at a dance on the University of California campus in Berkeley. Sometime after 11 P.M., Gleason discovered that two of his children and three teenage girls who were their guests had been confined to a first-floor office by campus police. The cops claimed that under the contract with the committee putting on the dance, everybody under 16 who was not "in the custody" of his parents had to be out of the building by 11.

Gleason angrily produced the dance's promoter and the contract, which had no such provision. At that point, Gleason recalls, "a policeman magnanimously said, 'You may go, enjoy yourself.' Then he added to me, 'Keep the children from running around the corridors. It's dangerous and they may be bumped into by an adult and hurt.' 'You are the only adult that endangers them,' I told him. 'You put them in a locked room.' " That same night, an 18-year-old, just as he was taking his jacket from the checkroom, had it snatched from him by a cop, who went through his pockets. "Just wanted to see," the representative of the law said, "if you had anything." "And we wonder," Gleason notes, "why youth is losing its respect for authority."

With minimal rights on the streets, the young have even fewer rights in the schools, where they spend most of their time. In fact, the length of confinement of the young in a classroom has been steadily increasing. Around 1900, only about six percent of American youth finished high school. Today, 70 percent of the nearly 18,000,000 between 13 and 17 are graduated. Until the Second World War, only a minority went on to college. Now, nearly half of each high school graduating class moves into a college population of 6,000,000.

It is in the schools that adult compression of the young is most insistent, most pervasive and—in terms of the final product—most terrifying. In his book *How Children Fail*, which is about upper-middle-class, not slum, schools, John Holt documents his contention that, except for a handful, almost all children who are processed through American schools "fail to develop more than a tiny part of the tremendous capacity for learning, understanding and creating with which they were born and of which they made full use during the first two or three years of their lives."

To begin with, they are often treated as if spontaneity were subversive to the processes of education. Too many classrooms and too many halls in the schools are deadly quiet. Trust, moreover, is not for the young. It is not uncommon for adult spies to be placed in the bathrooms of high schools. There are classrooms with two-way P.A. systems, so that functionaries can listen in to what's going on.

Principals, running their schools like authoritarian dukedoms, issue edicts of stunning and usually irreversible absurdity. The principal of University High School in Los Angeles, for instance, ordered an 18-year-old from Uruguay, who has always worn his hair long, to cut it forthwith. When he refused, the principal had him arrested. In jail, the irrepressible criminal began to sing. This failure to be penitent, this resiliency before adult power, compelled the police to choke him, punch him and handcuff him.

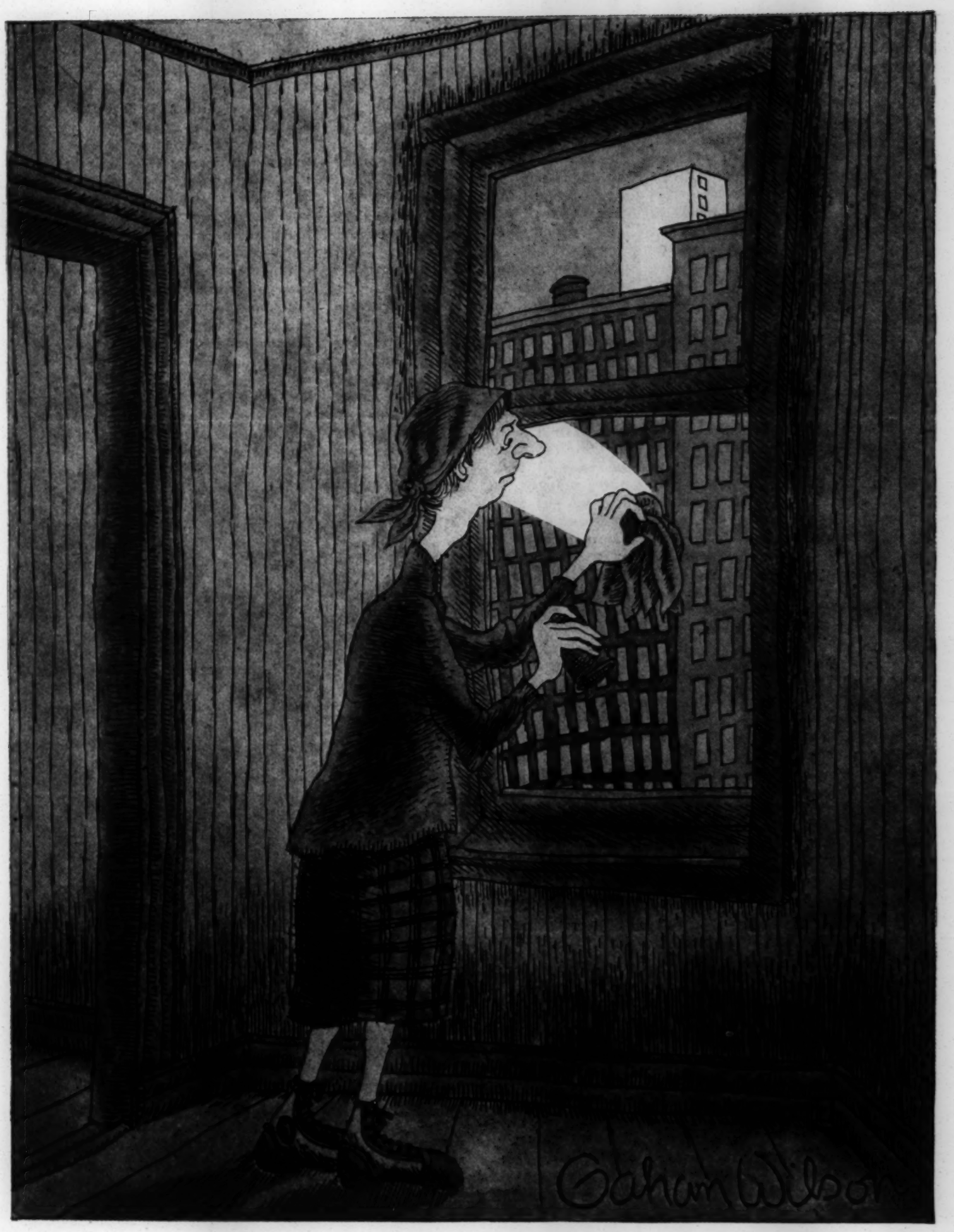
Other punitive measures are increasingly taken against those who choose to wear their hair long—a form of rejection of "proper" (that is, mass) behavior that particularly enrages adults. In Oyster Bay, Long Island, some months ago, five high school students were quarantined on a separate floor—called "the zoo" by their fellow inmates—and denied water as long as they refused haircuts.

In reaction to this and to similar stern pronunciamentos by principals who equate conformity with responsibility, Marya Mannes observed in *The New York Times* that so oversized an emotional reaction by adults "may be more a sign of our own rigidity than of [the students'] folly; one more example of a society grown set in its ways; resistant to change, hostile to difference." To which *The New Yorker* added: "It may be that smooth chins, cheeks and skulls represent to us something preciously modern —smoothness as an ideal, man as interchangeable, frictionless—and that all this bristling and flowing going on around us threatens to gum up the machine. Well, is the machine really that fragile? And was it designed to be eternal? We were furry primates before we were robots."

There is pathos as well as obtuseness in the nearly hysterical antipathy of many adults, in and out of schools, to long hair on young men. They are disturbed by the nerve, the sheer nerve, of those who defy smoothness as an ideal. Their own smoothness of morals, of sexual response, of attenuated life goals are also called into question by this luxuriance of hair and the other sensual "excesses" it connotes. One such long-haired, bearded youngster, drummer Bobby Moses of the Free Spirits, a rock group, was ambling along a street on New York's Lower East Side when a middle-aged stranger, in a suit and tie, stopped, stared and, his face contorted, rasped: "In two months you're going to be in Vietnam and you're going to be killed." Moses looked at him coolly and said, "Listen, mister, the only reason you're complaining is because you're old and you're going to die before I do."

In other ways besides preordained hair styles, the young in school are prepared for "responsibility" by being allowed hardly any. High school and many college newspapers are rigorously —often bizarrely—censored. Controversial speakers are not invited. Student protests are squashed. At Cass Technical High School in Detroit, a 17-year-old semifinalist in the National Merit Scholarship competition had been forced to cut his hair on pain of permanent suspension from school. Later, when he and three other students wore black arm bands to protest the school's observance

(continued on page 188)



youth—the oppressed majority

(continued from page 138)

of "Military Day," all four were "temporarily excluded." Said the young man: "I got my hair cut, but now they're regulating ideas and I can't get my ideas cut. I'm keeping *them*."

In many other schools, antiwar demonstrators have been stripped of their arm bands; and at a high school in Great Neck, New York, when the student government voted to forgo one lunch in sympathy with the famine-threatened people of India, its plan was vetoed by the administration.

In classes throughout the country, teachers ritualistically underline the importance of political commitment for citizens in a democracy. But the young are trained for this role in situations devoid of political activity. When a senior in a large suburban high school in New Jersey asked that the school's World Affairs Club be permitted to cosponsor a lecture with an outside political organization, the director of student activities peremptorily informed him that no student political advocacy of any kind was permitted in the school.

The same student, Daniel Gladstone, wrote a review of a history textbook for the school newspaper. In it, Gladstone reported in a *Saturday Review* article, "High School Students Have No Voice," "I established criteria for textbooks and showed how the book failed to meet them. Because the sponsor of the newspaper was not in school the day the articles were sent to the printer, he did not see the review until it was published. Then he, the vice-principal and the chairman of the history department all told me that I had acted 'out of line' in writing the review and that I had no right to criticize an action of a faculty member or group."

No high school is more respected for the academic achievements of its student body than is the Bronx High School of Science. Yet a few years ago, its students were instructed that during a civil-defense drill simulating an atomic attack, they must kneel and hold a book over their heads. "An interesting medievalism for a school of science," commented social critic Paul Goodman, father of one of several young empiricists who disobeyed the command. They were suspended, of course, and the parents of the disobedient youngsters were informed that "behavior of this type can do immeasurable harm to [the students'] future possibilities for recommendations and college entrance." Paul Goodman pointed out to the New York City Board of Education with as much self-control as he could muster that "this attitude of the organized system is not calculated to make creative scientists." But it can help produce scientists trained to function in teams and easily able to involve themselves in all manner of assignments —biological warfare, for instance—on orders from the organized system.

If the young are prohibited from learning how to govern themselves and from following their best instincts, including common sense, in high school, they do not receive appreciably more growing room in most colleges. There they continue to be prepared for the basic feeling of powerlessness of American life—the powerlessness of the individual, young or adult, to affect what Mayor Lindsay terms the "huge, authoritarian institutions that routinely cause fundamental dislocations in the lives of the people they affect each day." S. E. Luria, professor of biology at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, points out that "a most distressing aspect of university life is the mock parliamentarianism of formal campus democracy. Students engage in meaningless campaigns and elections for student governments that are concerned mainly with trivia such as curfew hours. . . . The empty, formal democracy of the campus is not only a frustrating experience; it becomes also a training ground for the acceptance of patterns of pseudodemocratic government, in which political machines determine the choices presented to the voters, and a willful executive can frustrate the spirit of the Constitution by turning a legislative assembly into a rubber-stamp body."

Here, again, there is pathos in the repression of the young by adults. Those who are without power in the "real world"—without power in relation to the corporations that employ them, to the governments that make war and raise taxes in their name, to the social forces that make their cities unsafe and their air polluted—resent assumptions by the young that they can run *their* lives, that they can somehow avoid fundamental impotence. Father knows best, damn it. There is no hope. Settle down and hold onto a comfortable niche in the system. The son who defies authority shows up the weakness of his father and must be taught a lesson, the lesson being that passivity is wisdom, that survival is all.

The young, meanwhile, are prepared for "real life" not only by their subject status and by the meaningless regulations keeping them in place in the educational zoo. Also, *what* they are taught, as well as how they are taught, prepares them to fit smoothly into the system. One of the most basic of all needs—especially during adolescence—is to shape an identity, to find out what in the world is most relevant to you. But the American educational system operates all too often directly counter to that goal. The schools consider their function to be the adaptation of their pupils to the requirements of society as it is now and as they think it must develop. And increasingly, this is a society of specialization. Certain basic skills must be instilled to lay a foundation for the specialized skills to come. Recently, during the course of a series of lectures he delivered on the BBC, John Kenneth Galbraith asked: "Can we be altogether happy about education that is so motivated? There is the danger that it will be excessively vocational. We shall have a race of men who are strong on telemetry and space communications but who cannot read anything but a blueprint or write anything but a computer program."

But the schools, with few exceptions, have no time to worry about that question. Nor do they allow their pupils time to worry about who they are. Too much information has to be funneled into them so that they can go on to the "better" colleges and then to the "better" specialized jobs. The independent youngster with strong interests in particular areas that are not currently regarded as having a high degree of social usefulness gets in the way—particularly if he has questions for which answers are not to be found in the textbooks or the teachers at hand. He takes too much time and must either be cut to fit or leave school. He also gets in the way if his learning style is not geared to speedy achievement on predetermined tracks. One very bright 14-year-old in New York scored miserably on a reading achievement test. Astonished, his mother asked him what had happened. "Well," he said, "the idea was to read and comprehend as fast as you could. I didn't feel like reading fast. I got interested in some of the paragraphs and wanted to think about their implications." Later, the mother was told by the boy's teacher, "He certainly has capacity, but he is not a group person. You must help us make him into a group person."

A Quaker girl in New York who has shuttled between private and public schools to find a place for herself exclaims in exasperation: "They're all geared to examination statistics. Like, they have set curriculums. The records at each stage of your 'advancement' through school must show that you have taken so many units in math, in science, in languages. Without the right assortment of credits, you're going to have trouble getting into college. And so we're not allowed to learn what *we* want to learn. What I want, for example, is just a basic background in science and a great deal more time to write and to study how different writers have handled all sorts of problems. I can't do it. There's no room in the schools for individual needs. And they give you so much work to do at home, you have no time to explore what interests *you* outside of school. We're all locked in, locked into the same set of building blocks from elementary school on."

The concept of education as a way to

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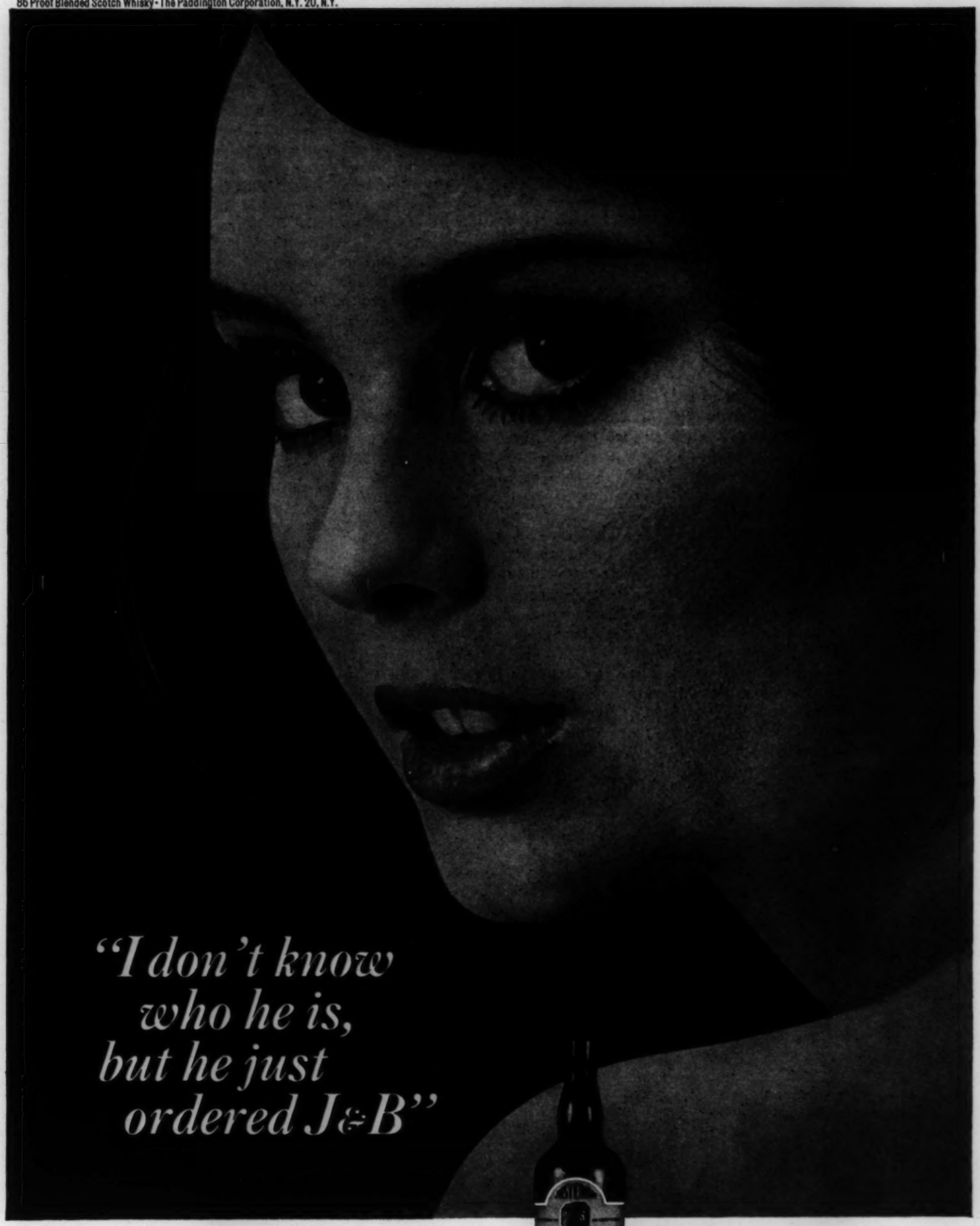

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individual growth, as a way to retain and build on the spontaneity of real interests and organic motivations, is alien to the schools. The "achievers" learn that success in school means playing back to the teachers what the teachers want to hear. In this circular game of manipulation, the free play of intelligence and individual initiative becomes dangerous, for it can lead to bad grades. A youngster who continually questions the worth of what he is being taught and the values of the society for which he is being shaped becomes a "problem." As John Holt says, "Teachers and schools tend to mistake good behavior for good character."

Recently, through the International Teacher Development Program, over 600 teachers from a number of countries visited classrooms throughout the United States. Most were saddened by what they saw. "You will find," observed a teacher from Chile, "that the examination questions that determine success or failure in American schools are chiefly those for which answers can be memorized. Hence, they test training, not thinking. The trained person depends upon others for his instruction. The great goal of the school should be to produce the independent learner." And an appalled teacher from Japan observed: "Students raised their hands and asked questions industriously. But somehow they seemed to be driven from lesson to lesson, having only minutes between periods. Why this hurriedness?"

A 17-year-old girl in Boston echoes the question: "Just why is everything being made to go faster and faster? You have to have the new math bit by the time you're five. That's funny. And this great shift to stuffing people with education early, so that by the time you get to college you see this world as a big, vast *textbook*!"

The pressures begin in grade school. A teacher in the Abington Township School in Pennsylvania, where the parent body consists mainly of the striving upper middle class, tells of an eight-year-old who received an M (for medium) on an assignment. The boy came to her, held out his paper, his hands trembling, and asked, "Does this mean I won't get into medical school?"

The teacher spoke to the boy's parents. "You have a charming, bright child. Don't push him." The parents, however, are convinced that education is nothing if it does not push. "Our two older children," the mother said, "are high achievers, and we're moving into a better neighborhood with a better school. Therefore, he must be prepared. Besides, we do have to think about college."

An extreme example? Perhaps. But there is no denying the intensity of the pressures that have been spiraling in the country's classrooms. Get with it or you'll be sidetracked. And so the young are continually tested, grouped, evaluated—not according to their individual bents and strengths but through standardized measurements. Look, say the parents and guidance counselors: In 1965 alone, more than 100,000 *qualified* students couldn't find any openings in any but the most arcane colleges. You have to be better and better and *better*! Remember, say the parents and guidance counselors, the difference between being 18th or 88th in your class can affect your whole *life*!

But what if you have different criteria for a successful life from the kind to which all that accumulation of credits will lead? An American mother writes to A. S. Neill, headmaster of the Summerhill School in England, that her 11-year-old daughter won't do her homework and is failing in school. "Shall I push her to study," the woman asks, "or shall I let her fail?" "Woman, you *cannot* push her," Neill begins in his new book, *Freedom—Not License!* "She already knows the consequences and has made her choice. Your child is alive and shows a healthy criticism of the system by refusing to take part in it. How can you as an individual remedy a situation in which your daughter is the victim of a barbarous system? What good did homework ever do anyone? Home study—forced on a child—is *dead* study. Such forced study wrenches the child away from her play hours. Homework is resented because it has no true place in your daughter's sense of living. It occurs to me: Maybe your daughter is not much of a scholar. Maybe her natural interests do not gravitate toward study. Must you force your values and ambitions on her? Far better for her to be a happy human being without a college degree than an unhappy, neurotic girl fighting her inner drives and armed with a college diploma."

The advice is far too subversive of prevalent values for all but a few parents to accept. And, more tragically, most of the young have already been so deadened by the educational system that they see failure as the only alternative to "making it" in the established middle-class way. A high school senior in Lexington, Massachusetts, is stiff with fear the night before she is to take the crucial college boards: "Everything is on the line tomorrow. You determine your next four years. And perhaps your whole future. And all this is determined in a lot of impersonal questions. This supposedly is the sum total of 12 years of being a person, of being involved in activities with teachers and with other people. You're judged by one test." In Texas, a 17-year-old tells a reporter surveying the young for *Newsweek*: "I flunked the college-entrance exams and I don't have any money, so I've had it."

As if one can learn only in school. As if there are no meaningful experiences for the young except in school. As if all vocations but those requiring academic training have by fiat been made of lesser value. As if one could not go back to a school when one *wanted* to. Having been trained not to think but to respond in predetermined ways, too many of the young are unable to recognize alternatives to breaking out of the lock step that is American education. And so, youth, which should be a time of wide-ranging curiosity, joy in discovery and a reaching

"Sissy!"

out to experience, becomes a time of fear. "Even in the kindest and gentlest of schools," John Holt writes, "children are afraid, many of them a great deal of the time, some of them almost all the time . . . afraid of failing, afraid of being kept back, afraid of being called stupid, afraid of feeling themselves stupid." If you think Holt exaggerates, consider how many adults return in their nightmares to fantasies of failure in school.

And with fear comes cheating as an additional preparation for the "real world." A Columbia University study of 99 colleges found that half the students in the sample had cheated. Estimates of high school cheating run considerably higher. Why? "Cheating increases," notes Gladys Gardner Jenkins of the University of Iowa, "in proportion to the emphasis put upon a goal beyond the reach of many children who compete *not* because of a personal desire and motivation but because of a situation from which there is no escape."

That feeling of there being no escape, the height of the walls around the ghetto of American youth, was made painfully vivid in a letter in November 1964 to *The New York Times Magazine* by a bright student in a New York high school with an extraordinary record of "success" in placing high percentages of its graduates in prestigious colleges. A cry of despair, it reveals how mercilessly —though impersonally—youth can be crushed. With classes from 8:15 to 3 and study hall or activities until 5:30, this girl worked on homework after dinner every night until midnight or 12:30. She had, of course, been told that the purpose of this regimen is "preparation." And she mourns:

> I'm wasting these years of preparation. I'm not learning what I want to learn. . . . I don't care about the feudal system. I want to know about life. I want to think and read. When? . . .
>
> My life is a whirlpool. I'm caught up in it, but I'm not conscious of it. I'm what *you* call living, but somehow I can't find life. Days go by in an instant. I feel nothing accomplished in that instant. So maybe I got an A on that composition I worked on for three hours, but when I get it back I find it means nothing. It's a letter *you* use to keep me going.
>
> Every day I come in well prepared. Yet I dread every class; my stomach tightens and I sit tense. I drink coffee morning, noon and night. At night, after my homework, I lie in bed and wonder if I've really done it all. Is there something I've forgotten?
>
> . . . I wonder what I'm doing here. I feel phony. . . . You wonder about juvenile delinquents. If I ever

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become one, I'll tell you why it will be. I feel cramped. I feel like I'm locked in a coffin and can't move or breathe. There's no air or light. All I see is blackness and I've got to burst. Sometimes I feel maybe something will come along. Something has to or I'm not worth anything. My life is worth nothing. It's enclosed in a few buildings. . . . It goes no further. I've got to bust.

And in their coffins, they are transported to college. There the testing and the evaluating is even more onerous and incessant, for there aren't enough places in the "better" graduate schools and everyone now knows that a mere B.A. or B.S. is not enough for the "best" careers. Last year, the Yale graduate department of English had 529 applications but places for only 45 students. In economics, there were more than ten applicants for every opening. In the course of a year, as many as 30 people with Woodrow Wilson fellowships are turned down. The same compression exists in practically all of the more renowned graduate schools.

The undergraduate, therefore, pressing to be as close as he can to the top of his class, still has no time for what interests *him*. As Nevitt Sanford and Dr. Joseph Katz of Stanford's Institute for the Study of Human Problems point out: "The indications are that increased work demands, competitiveness and a resultant pervasive guilt when one is not occupied with studying have also considerably diminished the opportunities for forming friendships with other students, at least the kind of deep and meaningful friendships that require time and freedom from psychological encumbrance in order to grow."

Later, in the graduate schools, says John Perry Miller, dean of Yale University's graduate school, "the pressure is already worse than in the undergraduate colleges."

Accordingly, some college students do, indeed, burst. Wrote a coed in the Wisconsin *Daily Cardinal*: "My parents hounded me about grades to the point where I spent more time worrying than studying. The idea of failure was the worst thing in the world that could happen. There was no chance to begin over; if you failed the first time, that was it. By the time exams came, I was a nervous wreck. I went home before exams for the weekend. Then it happened, the worst it had ever been. Then came 75 sleeping pills, 125 aspirins and a razor blade."

And for some the burst is final. In an exhaustive study, *Moderator*, a magazine aimed at leading college students, disclosed in October 1966 that the national suicide rate among students is 50 percent higher than for Americans in general. It estimated that during the year, 90,000 students would threaten suicide, 9000 would make an attempt and 1000 would succeed. That last figure was called conservative by Dr. Edward Schneidman, codirector of the Los Angeles Suicide Prevention Center.

But the vast majority of students do move on—and out into the adult world. The majority, having wasted their chance to find out who they are in adolescence, are now sufficiently numbed to function as docile members of the society. Paul Goodman has described this educational "treatment" succinctly: "The scholastically bright are not following their aspirations but are being pressured and bribed; the majority—those who are not especially bright but have other kinds of vitality—are being subdued. . . . Few look toward vocations that will peculiarly fulfill them. Few really believe that they will have a say in their jobs or in how their city is run, any more than they have had in how they grow up."

There are those who resist the treatment. Not all high school dropouts, for example, have necessarily made the wrong choice—for *themselves*. Dr. Joseph L. French of Pennsylvania State University has studied a sample of the 7.8 percent of all school dropouts in Pennsylvania with I. Q.s of 110 or better. The results, as reported in the *Roosevelt Torch* of Roosevelt University in Chicago, indicated that "compared with those who remain in school, the intellectual dropouts were by nature less inhibited and more happy-go-lucky. They were also more independent, unconventional and rebellious. Their homes had been more permissive and less protected." The vocational interests of the dropouts, French found, tended toward "mechanical activities—machine operation and design, or home repair of machinery and electronic gadgets." In view of those interests, only 22 percent of the male dropouts "anticipated a professional career as opposed to a trade, while the figure for [those who stayed in school] stood at 60 percent." Interestingly, however, 90 percent of the dropouts said they were interested in eventually furthering their education. They had refused to be conned into believing that moving out of the lock step meant that education had to be at an end for them. Therefore, those who do return to school are likely to go back when they *want* to and to study what really interests them.

And the number of college dropouts is increasing. The consensus of many of the contributors to the new book *The College Dropout and the Utilization of Talent* is that it is not at all essential and often not advisable that a student spend four consecutive years in college. Today's student life, the book points out, is characterized by "increased unrest and subsequent mobility among academically sound undergraduate students. Some go to Europe for a year of study and/or travel, others into the Peace Corps and still others to an entirely different type of college to gain varied experience." And more and more of these college dropouts report that this break in the pattern has been of great value in allowing them to discover themselves. Some also discover that there is no *personal* need for them to return to college. But to drop out positively, not in self-judgment as a failure, requires students who have not been entirely subdued by the system, and they are not by any means in the majority.

New recruits to the intensely private life are coming from those of the young who were once involved in civil rights activity and in other hopes for changing society. The rise of the Black Power ethos in groups such as SNCC and CORE makes a growing number of white former activists feel there is no longer any place for them in the front lines of the Movement. Others are convinced that, in any case, nothing can really be changed. An 18-year-old from New York says: "If I'm sitting here and know that what my Government is doing may bring the bombs down on me, what can I do except get high or get in bed with somebody? When the British were coming, I could have gotten out my gun and helped fight. The UN? It's obsolete. It can't enforce anything. Some of my friends say, 'Protest!' Hell, those same guys have marched on Washington for peace two or three times. They were with thousands of people. What did they accomplish? Johnson just kept on escalating. So my friends say I'm afraid to protest, that I'm playing it safe. That's not it at all. I don't do anything because anything I'd do would be futile."

And so the increase in the use of consciousness-expanding drugs among the young continues. Dr. James Fox of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration's Bureau of Drug Abuse Control estimates that by now about one in every hundred college students has used LSD at one time or another. Marijuana is easily obtained at most major universities. At the University of California at Berkeley, more than half the student body has tried marijuana at least once, and perhaps a third has gone back for more. Nor are high school and junior high school students unfamiliar with hallucinogens. The incidence of their use among those that young is growing.

Parents and other adults are disturbed, appalled and grimly censorious of the young who have gotten off the world. They agitate and vote for restrictive laws and demand investigations of the schools, ignoring their own role in convincing these young to "turn on, tune in and drop out." Harvard psychiatrist Norman Zinberg says of the young drugtakers: "They don't trust life as it is. They look for something more beautiful, more real." More beautiful and real

than the lives of the adults they know. Than the lives of those in their 40s, let's say, whom New York reporter Jimmy Breslin has called "the young old men. . . . Every day, they are losing the world of the young girls and they try to hold onto it with their eyes and their one-line jokes and every day they are losing. Every day that they go home and eat and fall asleep in front of the television and then get up in the morning and go to work on jobs they don't like. Every day that they spend going to a golf course as if it were a church, and polishing a car, and then going to a house party and talking about the same things that they talked of last week. . . . And the women, their bodies coming apart from having too many children, talking with the first old-lady stories of operations coming into the conversation."

These are the fading adults who illustrate Eric Hoffer's threnody: "In this country we are warned not to waste our time, but we are brought up to waste our lives." And these are the adults who look at the young with envy and barely suppressed sighs of self-pity at the waste of their own years. But they cannot fundamentally concede that waste and therefore must condemn "deviant" behavior and try to "straighten out" those of their children who won't take the prescribed routes to death on the installment plan. They send them to psychiatrists, they cut off their allowances, but they cannot talk to them—for what have they to say?

It is the increasingly free-and-easy sexuality among some of the young that especially torments adults. For American adults have been brought up on the Puritan ethic. Pleasure is suspect. Pleasure has to be earned. Pleasure has to be postponed. And so pleasure—in its most intense, releasing forms—is often postponed until death. Imagine the stab of loss at breakfast tables and on commuter trains the morning last December on which the wire services carried—and newspapers prominently displayed—the view of a 19-year-old University of Minnesota coed that "Sexual intercourse is a form of communication between two people, which, because of available contraceptive pills, should be no more regulated than any other form of communication, such as conversing, dancing and holding hands." What is the world coming to? But they'll learn, they'll learn. They'll get married and they'll learn. And probably many of the now sexually liberated young *will* slide into habit in sex as in all else. But it may be that today's adolescents' one permanent legacy to their own young is the shattering of unnatural and anachronistic barriers to sex, at least before marriage. For the premium on virginity is becoming obsolete; and on many campuses, living together is simply part of the scene.

• • •

There is persistent ferment among a minority of the young to change the ways in which they are being educated —from within the system and by setting up parallel institutions out of the system's control. With regard to the latter, students, sometimes with faculty help, have set up their own "free universities" and "experimental colleges" on at least a dozen campuses from Cornell to San Francisco State College. There the students themselves decide the courses to be given, which are then taught by student specialists or by professors drawn to the heady prospect of a totally *voluntary* learning situation. A year ago, the Student Congress of Boston University inaugurated a series of nongraded courses —the Experimental Seminar Program— "to counter the impersonal atmosphere of the larger lecture classes at Boston University." There are seminars in "Eros and Civilization," "Jazz," "War on Poverty: War or Sellout," "The New Morality: Sexual Freedom" and "Black Power."

The faculty members who participate in these parallel schools are those rare adults who understand that education should not be a passive process, that people should not *be* educated but ought to educate themselves, with the teacher as a catalyst. John Clayton, for example, an assistant professor of humanities at Boston University, who delivered lectures on Saul Bellow in the Experimental Seminar Program, writes in the *Boston University News*: "Ideas are not abstractions but experiences; they must be carried alive into the heart; they should be richly loaded with values; they should lead to action—either social or personal. I remember a couple of years ago teaching Thoreau's *Walden*. I quoted the passage criticizing university education, laughing at the irony that even this idea students had to write in their notebooks. I said, if you believe what Thoreau says, what are you doing here? So one student—John Kaplan—got up and walked out! Joy! Like the Baal-Shem-Tov, he was in the truth, not just in possession of the truth.

"The teacher's main job," Clayton continues, "is to draw the student into living communication and thought. The job is to shatter the existing knowledge structures in the student so he can form new structures that will let new data in. The job is to open him up. It's to let him relate new ideas to his old values. The job is to blow his mind. Freshmen need to study alienation in America or to study problems of identity in Boston. If sociological tools are needed, if economic concepts are needed, introduce them. But don't make a student go through years of digested, analytical, disciplinary structure before he finds out why. We need courses that involve the student's life at home, in the dormitory, at work. We live in Boston."

It may be that the existence of such experiments as Boston University's experimental courses may draw more such men as Clayton into teaching. And some of the professors of the future may come from the young in this academic underground. Already, pressures from the young have begun to elasticize, to a small extent, the courses and the way they're conducted in some schools. *Moderator* reports as illustrations: "A psychology course at the University of Michigan gives course credit for one third of the time students spend working in a community tutorial program, mental hospital or social-service project. . . . Next year at Western Michigan University, students will be able to receive academic credit for work overseas in the Peace Corps."

And while there are still only a very few colleges—Sarah Lawrence, Goddard, Bennington—that have liberated their students and teachers from grades, a growing number of colleges and universities are permitting students to take courses in which the only grade they will be given is "pass" or "fail." Thereby, time and spirit will not be wasted on regurgitation under the name of examinations and on worry as to whether taking a course outside your field may lower your averages. Deep down in the system, at the beginning of the compression process —the elementary school—there are beginnings of nongraded classes and of discovering what the *child* wants to know. But from elementary school to college, these are only beginnings. The system is too deeply rooted in its rigidity and in the undeviating length of its tracks to be radically changed soon.

But at the colleges and universities, some of the young still try to have a voice in how they are educated. Student pressure at Stanford caused the resignation of an unpopular dean of women and the inclusion of students on faculty committees concerned with curriculum and admissions. At City College in New York, sit-ins and other tactics are being used to force the administration to give students a share in policy making. At the University of Michigan, students have won national support, including that of the American Civil Liberties Union, in their persistent campaign to get the university to stop cooperating with state and Congressional investigations of allegedly "subversive" organizations. In the process, the students—as had happened at the University of California during the height of the Free Speech Movement—awakened some of the faculty. They were soon joined in their protest by 700 faculty members. Also at that university, a student referendum last November disclosed overwhelming opposition to the administration's compiling of class standards to be used by the Selective Service System in deciding draft deferments. The National Student

Association has called for similar referendums at its 331 member schools; and at its annual meeting last August, the NSA also proposed abolishing the peacetime draft. Asserting that "no government should be allowed the power to compel its citizens to kill," the delegates asked that even in wartime, those drafted should be given choices of alternative service in hospitals, conservation or other nonviolent activities. That same meeting called for the repeal of laws banning the sale of marijuana.

A remarkable example of the questioning of "official" adult values that can be set in turbulent motion by a candid, committed and unafraid group of students is the rebellion at Boston University led by Ray Mungo, his staff and such colleagues as Julian Houston, president of the Student Congress. A relentless campaign by the *Boston University News* to abolish the R. O. T. C. on campus, for instance, has helped spur similar movements at Ohio Wesleyan, Cornell, Duke, Harvard and other schools. Its raising of the issue also provoked a controversy as to whether the R. O. T. C. has the right to continue to receive academic standing and official curricular recognition. The *News* has also called for noncooperation with the draft, for the end of grades and for sexual freedom. ("Because the matter is entirely personal, we believe the student should be free to practice his own approach to sexual discovery and wonder without the prurient shadow that the administration throws over him, in the form of unyielding parietal rules. But, far more important, we believe the university has rejected its responsibility to provide information and advice regarding birth control to students who often do themselves tragic harm for lack of sound, available consultation.")

Mungo and his associates have created a ferment of ideas and self-questioning in what used to be a placid, conformist school with a largely moribund faculty. Mungo has, of course, been attacked by the adult community—in Boston's newspapers, from pulpits in the city's largest churches, by former United States Senator Leverett Saltonstall and by the university's Board of Trustees. But he thrives on his attempt to make BU a place where "real persons" can learn and teach, because he is experiencing that rare joy of, as the Quakers say, speaking truth to power. And he is trying to spread that joy by advocating a national union for students—"a union providing an autonomous power group on and off campus, capable of collective power and, ideally, force." The concept of a union, he continues, "is particularly applicable because students are at last demanding their rights here and elsewhere; because they have learned that Federal aid to education is meager compared with war budgets; because they pay immense sums for their education, and thus they remain physically tied to parents (when they deserve, as most European nations have long ago recognized, to be educated at national expense); and because their training in submission to university authorities is specifically intended to prepare them for lives of submission—to employers, to governments, to fear."

"We hope you won't forget us, Mr. Pettebone, after you've danced your way to a new life of popularity and social success."

There are other signs, it is claimed, that the values of the young may be changing. Michael Harrington writes: "In 1964, *The Wall Street Journal* reported that 14 percent of Harvard's senior class entered business, as contrasted with 39 percent in 1960. In 1966, the Harris Poll surveyed college seniors for *Newsweek* and found that this trend was deepening. Only 12 percent of the sample were looking forward to business careers." Where do they go? Into research, the professions, academic life. Education, for instance, is now a 60-billion-dollar business in the United States. Is there sufficient reason, however, to believe that a rejection of business as a vocation also involves a rejection of present societal values? Will those in research refuse to work on projects of destruction? Will those in the professions be any less addicted to self-interest, any more critical of political and economic power blocs, than their elders are?

And will those who go into education be significantly different from the present educational establishment? Will their effect on the young to come be significantly different from that described by Carl Davidson, vice-president of Students for a Democratic Society? "We have named the system in this country," he wrote in SDS' *New Left Notes*, "corporate liberalism, and if we bother to look, its penetration into the campus community is awesome. Its elite is trained in our colleges of business administration. Its defenders are trained in our law schools. Its apologists can be found in the political-science departments. The colleges of social sciences produce its manipulators. For propagandists, it relies on the schools of journalism. It insures its own future growth in the colleges of education. If some of us don't quite fit in, we are brainwashed in the divisions of counseling."

There are as yet insufficient grounds for optimism in the fact that more and more graduates are turning away from business as a career. The system, as Davidson points out, is extremely efficient in manufacturing its defenders in other vocations as well. Similarly, the optimism of some interpreters of demographic charts is questionable. They note that currently half the population of the United States is under 25, and the proportion below 25 is steadily rising. By 1968, the average age of the American voter will be 27. Historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., predicts that by the end of the Sixties, alongside the fact that those in their 20s will constitute the biggest voting bloc in America, there will be 7,000,000 students in college. We will be a country of the young; and within that young, there will be a special-interest group, says Schlesinger, which "will formulate its demands and fight for them." But if most of those young, in and out of college, are already young-old

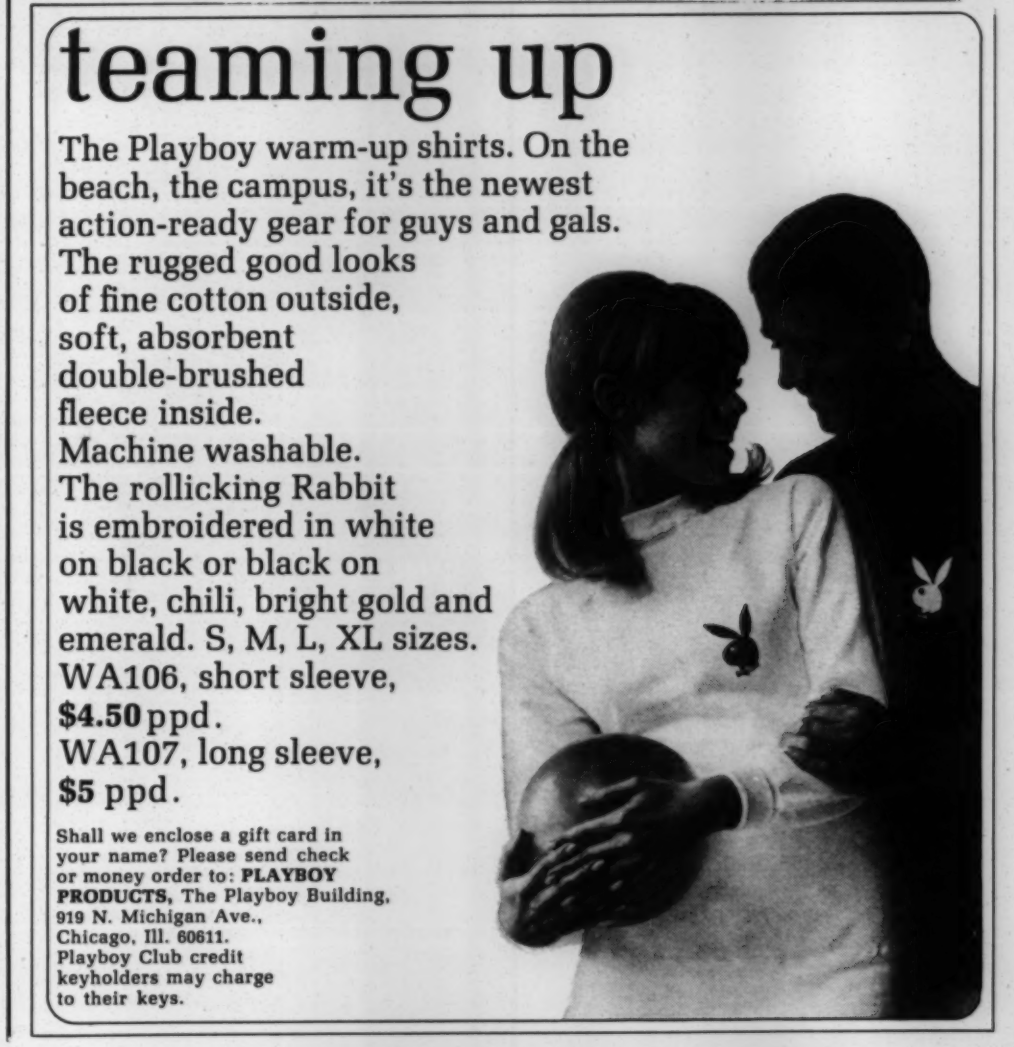
men, how far-reaching will their demands be? Placing American youth in a ghetto has, in the majority of cases, worked as intended. When they are ready to be released into the world, the values of the majority of them will be of the world as it is now.

And yet the dissenters persist. Some, such as Ray Mungo, persist in working and organizing for change. Others travel into their own minds. Both the outer-directed and the inner-directed dissenters believe they can hold out. Such as a 17-year-old girl from Boston who insists: "I could never join the mainstream of society now. If you've been made aware, then you can't suddenly bury yourself. So society is just going to have to accept us. Either that or this darned society is just going to collapse. You can't have a society full of unaware people."

She ignores the much more likely third choice—that society will neither collapse nor become en masse that much more "aware." However, even as efficiently dehumanizing a society as ours will be unable to force all in the vivid minority of today's young to adjust to what most adults call reality. If the best of the young do not prevail—and the odds are heavily against them—many will remain a conspicuous community of refusal to accept shallow or counterfeit lives. What will society do with them? It will try to ignore them while they, in turn, keep trying to discover and fulfill their potentiality in enclaves in the larger cities and in university towns.

A New Yorker in his early 20s who dropped out of college to work with CORE and then to engage in community organizing in Syracuse is now at the London School of Economics. On his Christmas card last year, he wrote a line from Henry Miller: "I believe because not to believe is to become as lead, to be prone and rigid, forever inert, and to waste away." He intends to come back to engage in further action for social change. He will probably be able to save himself from becoming as lead, as will Ray Mungo. They have avoided being pressed flat in the ghetto of American youth. But not many do. Not yet enough, anyway, to do much more than keep themselves alive and growing. This is a country of waste—from natural resources to armaments. But especially it is a country that wastes its young.

If that wastage is to be significantly reduced, it can be done only by the young themselves. Accordingly, today's young are sharply divided, as never before, between those who have already been processed and those who are resisting their ghetto status and corollary powerlessness. The latter recognize that they are in a fight for their lives—figuratively and, in view of the lessons of Vietnam, quite often literally.



MM

Metromedia, Inc., 3 East 54th Street, New York, New York 10022, 682-9100

OCT 9 1967

October 18, 1967

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York 10030

Dear Mr. McKissick,

Many thanks for your essay on American Society. It is excellent, timely and I am very grateful.

I have asked the Metromedia Accounting Department to issue an appropriate check.

Thanks again,

Sincerely,

John G. Kirk
Editor

JGK:ew

OK with 10/19/67

PS. Would you kindly send me a brief autobiography?

October 17, 1967

Mr. John G. Kirk, Editor
Metromedia, Inc.
3 East 54th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Kirk:

Enclosed herewith you will find the manuscript for the article written by Mr. McKissick for Metromedia, under the general heading "Society."

Please accept our sincere apologies for the lateness of the enclosed text.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
enc. (1) 12 page manuscript

Metromedia, Inc., 3 East 54th Street, New York, New York 10022, 682-9100

OCT 4 1967

October 3, 1967 OK for Fri - Oct 13

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York 10030

Dear Mr. McKissick,

This note will probably be totally unnecessary, but I just wanted to let you know that I am looking forward with whole-hearted pleasure to the essay you have agreed to contribute to the AMERICA NOW symposium.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

John G. Kirk
Editor

JGK:ew

this speeches core

November 14, 1967

Mr. James Eggert
Owen Graduage Hall E-255
East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Mr. Eggert:

Thank you for your letter of November 8, in response to a speech I delivered at Michigan State University, October 30.

In reply to your first question regarding the plans of Brooklyn CORE to establish a Black Community in the South, I have enclosed a copy of "A Black Manifesto -- CORE." I believe that it will answer your query.

In reply to your question regarding the value of teaching Swahili in public schools: It is not a matter of "forcing" children to learn this language. It is, however, a fact that our public education system has ignored Black History and Black Languages (i.e. Black Culture). We feel that it is important to give every youngster (Black and white) a chance to elect to learn an African language, just as they are given electives in European languages. The fact that Black Culture is not taught in our public schools is indicative of the racism which pervades American society.

Thank you for your interest. It is indeed encouraging to receive thoughtful questions from audiences to which I have spoken. Such questions are indicative of an ernest listener.

With very kind regards, I am

Yours very truly,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

FBMcK:ilh
enc. (1)

Wed. November 8th, 1967

Mr. Floyd McKissick
C.O.R.E. National Director
38 Park Row
Nre York, N.Y.

Sir;

I was very impressed with your speech on "black power" which you gave here at Michigan State University on Oct. 30th... so much so in fact, that I was inspired to write the enclosed letter. As you might infer, I am basically in agreement with C.O.R.E.'s position on black power. There are a couple of points, however, which have been bothering me...if you have time, I would appreciate your comments.

a) How do you differentiate the Brooklyn chapter's proposal on setting up a separatist state in the South (which you supported) with the racist apartheid politics of South Africa?

The establishment of isolated societies reminds me of Nehru's comment on the caste system "...we see the seeds of that exclusiveness and touch-me-notism which were to grow and grow till they became rigid, octopus-like, with their grip on everything.

b) Why force millions of Negro youth to learn Swahili? Do you know the language? ...well I do (from two years Peace Corps service in Kenya). For the most part, it is a spoken language... and really good Swahili literature is difficult to find. Whats worse from the "ideological" standpoint is that it is a language which facilitated Arab slave trade in East Africa. A good number of Kiswahili words were derived from Arabic. Finally, what are the chances that 1/10 of one percent of the Negros will ever get to E. Africa?...not very good! Its about as useless for you as Greek is for me.

In closing, I would like to thank you for coming here--hoping to hear from you soon, I remain...

Yours Faithfully,

James P. Eggert

(James Eggert)
Owen Graduage Hall E-255
East Lansing, Michigan

Copy

Nov. 8th, 1967

Editor
The New York Times
229 W. 43rd St.
New York, N.Y. 10036

Sir:

Most Americans know, deep down, that the civil strife that occured in the streets of our major cities this past summer was but a prelude to future racial violence on a scale no less than revolutionary. What Americans don't realize is that so far the riots have been primarily based on economic inequities, not racial antagonisms--the Black-White confrontations are yet to come.

The situation, so far, is not unlike the poor-rich class problems found in Latin America and other less developed countries. And, like these countries, a prerequisite for social and political stability, as eloquently enunciated by John Kennedy and written into the Charter of Punta del Este, is land reform...i.e. a massive transfer of land and property rights (apartment houses, small businesses etc.) within the ghetto to the inhabitants of the ghetto.

In many cases (particularly since the riots) there is an equal willingness of whites wanting to sell and blacks willing to buy and the only bottleneck being a lack of capital. In other cases the process of transfer will not be so simple.

The possibilities of ghetto "land reform" deserves careful study by both the government and civil rights organizations. Let us happily welcome black economic power before the black (and white) power of violent racism rears its ugly head.

Sincerely,

J.E.Eggert

(J.E.Eggert)
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

November 14, 1967

Metromedia, Inc.
205 East 67th Street
New York, New York 10021

Sirs:

It is not clear to us what is meant by employer number. We were unable to decide whether the term meant the social security number or the employee's number. Would you please clarify this matter for us.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Thank very truly,

Gwendolyn Cole
Secretary

/gc

File

OCT 23 1967

MMI

Metromedia, Inc., 205 East 67th Street, New York 21, New York, LEhigh 5-1000

Looking ahead to the filing of forms 1099 for the current year, we note that we do not have your employer number, as required to be reported by us to Internal Revenue.

Please fill in your employer number at the bottom of this letter and return to:

Metromedia, Inc.
205 East 67th Street
New York, New York 10021

Attention: C. M. Weber

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Le'Nora Jackson

METROMEDIA, INC.

EMPLOYER NO._____

January 11, 1968

Miss Nelson
Lawton-Johnson Travel Agency
2286 7th Avenue
New York, New York 10030

Dear Miss Nelson:

Please issue our office a check in the amount of $57.23 for this unused airline ticket for Mr. Callis Brown to Cleveland on January 12, 1968, to January 14, 1968.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Yours truly,

Priscilla Rigby (Miss)
Secretary to National Director

PR
Enc: (Airline Ticket)

from A. C. SPECTORSKY

Dear Mr. McKissick:

It is our pleasure to send you tearsheets from the August issue of PLAYBOY Magazine and call your attention to "THE UNDERGROUND PRESS" by Jacob Brackman.

We would be delighted to hear -- and would certainly value -- any comments you have concerning this article which we might use in our Letters to the Editor column.

Cordially,

A. C. Spectorsky

A. C. Spectorsky
Editorial Director

PLAYBOY / 919 n. michigan • chicago ill.

THE UNDERGROUND PRESS

article **By JACOB BRACKMAN**

NEWSPAPERS create and feed the illusions we live by. Instead of instructing us, instead of telling us what's wrong with the country, they stuff our vanity."

Poet Allan Katzman lifted one foot onto a desktop in his claustrophobic city room and stroked his beard reflectively. "The press is losing its power to report spontaneous events," he went on. "But it's gaining a new power—to *create* events; to turn news gathering into news *making*. The papers of pseudo events, news leaks and press releases offend no one; they take no moral stand. They are just . . . neutral. They furnish our boring and repetitive lives with boring and repetitive 'news.'"

Katzman is cofounder of a biweekly newspaper in Lower Manhattan called *The East Village Other*. The *Other* doesn't separate fact from opinion. Its journalism is unabashedly, militantly interpretive: pro pot, peace, sex, psychedelics and subversion; anti most of what remains in switched-off American society. Since 1964, some two dozen similar "underground" papers have sprung up across the country. A few died fast. The rest are now growing at an astonishing clip—to a collective circulation pushing 270,000 in three years, with no sign of slowing down.

Katzman's dismissal of the establishment press sounds mild next to the gripes of other underground proprietors. Their charges run from "bland" or "ignorant" all the way to "fascist," "hypocritical" and "brainwashery." Paul Krassner, head man at *The Realist*, talks about an "escalation of bullshit," and John Wilcock, nationally syndicated underground columnist, insists that "big-city dailies are a corrupt advertising medium; they've forfeited their right to be called newspapers."

"They've let the people down and they've lost the people's confidence," Wilcock says. Like his fellow workers, he believes the demands of modern capitalism have proved inimical to a free exchange of information and ideas. "Most papers—even the holy *Times*—are up to their necks in old money and official connections. Their job is to keep certain blocs and certain ideas in power. Like, they'll write about pot 'dope fiends' like the *Daily News* did 30 years ago. But pot's part of *your* scene . . . how can you believe a paper when you *know* it's feeding you lies?" From the vantage point of hip, the establishment media have only three reactions to a groovy scene: Ignore it, put it down or exploit it.

"So where can people who want to bust out of monolithic culture discover one another?" rhetorically asks Ed Sanders, editor of a subunderground magazine. "Assembly places and media are controlled by the creeps. Establishment papers are demented; like a diplomatic mission in a foreign country—you have to ass-kiss your way in. And who can they speak for? They've no idea what it means to live in a slum on the edge of a city. A paper and its audience need a living relationship, like an organism, a tree. And you can get that now, because cultural migrations are happening in the country and pockets of protesting people are filling up the vacuums. A cat from the Village, say, can plug into a similar underground in cities all over."

from berkeley to the east village,
the always uninhibited,
often outrageous,
sometimes unintelligible
anti-establishment newspapers
are spokesmen for the hippies

Ranting about the establishment press, underground spokesmen may well come on like A. J. Liebling might have after an acid freak trip. But their vision of a "new life out there," no longer able to stomach that old press, is undeniable. Hippies, anarchists, New Leftists, teeny boppers, artists, gypsies, groupies, pacifists, nihilists and heads—they comprise a new audience, eager to subscribe to a new journalistic product. Next to the mass readership (25,000,000 for *Reader's Digest*, 6,700,000 for *Life*, 2,000,000 for the New York *Daily News*), the underground seems a pitifully small, impotent phenomenon. Yet its press has taken root in a climate unhealthy for entrepreneurial journalism —more than 400 papers have folded in the last 20 years. And as a cultural fifth column pressing a covert war of infiltration, it may have something to say about the directions of mass society. Psychedelic drugs, disbelief in the Warren Commission, *nouveau* poster art, interracial sex, Happenings and militant protest were accepted aspects of the underground scene, after all, long before they received attention from Henry Luce.

The underground newspapers have not come into being to amplify establishment coverage. They wish to supply an antidote—a frontal assault on all morale boosting in conventional media. Thus, a full-page *East Village Other* cover photo recently grafted L. B. J.'s head onto the body of a Nazi storm trooper.

This sort of opening for a lead story is not unusual: *(continued on page 96)*

UNDERGROUND PRESS *(continued from page 83)*

> Sometime in March, in Paris, in a courtroom of the world, the dead will speak; burned flesh will ooze upon the witness chair; the wounds of the tortured will reopen and missing fingers point as America the Beautiful stands accused of war crimes, and there is no one willing to defend her . . .

Ultraradical rhetoric, however, is but a portion of the underground staple. On the lighter side, *EVO* has run a regular housewifey column, "High on the Range" ("stimulating" recipes calling for marijuana or hash); a reader correspondence section called "tripstripstrips" (a psychedelic show and tell); Timothy Leary's column, "Turn On/Tune In/Drop Out" (Norman Vincent Peale to the generation of mutants); irregular cartoon strips (such as *Sunshine Girl*); "Where It's At" (the hipster's calendar of events); a photo feature dubbed "Slum Goddess" (a Poverty Playmate from the tenement next door); and some editorial rumblings, aptly entitled "Poor Paranoid's Almanac."

These are just the mainstays. Recent 20-odd-page issues have featured articles covering germ warfare in Vietnam, the antibrassiere movement, Cardinal ("Hawk") Spellman, the abortion circuit, an impeach-Johnson campaign, trepanation (drilling a hole in the cranium for "permanent turn-on"), a "desert call" to U. S. troops, mass skinny-dipping, apocalyptic tattooing and Nelson Rockefeller ("Pickpocket Robber Baron"), as well as occasional fiction and poetry. Also, the "Personal" columns of *EVO* reveal more of the life style of the underground than do the articles, whether offering lessons on the sitar or happily promiscuous sexual relationships.

A newspaper, finally, is a vision of the world. The young underground press is struggling to counter with its own vision —now loving, now wildly messianic, now passionate and venomous, now withdrawn in disgust—against what it claims to be the repressive, monolithic vision of the "establishment blats." Most often, the new rebel papers might be writing about another planet altogether. Where the establishment press has L. B. J., Romney, Reagan and Bobby Kennedy, the underground papers have Staughton Lynd, Mario Savio, Tom Hayden and Louis Abolafia. The establishment makes folk heroes of Bob Hope, Natalie Wood, Sinatra, Twiggy, Jackie, the Beatles, Doris Day, Pat Boone, Truman Capote and Johnny Carson. The underground does the same of Ken Kesey, the Grateful Dead, USCO, Madalyn Murray, William Burroughs, Albert Ellis, Alan Watts, Meher Baba, Che Guevara, Ravi Shankar and the Kuchar brothers. The establishment is haunted by the ghosts of Lincoln, Jefferson, John Kennedy, Churchill, Pope John and Eleanor Roosevelt; the underground, by the ghosts of Jesus, Aldous Huxley, Lenny Bruce, Charlie Parker, Malcolm X and A. J. Muste. E.P. critics write political analyses of literature. U.P. pundits pour out literary analyses of politicians. Establishment papers go to weddings, banquets, Broadway shows and testimonials; underground papers, to acid tests, love-ins, light works and free-beaching. The E.P. spies on Liz and Dick, Pat and Luci; the U.P., on Mick Jagger and Marianne Faithfull, Ginsberg and Orlovsky. The E.P. learns from Dr. Spock, Admiral Rickover, John W. Gardner; the U.P., from Wilhelm Reich, A. S. Neill and Maria Montessori. The establishment battles narcotics, homosexuals, subversives, free love and extremism, and fosters Medicare, the Peace Corps and the transit authorities. The underground battles HUAC, the Pentagon, the CIA, corporations, university administrations, and seeks legalization of abortion, marijuana and miscegenation. Every now and then, the *San Francisco Examiner*, say, and the two-year-old *Berkeley Barb* cover the same story. The *Examiner* says "bearded leftists"; the *Barb* says "dissident elements." The *Examiner* says "a local right-wing organization"; the *Barb* says "a local hate group." The *Examiner* says "the civil rights situation in Oakland"; the *Barb* says "brutality and segregation in Oakland." The *Examiner* says "protest march"; the *Barb* says "pilgrimage." The *Examiner* says "riot"; the *Barb* says "confrontation." The *Examiner* says "police officers re-established order"; the *Barb* says "fuzz suppressed."

• • •

One spring in Eisenhower America, just halfway through the torpor of the 1950s, Norman Mailer helped launch a weekly newspaper in New York City, which he named *The Village Voice*. From Dan Wolf (still editor) came the idea for the paper; from Ed Fancher (still publisher) came most of the initial capital; and from Mailer—not a little disheartened at the critical attacks on his third published novel—came some fitful work around the newsroom and—in the fourth month of the *Voice*'s infancy—a column, filled with his special brand of brave, tormented narcissism.

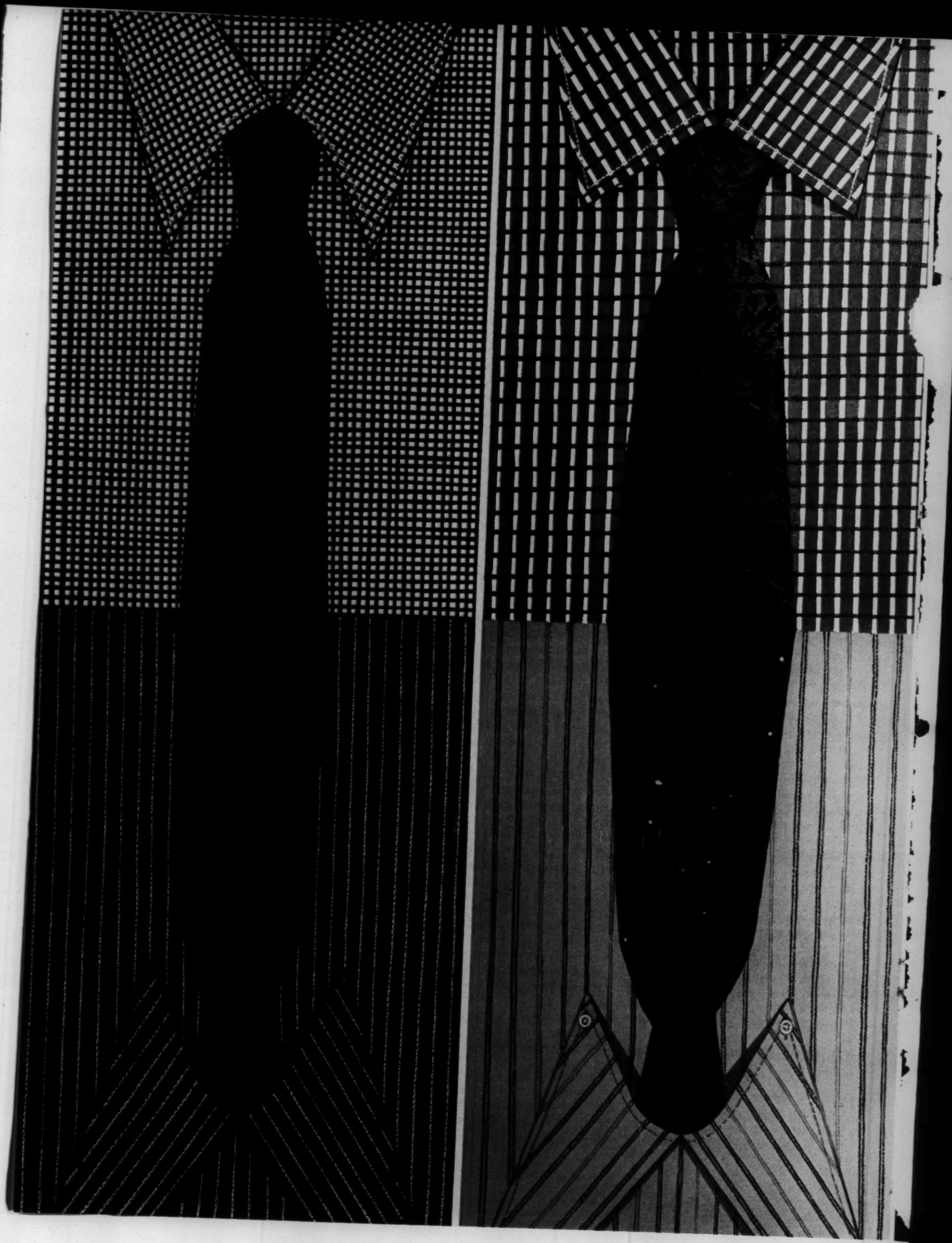
"At heart, I wanted a war," Mailer mused later, "and the Village was already glimpsed as the field for battle." His guerrilla attacks on the "tight sphincter" of the Village community lasted through 18 issues. When he began, the *Voice*, almost unknown, was losing a thousand dollars a week. It took the paper eight years to climb out of the red. But when Mailer quit, complaining to readers of "grievous errors" in the setting of his prose, it was already a conversation piece throughout the city.

Mailer admitted even then that the friction between himself and the editors ran deeper than typography. Some years later, he wrote of their clashing dreams for the paper: "They wanted it to be successful; I wanted it to be outrageous. They wanted a newspaper that could satisfy the conservative community—church news, meeting of political organizations, so forth. I believed we could grow only if we tried to reach an audience in which no newspaper had yet been interested. I had the feeling of an underground revolution on its way, and I do not know that I was wrong."

From this early dialectic of editorial hip and square emerged an inevitable compromise: an inveterately liberal, often courageous, occasionally capricious journal, not yet hipster, not yet radical, not yet reaching out into the caves on the edge of the city, but stoutly declining the "snow jobs" of the establishment press. Mailer's success formula (the defiant rejection of all success formulas) was outvoted. It was, as ever, the sad destiny of his intelligence to be ready for revolution before the troops were ready; and it is doubtful that the hip paper he envisioned could have survived as handsomely as did the *Voice*. His premonition of underground stirring, however, was far from mistaken.

The *Voice* grew and by its side, if never quite encompassed by it, hip grew. Then, in the mid-Fifties, repelled by the vacuous complacency of Ike society, the folklore of Beat spread over the highways, along the rails, from New York, through Mexico, to San Francisco and back East across the campuses. Kerouac and Ginsberg were its prophets and Madison Avenue provided free promotion. As yet, the communities of dissent were insufficient to support an actual newspaper. But underground publications, some mimeographed almost on the run, a few persisting staunchly into the Sixties, began to spring up in large cities: *Combustion* in Toronto (perhaps the first high-class, large-scale mimeo network), *Beatitude* in San Francisco, *Magazine, My Own Magazine, C, Mother, Entrails, Intercourse*. In the past 15 years, many hundreds—no one knows precisely how many—of different fringe publications have been privately distributed, sold over the counter at disreputable bookstores or hawked on the streets of New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Detroit, Montreal and Toronto. While the *Voice* constructed its civilizing bridge between the most

(continued on page 151)



UNDERGROUND PRESS *(continued from page 96)*

gifted of the underground and the establishment's legitimate frontier, the mimeographed magazines supplied the meat to the caves. Leaning heavily toward unrevised poetry, sex (especially homosexuality and fetishism), scatology, mysticism and exhibitionism, they printed stuff that would turn most *Voice* readers bluish green. The legitimate frontier never read them; the establishment never heard of them.

Then, in 1958, a 26-year-old flop comedian named Paul Krassner founded *The Realist*, a hippie-dippie urban marriage of *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, *Confidential* and *Mad*. Almost from the beginning, the Magazine of Irreverence, Applied Paranoia, Rural Naïveté, Neuter Gender, Criminal Negligence, Egghead Junkies (Krassner kept changing his mind on the masthead) abounded in wit and style. Krassner demonstrated that literacy was not tantamount to squareness. "*The Realist*," commented one New York writer with considerable glee, "is the *Village Voice* with its fly open."

The magazine had its predecessors, of course, a sort of eternal political underground: Lyle Stuart's ongoing *The Independent*, with 15,000 monthly subscribers, forever lambasting censorship and the Church; George Seldes' *In Fact*, attacking establishment politics and its press; M. S. Arnoni's *Minority of One*; and half a dozen other serious, independent journals of dissent. Similarly, another half-dozen more lighthearted sheets made appearances around the country: Victor Navasky's *Monocle*, in the late Fifties (which continues to publish sporadic special issues); a West Coast paper called *The Idiot*; *Aardvark* out of Chicago; and a self-proclaimed debunker named *Horseshit*, published by California's "Scum Press."

But Krassner, once he shed a disproportionate anticlericalism, covered the total scene. No subject—spouse swapping, abortion, famous junkies, Walter Jenkins, Stevenson's "assassination," Luci's wedding night, J. F. K.'s "body snatchers" or his "first wife"—was too hot for him. And no one had given the press as hard a time since Liebling. He was dissident, abstract, topical, personal, scatological, crusading, hip and funny all at once. He persuaded you on one page and put you on in the next. He refused to be restricted, he refused to be predicted, he refused advertising and, with it, most of America's social mythology. Circulation rose from 600 to 150,000 —and Krassner estimates his current readership at a quarter of a million.

Yet if the underground had found an iconoclastic voice, *The Realist* was no newspaper. Perhaps the times were still not sufficiently ripe for the ballsy press that Mailer had envisioned a few years earlier; perhaps the community of hip had not yet so solidified as to sustain a real journalism of its own.

But as the country rounded the corner of the Sixties, she seemed to imbibe some rejuvenating potion. Suddenly, spiritual senility was out and even the hucksters were thinking young again. With Eisenhower's exit from the international scene, the great leaders—Mao, Chiang, Khrushchev, Franco, De Gaulle, Adenauer and Macmillan—were confronted with an American entry some 30 years their junior; and, a bit to the south, a bearded hell-raiser, Fidel Castro, became another symbol of the new youth. On the home front, it wasn't long before the scruffy underbelly of the Pepsi generation let forth some embarrassing growls. Sahl, Bruce, Gregory, Rickles and others helped Krassner bury the notion that there were still cows too sacred for roasting. Beat, a trifle weary of the open road, settled into urban coffeehouses and campus common rooms for marathon talk. As rallying places were found, young dissidents began to discover one another and the concerns that united them.

Kerouac faded off to Long Island and Florida; Ginsberg went abroad for a time—to India and eastern Europe; others of their ranks turned paunchy with success or failure. The old underground of Eisenhower America yielded to a series of new coalescent movements. Female contraception—widespread precocious use of diaphragms and, more dramatically, the pill—did more to actualize a moral and sexual revolution than had endless libertine talk. The suburbs scarcely finished clucking over the college sex scandals of the early Sixties before the college drug scandals made headlines. No sooner was marijuana ubiquitous on large campuses than psychedelics mushroomed, and undergraduates could get hold of treated sugar cubes as easily as pot. Jazz—the cool and bitter background to beat conversation —gave way to a frenetic, funky, exultant sound, ultimately to a visceral marriage of folk and rock. Improvisational communal dancing declared open war on decorum and inhibition.

But youth would not be bought off with the freedom to fornicate, bugaloo and get high. The Berkeley uprising, analyzed to distraction in print, reputable and otherwise, demonstrated that an organized youth underground could win impressive support and shake up conventional institutions if not blast them to pieces. More openly now, disaffiliates shot society the finger; militants mobilized for action. As the old peace movement flickered with the atomic-testing ban and Kennedy's ostensible triumph in the Cuban missile crisis, its remains enlisted in the cause of civil rights. The marches, the sit-ins, the Mississippi project helped undermine the assumption that long-stagnant conditions could not be changed. As SNCC and CORE accelerated their campaigns in the South, SDS launched community organization projects in Roxbury, Newark, the District of Columbia, Oakland, Chicago and Cleveland. The poverty program stirred potential ghetto leadership to a consciousness of fraud and deprivation. In the face of rampant domestic rot, the escalating Vietnamese war became a double outrage. Rarely had the tranquilizing words of the establishment seemed so foreign to its deeds, and the growing community of hip developed a deep cynicism.

Whether asocial or passionately social in his vision, the hipster came to resent what he regarded as mass culture's attempts to trick him in every sphere. Holden Caulfield, an emblem of sensitive youth in the Eisenhower years, experienced dismay at well-intentioned "phonies." But Holden never realized how dangerous the phonies could become. The new generation emerged with an obsessive wariness, a loathing of hypocrisy.

Given a new youth, a new bohemia, a new iconoclastic humor, a new sexuality, a new sound, a new turn-on, a new abolitionism, a new left, a new hope and a new cynicism, a new press was inevitable.

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Meanwhile, a few of "the littles," which used to steer wide of politics and sociology altogether, started editorializing. *The Floating Bear*, a semimonthly sheet edited by LeRoi Jones and Diane Di Prima, called itself a newsletter and printed some reviews and comment to back up its experimental poets. Ed Sanders' *Fuck You / A Magazine of the Arts* declared itself dedicated to—among other things—"pacifism, national defense through nonviolent resistance, unilateral disarmament, multilateral indiscriminate apertural conjugation, anarchism, world federalism, civil disobedience, obstructors and submarine boarders, peace eye, the gleaming crotch lake of the universe, the witness of the flaming ra-cock . . . mystical bands of peace-walk stompers, total-assault guerrilla ejaculators, the Lower East Side *meshuganas*, vaginal zapping, the LSD communarium, God through cannabis, hashish forever, and all those groped by J. Edgar Hoover in the silent halls of Congress."

Sanders also penned occasional editorials, inverse parodies of the reasoned, moderate tones used in establishment papers. One, urging repeal of marijuana laws, called for "fringe attacks: pot-ins at Governmental headquarters, public forums and squawking, poster walks, hemp-farm disobedience. In New York: with a number too large and prestigious to ignore, a multithousand joint light-up

on the steps of city hall—FORWARD! THIS IS OPERATION GRASS!" Another political "position paper" began:

> It makes us puke green monkey shit to contemplate Johnson's war in Vietnam. Lyndon Baines is squirting the best blood of America into a creep scene. Kids are "gook-bricking" in Asia without thought, without reason, without law . . .

This editorial concluded with a call for "a demonstration of peace by tender fornicating love-bodies . . . a group screw zapped around the world." (A relatively new sheet, *Gargoyle*, has promised to print "what Ed Sanders rejects"; and back numbers of earlier Sanders editions are already premature collector's items, going for ten dollars a copy.)

If some of the mimeo mags oozed only occasionally into political territory, others planted their tents on that enemy ground. *Resurgence*, one of the farthest out, was established as the literary organ of the Resurgence Youth Movement ("a new anarchist movement based on the world revolution of youth and the birth of a new psychedelic Afrasian-American soul"). Founded in the summer of 1964, blatantly, hysterically subversive, *Resurgence* reads like the rantings of a soapbox poet-zealot:

> surrealysics : : pataphism : : panultraneo: :underdogma: :negativentropy: : Resurgence has not yet defined any limits. We may be three billion persons, we may be a negative universe reaching out across the void. . . . Revolution is the total destruction and creation of society. . . . All science and art is crap. We will not submit and we will not coexist.

The magazine envisions a planet on the very brink of apocalypse (the epithet "burnbabyburn" is etched here and there in its margins; grotesque dragons glower over its text). "Logic and metaphysics to the torch," it cries. "Turn our culture upside down and cut its head off. Go wild. Go naked." But there is some intelligence behind its mystical, venomous ravings, and to call its authors and audience "out of touch" would not serve any purpose. Their delusions are evident enough from the vantage point of the mainstream. But in London, members of the Industrial Workers of the World have joined with the Resurgence Youth Movement to start a similar magazine for revolution called *Heatwave*; in Amsterdam, anarchist publications are issued by *Provo*; in Brussels, by *Revo*. This fall, R.Y.M. began a new bulletin called *New Man*, to feature "regular columns and reports from the intergalactic struggle," which it plans to "build into a newspaper to reach tens of thousands of young people, students, workers, dropouts, all over the world."

What is the Provotariat? Provos, beatniks, *pleiners*, *nozems*, teddy boys, rockers, *blousons noirs*, hooligans, *mangupi*, *stiljagi*, students, artists, misfits, anarchists, ban the bombers . . . those who don't want a career and who lead irregular lives . . . THE PROVOTARIAT IS A GROUPING OF SUBVERSIVE ELEMENTS. . . . It exists in a society based on the cult of "getting on." The example of millions of elbow-bargers and unscrupulous go-getters can only serve to anger the Provotariat. We live in a monolithic sickly society in which the creative individual is the exception. Big bosses, capitalists, Communists impose on us, tell us what we should do, what we should consume. . . . They will make themselves more and more unpopular and the popular conscience will ripen for anarchy. . . . THE CRISIS WILL COME.

The "Provotariat," of course, lives in the throes of a sort of lunacy. So alienated from the cultural mainstream, so robbed of influence, the woolliest imagine themselves preparing the barricades for massive hostilities. But even those less trapped by the helpless fantasy of systemicide continue to believe, in the vaguest of terms, that America is destined to crumble by virtue of her own malignancy. They foresee some contemporary parallel to the fall of ancient Rome—the rise of African or Asian nations, perhaps, the isolation of the United States in a Communist world, a right-wing takeover followed by popular uprising, an inevitable erosion of corrupt institutions.

The apocalyptic delusion takes many forms: religious, moral, sociological, international, racial; all help sustain an underground that feels itself vilely repressed. Until two years ago, no newspaper had ever expressed such frustrations, or such dreams.

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By avoiding the peculiar preoccupations of the true underground, *The Village Voice*'s circulation rose from 20,000 to 75,000 in the past three years—with one quarter of its papers sold outside the metropolitan area. When the *Voice*, not even *bar mitzvahed* yet, dumps on Bobby Kennedy, his office phones up the next day. It is still decidedly a community newspaper—embroiled in local skirmishes for reform Democrats, schools, zoning laws—but it judged early in the game that Greenwich Village was not a community like any other. Rather, it billeted, in remarkably close quarters, much of the vanguard of American fashion, art, politics and theater and was, therefore, worthy of representation to the world "out there." Establishment papers sent reporters on forays into the world of the Village, of course, but they came as aliens, ogling the natives, scooping titillating items that might amuse the uptown folks and give them something to cluck about over their breakfast coffee. *Voice* reporters lived their beats; covering civil rights, off-Broadway, the Pop scene or a neighborhood campaign, they wrote, essentially, about themselves and about their friends. When they broadened their sights, they tended—where *The Nation*, *Commonweal* or *New Leader* sounded faintly old, tired and square—to be in touch with what was happening. And so the *Voice*, bolstered by almost weekly gains in advertising, shows signs of becoming the first national organ for insurgency in politics and the arts.

The *Voice* opened up the territory. The papers that moved in to occupy it were, in one sense, children of the radical mimeo sheets and, in another, children of the *Voice*. Some were promising, some were mentally defective. But all reacted against the conservatism of their *Voice* parent; they swore at birth enmity to compromise.

Modeled quite frankly after the *Voice*, the *Los Angeles Free Press* was the first organ of the new underground. The idea for the paper, and an initial investment of $15, came from Art Kunkin, a 39-year-old tool-and-die man from Brooklyn. When Kunkin asked permission to promote plans for a liberal-bohemian weekly at the 1964 Renaissance Pleasure Faire, a friend suggested he put out a dummy issue for the Faire, and in two frenetic weeks he collected enough money and material for a 5000-edition, eight-page tabloid. Dressed as Robin Hoods and 15th Century peasant girls, Kunkin and a merry band of college students gave their papers away as wandering peddlers, attracted a lot of sympathy and a little financial support and, on a fairly hand-to-mouth basis, built the *Free Press* to a paid circulation of 50,000 in three years.

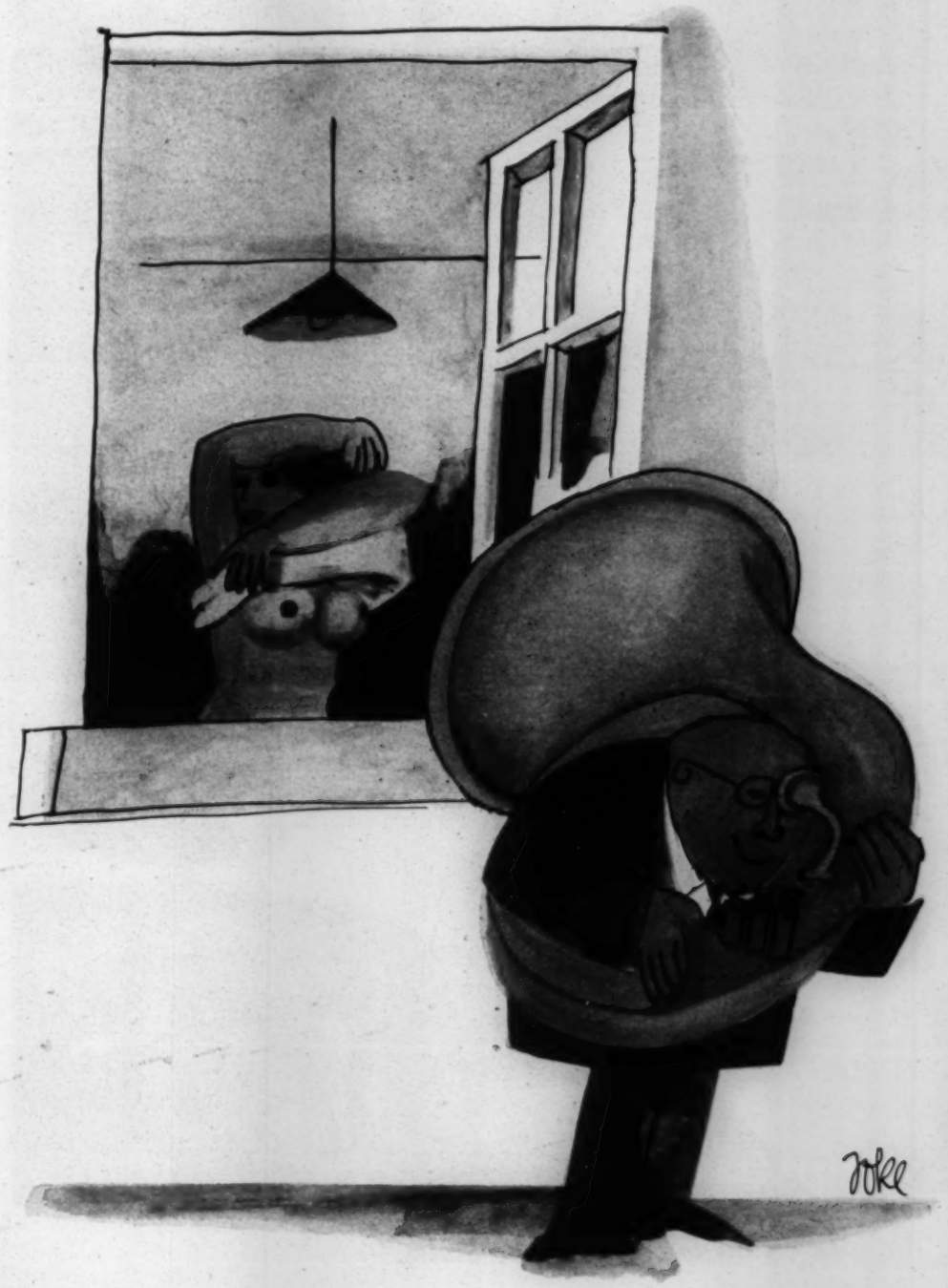
In New York, Walter Bowart, a painter, and Alan Katzman founded the *East Village Other*, a 16-page tabloid that made the *Voice* read like *The Wall Street Journal*. They were quickly joined by John Wilcock, who'd done a weekly *Voice* column for nearly 11 years.

"Wolf and Fancher run their paper with an iron hand," Wilcock says. "I'd discover new things, the *Voice* would sit on them for a while and then promote them when they became fashionable. I was on to hallucinogens seven or eight years ago. They discouraged my writing about Albert Ellis, Lenny Bruce and nudist camps. You know where they advertise? *The New York Times Book Review*. It's clear where they stand. Their average reader is 30-odd years old. He's not interested in changing society. *EVO*'s average reader is ten years younger. We have no taboos. We'll publish anything people write or draw." *EVO* reacts to the

relative stodginess of the *Voice* much as the *Voice* began in reaction to a garden-club/sewing-circle weekly called *Villager*, which had been "Reflecting the Treasured Traditions of This Cherished Community" with a New Englandy town-crier flavor since early in 1933.

"We're no community paper," insists Katzman, now managing editor of *EVO*. "We're a world-wide movement for art, peace, civil rights, morality in politics. There's a new population under 34—economically powerful, with the weight of numbers as well as of ideas—reacting to what they aren't getting from the press. They're not getting interpretation; they aren't even getting the facts. 'Kennedy was killed by a crazy man,' they're told. 'Only crazy people kill Presidents of the United States. No one has anything to gain.' If the media don't get a tighter grip on what's happening, they're going to lose a lot of these people to us."

"Us" does not refer simply to *EVO* itself but to a whole new spectrum of underground newspapers, united in their editorial war on what they call "the new oppression." Each publication, at bottom, represents an extension of the personalities of its editor and cronies. *EVO* seems to reflect the vision of second-generation hip, still believing in the Good and True and Real, but no longer surprised at new instances of corruption. It is most aware of an international brotherhood of dissent, and underscores kinship with subterraneans in Paris, London, Bulgaria, Japan, India and elsewhere; it prints "dirtier" cartoons and photo montages; and, while some of its colleagues are still talking Zen, *EVO* is into witchcraft, cannibalism, macrobiotics, astrology, aphrodisiacs, electric-charge machines, theocracia, existential psychotherapy and political independence (secession, emigration) for the underground. The editors, to be sure, sneer at the charge that their paper is "far out." "We're creative artists," Wilcock says. "We represent our milieu, people pushing the boundaries—and exploring beyond them. We're not interested in shocking anyone, just in reaching the guys who don't think automatically, who feel like us, dig us. We give them a forum and ammunition." Possibly because *EVO* is confident and familiar with its audience, its tone is more clipped than hysterical.



Until quite recently, the West Coast papers had an even more frantic sound, the scruffily wholesome quality of a single generation's remove from the middle class. (A front-page lead in the *Free Press* refers to "such greats as Freud and Dr. Kinsey"; nutty little marginalia and subscription plugs, reminiscent of *Mad*, fill out short columns.) Whereas *EVO*'s orientation is decidedly psychedelic, the *Free Press* is urban political, in the *Voice* tradition. (Its layout, also, is borrowed directly from the *Voice*.) Where *EVO* tends to cop out on Manhattan problems, the *Free Press* is thick in the L. A. fray, especially on race (Kunkin ran an extended series on Watts after the riots) and poverty. The *Free Press* has been joined recently by three more L. A. papers: *The Provo*, a little tabloid; *The Oracle of Southern California*; and the full-size, *Free Press*–like *Los Angeles Underground*.

Max Scherr, a 51-year-old New Leftist who, before founding the *Berkeley Barb*, ran a local bar called Steppenwolfe, takes a more global slant than Kunkin. Scherr tends to trap himself in the simplicities of radical rhetoric and, mixing up the Big Issues into a sexintegration-peacehigh bundle, commits the fatal error of unintentional humor. The *Barb* is a "cause" paper (backing, for instance, the Committee to Fight Exclusion of Homosexuals from the Armed Forces), but its tenor is almost pastoral—Scherr is obviously more interested in grape pickers than in the Negro ghetto.

During the school year, an anti-bureaucratic weekly called *The Paper* has been coming out of Michigan State in East Lansing, despite "harassment" from a "puritan" president and university administration (who've had their hands otherwise full, explaining CIA involvement in MSU's Vietnam-aid project). Michael Kindman, the 22-year-old Merit Scholar who founded *The Paper*, rallied several full-scale campus protests on its behalf.

And with no credential beyond a high school diploma, a 19-year-old refugee from the *Free Press* named Harvey Ovshinsky returned to his home town,

"He got the idea on his last visit to the States."

Detroit, last year to start his own "organ for hippies, liberals and anarchists." *The Fifth Estate*, so far, isn't much more than a hick cut-and-paste job of pilfered material: the evil-eye motif, Tim Leary's column from *EVO*, cartoons and "unclassifieds" from the *Free Press*, etc. *The Fifth Estate* is one of the shortest, most derivative and least professional-looking of the papers, replete with unreadable gray type, spelling mistakes and malapropisms. One recent issue contained an uninspired arts column (Kulchur list plus pep talk), endorsement of a local peace candidate, a SNCC press release, protest against Dow Chemical Company and religious Christmas stamps, and three articles on Bob Dylan. Another covered its back page with a mock WANTED poster for an undercover narcotics agent, offering a reward of "one pound, U. S. grass to anyone who can drop 1000 micrograms of LSD into this man's misdirected body." Ovshinsky is devoted to *The Fifth Estate*, however; it is reaching a heretofore ignored audience and is improving.

Previously, such frayed-shoestring ventures scrounged desperately for money and copy. *The Newspaper* in Boston, *The Journal* in Santa Barbara and others all tried to hop on the underground express after Kunkin's success, but each of them failed.

About a year ago, however, a half-dozen such papers formed a loose alliance, the Underground Press Syndicate, with grandiose plans. Since then, 20 additional papers—weeklies, fortnightlies and monthlies—have joined their ranks and the syndicate expects to pick up others by the end of the year. Some already exist—*The Kansas Free Press*, the *Lake Shore Gazette* in Chicago (aimed, actually, at enlightened *bourgeoisie*) and *The Fire Island News*. A *Time*-style newsmagazine of the underground from Manhattan is currently in the works. Negotiations with college papers are under way; and even high school students are beginning to issue unauthorized and uncensored extracurricular publications, such as Detroit's *South Hampton Illustrated Times* (known to the student body as *SHIT*).

The Underground Press Syndicate, like a jazz combo, offers a framework for improvisation. Any member paper (membership costs $25 annually) is free to pick up features, cartoons, news or whatnot from any other member paper, without remuneration. A single national agency solicits ads for all of them. All revenue goes back into the common fund. If and when nonmember papers want to run U. P. S. articles, they pay for them; that money goes into a fund earmarked for setting up a telex, teletype and telephoto wire service between

"Stop that!"

San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, London, etc. "That we may all together become well informed and in turn inform the public on a larger scale bothers those who would want us to remain ununited," declares an *EVO* editorial. "Let us then bother everyone; irk them, poke them, tickle them, sway them till they understand that what bothers us bothers everyone."

"This system will make it three times as hard for the middle-class press to suppress the things we're talking about," Katzman predicts. The syndicate envisions a growing demand for its brand of coverage—from AP, UPI, college papers and TV-radio networks—which the establishment press will be unable to satisfy. In turn, more attention will be focused on the syndicate papers themselves. From there, the sky is the limit. Wilcock, for example, foresees a network of short-range pirate radio stations, outside FCC jurisdiction—a sort of Radio Free America—broadcasting underground gospel to the fettered, yearning masses. Katzman dreams of a giant Consumer's Union paper, which would undermine the dichotomy between employers and workers, uniting all in consumerhood, a living entity independent of state and producers. ("We will eat the food! We will wear the clothes! We will drive the cars!" Katzman rhapsodizes.)

Many such quixotic notions are predicated upon a fierce sense of *us* against *them*. ("They" are alternately known as "the enemy," "the evil forces," "the shadow" and "the world of up-tight fear.") But while *EVO* rants about "fascist narcos," while the *Barb* and the *Free Press* bewail the excesses of "slug-happy fuzz" or "Gestapo storm troopers," a newer West Coast entry, *The Oracle*, sends emissaries to the local police chief "to test the power of love." Finding him "intelligent, amiable and receptive," they are now dickering for a plan by which police may use the words and mystique of an ancient Indian mantra to disperse the hippie multitudes.

This sweet-tempered scheme is typical of *The Oracle*, a handsomely designed bimonthly ("approximately") from the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco. *The Oracle* is the gentlest and loveliest of the underground papers. Decorated with multicolored collages, woodcuts and psychedelic paintings; filled with quasi-religious Hindu myths, hymns to nature, spiritual introspections, astrological charts; sponsoring movements out of the city, into the surrounding woods and farmlands (such as "Seedpower," a transcendentalist new youth kibbutz); *The Oracle* seems often to be moving beyond resentment—toward mellow, joyful resignation. Now hyperintellectual (it calls teeny boppers "preinitiate tribal groups . . . in evident and nostalgic response to technological and population pressures"), now lyrical (half of its letters to the editor are "LOVE-HAIGHT" poems), it laughs at the absurdity of the straight scene without any aggression at all.

Waiting is.
Meditation is action,

soothes its "Gossiping Guru," who expresses the hope that Berkeley's "campus radicals will get the message and start

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singing . . . by entering the political arena against the establishment one only succeeds in lowering his level of consciousness to that of his opponent." Already, in the few short months that it has spread its gospel, *The Oracle* has changed the face of the underground press, bringing love messages to hard-hippie *EVO* and psychedelic illustrations to drier, issue-oriented papers such as the *Barb*.

The Oracle's meager "news coverage" is supplemented, at the Haight, on an almost hourly basis by an auxiliary hippie group that calls itself The Communication Company. This mimeograph operation forms the benevolent propaganda arm of The Diggers, originally a handful of generous local poets who provided free highs, food, lodging and spiritual guidance to impoverished visitors, but by now expanded to include large numbers of roving "flower people" and denizens of communal pads—"the invisible government" of Haight-Ashbury. The Communication Company produces topical leaflets within 30 minutes, day or night, and circulates them throughout the district in another 30. So far, it has distributed close to 1000 different, multicolored "publications"—ranging from poetry to position papers for the sharing gospel ("Freedom means everything free," "If you're not a Digger, you're property"), to where-and-when announcements for the next "spontaneous demonstration of joy," to warnings of impending busts.

On the Haight, hippies virtually control the scene. They feel, therefore, less persecuted, less paranoid, more relaxed —and their press reflects this sense of communal well-being in "waves of cellular trans love energy vectors." But elsewhere in the country, too, the rash of be-ins, fly-ins, love-ins, sweep-ins and megapolitan peace-pipe powwows has been bringing the new youth together with the promise of a great "gathering of the tribes" into viable communities. Public areas (such as Provo Park in San Francisco and Tompkins Square in Manhattan) have been appropriated for "freaking freely." Diggerlike cadres have sprung up in various cities (New York alone now boasts the Drop-Ins, The Real Great Society and The Jade Companions). And new underground papers give voice to the communal dream.

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Readers of establishment papers may express themselves most genuinely in lovelorn letters; underground readers appeal to each other directly through classifieds. Not surprisingly, personal ads tend to be as freewheeling as the publication in which they appear. The *Voice* has always screened notices carefully. Its "Village Bulletin Board" rejects explicit appeals for sexual companionship, although more than a dozen presumably sophisticated dating services, mostly

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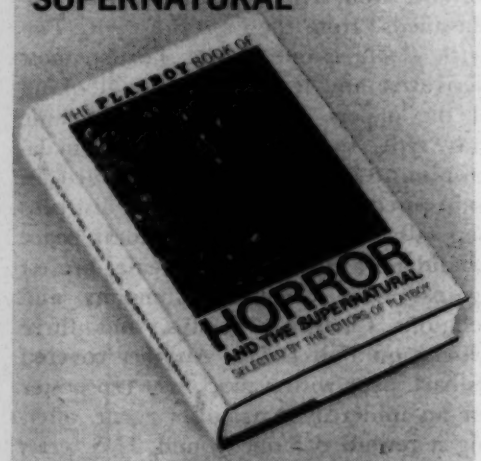

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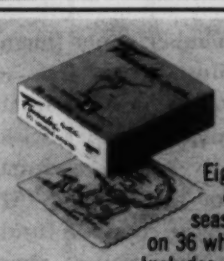

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computer, advertise in the paper. Their Bulletin Board, typically, is encrusted with notices for avant-garde films, theater events, social get-togethers, publications and *objets d'art*.

Classifieds in the underground press fall between extremes of licentiousness, with West Coast ads leaning more toward tribal scenes (nude beach parties, Lonely Genitals Club, Sexual Freedom League functions, group acid tests) and East Coast ads, toward individual setups ("Keep me high and I'll ball you forever. Samantha"); drugs ("Attention new pothеads, jippies, A-heads, junkies and thieves. 'Goody' Cardinelli will con you if possible. Bill Healy is a fingerman. I'm serious. Fight burn artists and finks by publishing names of known rats."); oddball cults ("GOURMETS: Delicious Recipes for Preparing Human Flesh"); and cryptic personals ("Wrote your number on a Sarno cream puff *again* and ate it. I'll call my analyst tomorrow."). Midwest ads are tamer. Share-my-pad propositions ("Desirous of meeting buxom, beddable, stacked, sophisticated swinger"), perhaps the most prevalent form of personal, read like souped-up, adolescent refugees from *The National Enquirer*. (The *Enquirer*'s editor, who considers *EVO* "in bad taste," claims *their* ads "must meet certain high standards.") But subterraneans are quick to insist that hippie advertisers are a different breed of cat entirely.

"Once I saw an ad in the *Enquirer* that said, 'I'd like to meet a girl who doesn't read this sort of paper,' " Paul Krassner recalls. "Most of these people would probably rather advertise in *The New York Times*." (The *Times* rejected a help-wanted ad for an *EVO* salesman.) Krassner himself experimented with a "Department of Personal Propaganda" and then expressed some journalistic embarrassment at phrases like "Open-minded attractive females only" and "Will answer every letter" and "Photo (optional) returned." Rather than risk an integrity crisis over the question of censorship, he dropped the feature after a single issue. That was sad, for even though, as Krassner admits laughingly, "*Realist* readers were just as horny as anybody else," they offered more imaginative self-interpretations than most lonely-hearts, e.g.:

> Divorcee and kids: 25; attractive; I. Q. 135; intuitive-correlative and abstract-objective thinking-wise; can and do recondition self at will; extreme (and controlled) emotional range; culture-free to great extent. Like: s-f, horsing, sensual music, learning, individuals, sex, creating, existence. Dislike: cold, literature, past and present history, people en masse, boundaries. Want mate sans legality, equal or superior in sanity, freedom, potential.

"You're right, Reverend Pratt. It is a dirty word!"

"These people aren't necessarily hard up," Krassner insists. "I've got friends who use classifieds. It's a screening device. And if, say, you want to plug into a couple-swapping underground, where else can you go?"

"We're used to thinking a guy who advertises for a chick has to be a loser," says the girlfriend of an *EVO* columnist. "But that's where it's at now. Frontal. Direct. He may be really groovy. Look, if I had dressed this way five years ago —tank top, bright colors, spider stockings, huge earrings—you'd have thought I was a whore. But now I'm acceptable. Society picks things up from its fringes —and changes."

Underground proprietors, too, hope to shift the center of social gravity leftward. Ed Sanders, who also edits the *Marijuana Newsletter* (which quotes prices on the grass exchange), and whose successful shock-rock Fugs may be clearing the way for a new sort of top-40 sound, appeared on the cover of *Life*. He's an important prophet for freaking with a purpose.

"Anyone can go live in an ashram somewhere," he says. "But once you pick up the telephone, once you accept the existence of the A & P, you've *got* to get involved. Otherwise you're a psychopath. The social game is just a matter of energy sources. Now we pretend a benign political life at home and go wreaking violence all over the world. The underground tries to dull the impulse toward violence and redirect the energy into sexual and creative channels. Take pot; a highly sophisticated substance, a miracle drug. Tied in with *sex*, not violence. A sexual and philosophical union of people who turn on and have radical economic views can become a power bloc—libertarian socialism—but you've got to pound your idea into the culture. . . . You may be 'weird' and 'far out,' but you're effecting change. Once they understand you're not violent, they can't use violence against you. These newspapermen are gentle people. No fists. So you're a freak for five years, and then a radical for another ten, and then you're conservative and some other Turks are howling at the gates. We'll devote our whole lives to this campaign, because what's freaky today will be frazzled tomorrow. If you can affect just one generation of young people, you save the world for 30 or 40 years; you get people to take LSD, make love with their eyes open. For every protester, there are ten secret supporters. Get them out in the open and you cool the whole scene."

• • •

To learn what is happening, to form a personal judgment of America, we must rely heavily upon the testimony of the press. We know the defense briefs by heart. In the face of overwhelming economic and sociopolitical impotence, the underground press seeks to prepare a case for the prosecution. Its witnesses are mostly a strident, frowzy lot, bitter for all their talk of love, unruly, perhaps even a bit mad. But they are, at last, demanding to take the stand. And they have quite another story to tell.

HORSE'S HEAD *(continued from page 104)*

"I plan to swallow you alive," Melanie said.

• • •

The suspense was killing him.

The suspense at first was compounded of two equal parts: the hope that Melanie would give him the name of the stonecutter, so that he could leave here in all possible haste, and the possibility that she might at any moment swallow him alive. There was something very strange about Melanie, in that she had told him she did not trust any white man (he believed her), and yet she would not let him out of her sight, would not let go of his hand, would not stop rubbing her long, sinuous cat's body against him at every opportunity. He was beginning to suspect that she was naked beneath the clinging Pucci silk; and the notion of exploring this darkest heart, the possibility of being swallowed alive by a race and an intelligence that went back millenniums, consumed, as it were, by someone or something that simultaneously hated him and desired him, was tantalizing and terribly exciting. But conversely, and contradictorily, and contrarily, he was terrified that she would indeed envelop him in her blackness, completely enclose him in the centuries-old vastness of her mother womb, absorb him, cause him to disappear from view entirely, swallow him alive exactly as she had promised.

He noticed a rather fat and frizzled Negro woman sitting in an easy chair near the record player, moving her crossed leg in time to the music, so that her sandaled foot tapped out the beat on thin air. The woman was perhaps 50 or 55, and she was wearing a black muumuu, white pearls around her throat, hair cut just like Melanie's, in close, tight African style. She kept beating her foot on the air as though she were squashing white missionaries and Belgian nuns, her skin very black, her teeth very white, her black eyes staring at him. He wondered who the woman was, and then wondered how he could delicately ask about her.

Melanie saved him the trouble by saying, "I don't think you've met my mother."

"I don't think I have," Mullaney said. "Pleasure."

"The white man is a horse's ass," Melanie's mother said, not meaning anything personal.

"Don't mind her," Melanie said. "Would you help me take out some of this garbage?"

"The white man is fit for taking out the garbage," Melanie's mother said.

"Don't mind her," Melanie said. "The incinerator is down the hall."

"The white man is fit for the incinerator," Melanie's mother said, which sent a shiver up Mullaney's spine.

They gathered up the bags of garbage in the kitchen and carried them to the front door. At the door, Melanie said, "Why don't you go to sleep, Mother," and Mother replied, "The party's just starting."

"Very well," Melanie said, and sighed, and opened the door. She preceded Mullaney down the empty hallway toward the small incinerator room. He pulled open the furnace door for her and she dropped the bags of garbage down the chute. Below, somewhere in the bowels of the building, there was the sense if not the actual sound and smell of licking flames, a hidden well of fire destroying the waste of a metropolis. He released the handle and the door banged back into place. Below, the building throbbed with consuming fire, a dull, steady roar that vibrated into the soles of his feet and shuddered through the length of his body.

"Kiss me," Melanie said.

This is the gamble, he thought as he took her into his arms. This is why I took the gamble a year ago. I took it for this moment in this room, this girl in my arms here and now; I have written sonnets about girls like this. I took the gamble so that I could make love to women in the stacks of the New York Public Library; I took the gamble so that I could make love to women in incinerator rooms, black or white, yellow or red, lowering her to the floor and raising the Pucci silk up over her brown thighs. "I hate you," she said. "Yes," he said, "love me." He reached for the top of her dress, lowered it off her shoulders and kissed the dark skin. "I hate you," she said again. "Love me," he said. "I hate you, I hate you, I hate you," her teeth clamped into his lips, he could taste blood. He thought, She will kill me, and thought, This is the gamble, and remembered he had once very long ago made love to a Negro prostitute in a curbside crib and had not considered it a gamble. And had later told Irene that he had once had a colored girl and she had said, "How lucky you are," and he had not known whether or not she was kidding. Here and now, here with the fires of hell burning in the building below, here with a girl who repeated over and over again as he moved against her, "I hate you, I hate you, I hate you," he wondered about the gamble for the first time in a year and was surprised when their lovemaking abruptly ended.

"I hate you," she said, with excellent reason this time.

He told her he was sorry, which he truly was, and which he thought was a gentlemanly and certainly American thing to admit, as she pulled her dress down over her long brown legs and stood up. She said his apology was accepted, but that nonetheless he had been an inadequate and disappointing partner, whereas she had been hoping for someone with skill and virtuosity enough to perform on Ferris wheels, for example.

"I would be willing to do it on a *roller* coaster!" he shouted in defense, and then lowered his voice, whispering, "I'm truly sorry, Melanie."

Yes, she said, dusting off her Pucci dress and tucking her breasts back into the bodice, but you must admit there is something about the white man that can only engender hatred and distrust. The white man has been taking for centuries and centuries, she said, and he doesn't know how to give, you see, nor even how to accept graciously. The white man (he was beginning to feel as if he'd been captured by the Sioux) knows only how to grab and grab and grab—which is why you have that look on your face that Mother always warned me about—but he doesn't know what he really wants or even why the hell he's grabbing. The white man is a user and a taker and a grabber, and he will continue to use and take and grab until there's nothing left for him to feast upon but his own entrails, which he will devour like a hyena; did you know that hyenas eat their own intestines?

"No, I did not know that," Mullaney said, amazed and repulsed.

It is a little-known fact, Melanie said, but true. You must not think I'm angry at you, or would harbor any ill feelings toward you, or seek any revenge other than not permitting you to spend the night in my apartment, which would be impossible with Mother here, anyway. She despises the white man, as you may have gathered. I, on the other hand, *like* the white man, I really do. As a group, that is. And whereas it's true that I've never met one individually or singly of whom I could be really fond, including my recently departed husband, this doesn't mean I don't like them as a group. I am, for example, keenly disappointed in you personally, but this needn't warp my judgment of the group as a whole, do you understand? In fact, I suppose I should be grateful to you for proving to me once again just how undependable the white man really is, as an individual, of course. Trust him, let him have his way with you, and what does he do once again but leave you with empty promises, though I wouldn't march on Washington for somethi g as trivial as this; still I think you know what I mean. Now, I suppose you think I'm not going to tell you the name of the stonecutter; but no, I'm not the type to seek revenge or to harbor any ill feelings, as I've already told you. I *like* the white man, I do. So I *will* tell you his name. And perhaps my generosity will remind you as you go through life that

October 25, 1966

Miss Virginia Cross
55-B Dayton Street
Durham, North Carolina

Re: Autographed pictures of Floyd B. McKissick

Dear Miss Cross:

Thank you for your postcard, received October 19th, requesting several autographed pictures of Mr. McKissick for your class.

I have enclosed one such picture. We are waiting for other prints to return from the photographers. When they are ready, we will forward several more pictures, autographed.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

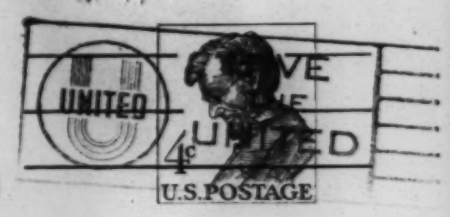
Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
enc. (1) autographed picture of F. B. McK

Miss Virginia Cass
55-B Clayton St.
Durham, N. C.

DURHAM
OCT 14
1966
N. C.

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS



Mr. Floyd McKissick
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir,

OCT 19 1966

Would you be so kind as
to send my class and I a few
auto graphed pictures of yourself.
Thank you.

Yours truly,
Virginia Cross

...MES SQUARE
STA. T

N.Y.
OCT 17
10 PM
65

October 25, 1966

Miss Yvonneda Cross
1000 Drew Street
Durham, North Carolina

Re: Autographed pictures - Floyd B. McKissick

Dear Miss Cross:

Thank you for your postcard of October 25th, requesting autographed pictures of Mr. McKissick for your bulletin board.

Unfortunately, we do not now have a supply of pictures on hand. When they are available, Mr. McKissick will autograph a number of them and forward them to you.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH

7000 Drew street
Durham, N.C. 2710

OCT 25 1966

Dear Mr. McKissack.

Please be kind enough to send me one of your Photograhs for our bulletin board.

Thank you
Yvonneda Cross

October 25, 1966

Miss Wilma Davenpot
51813 South Street
Durham, North Carolina

Re: Autographed Pictures - Floyd B. McKissick

Dear Miss Davenpot:

Thank you for your postcard of October 18th, received October 25th, requesting autographed pictures of Mr. McKissick for your bulletin board.

Unfortunately, we do not have a supply of pictures. When they are available, Mr. McKissick will autograph a number of them and forward them to you.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH

10-18-66

Dear Mr. McKissick,

Please be kind enough to send us one of your photographs for our bulletin board.

Sincerely yours,

Wilma Davenport
1513 South Street
Durham, N.C.,
27707

OCT 25 1966

October 25, 1966

Miss Avis J. Lester
Rt. 3 Box 397
Durham, North Carolina

Re: Autographed pictures -- Floyd B. McKissick

Dear Miss Lester:

Thank you for your postcard of October 20th, requesting autographed pictures of Mr. McKissick for your bulletin boards.

Unfortunately, we do not have a supply of pictures on hand. When they are available, Mr. McKissick will autograph a number of them and forward them to you.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH

Oct. 20, 1966

Dear Mr. Floyd McKissack,
Please be kind enough to
send us one of your photographs
for our bulletin board.

Sincerely yours,
Avis J. Lester
Rt. 3 Box 391
Durham, N.C.

OCT 25 1966

xxxxxxx 200 W. 135th St.

November 17, 1966

Miss Beverly Wall
1134 Elma Street
Durham, North Carolina

Re: Autographed picture - Floyd B. McKissick

Dear Miss Wall:

Thank you for your letter of October 11th, received November 17th, requesting an autographed picture of Mr. McKissick for your bulletin board.

Unfortunately, we are still waiting to receive glossy pictures from the photographer. We should receive them shortly, As soon as we do, I will forward one to you.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH

October 11, 1966

NOV 15 1966

Dear Floyd McKissick,
Please be kind
enough to send us on of
your photograph for our
bulletine board.

Yours Sincerely
Emily Wall

1134 Elmd St
Durham, N.C.

November 18, 1966

Miss Glenda Blue
915 Onslow Street
Durham, North Carolina

Re: Photograph - Floyd B. McKissick

Dear Miss Blue:

Thank you for your letter of November 13, 1966, requesting a photograph of Mr. McKissick for your bulletin board.

Unfortunately, we are still waiting to receive photographs of Mr. McKissick from the photographer. As soon as they are available, I will forward one to you.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH

NOV 18 1966

915 Anslow Street
Durham, N. C.
Nov. 13, 1966

Mr. Floyd McKissick
38 Park Row.
New York, New York
Dear Sir:

Please be kind enough to send me one of your photographs for our bulletin board. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,
Glenda Blue

November18, 1966

Miss Nadine Liles
211 Corporation Street
Durham, North Carolina

Re: Autographed Picture - F. B. McKissick

Dear Miss Liles:

Thank you for your postcard received November 18, requesting a photograph of Mr. McKissick for your bulletin board.

Unfortunately, we are still waiting to receive pictures of Mr. McKissick from the photographer. As soon as they are avaiaable, I will forward one to you.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH

Dear Mr. McKissack,
Please be kind enough
to send me one of your
photographs for our bulletin board

Sincerely yours,
Nadine Liles
211 Corporation St.
Durham, N.C.
27701

NOV 18 1966

November 21, 1966

Miss Deborah Jones
502 Canal Street
Durham, North Carolina

Re: Photograph - Floyd B. McKissick

Dear Miss Jones:

Thank you for your postcard of October 26th, received November 19th, requesting a photograph of Mr. McKissick for your bulletin board.

Unfortunately, we are still waiting to receive pictures of Mr. McKissick from the photographer. As soon as they are available, I will forward them to you.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH

10-26-66

NOV 3 1966

Dear Mr. McKissick

Please be kind enough to send us one of your photographs for our bulletin board. Send it to:

Deborah Jones
502 Grand St.
Durham, N.C.

xxxxx 200 W. 135th St.

November 28, 1966

Miss Mary Mayhue
705 North Elizabeth Street
Durham, North Carolina

Re: Photograph - Floyd B. McKissick

Dear Miss Mayhue:

Thank you for your post card of November 14, 1966 requesting that we send a photograph of Mr. McKissick for your bulletin board.

Unfortunately, we are still waiting for photos to return from the photographer. We expect to receive them in the next day or two. When we do receive them, we will promptly forward a picture to you.

Very truly yours,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH

Nov. 14, 1966

Dear Floyd McKissick,
Please be kind enough to send us
one of your photographs for our bulletin
board.

NOV 18 1966

Sincerely yours,
Mary Mayhew
715 N. Dillard St.
Durham N.C.

March 15, 1967

Miss Ann Friedlander
1133 Broadway
Room 1429
New York, New York

Re: Biographical Sketch - Lincoln O. Lynch

Dear Miss Friedlander:

As per our telephone conversation of this morning, we are enclosing a biographical sketch of Mr. Lynch, for your information. Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
enclosure (1) Biographical Sketch - Lincoln O. Lynch

March 20, 1967

Miss Marilyn Orr
Photo Editor
Lerner Publications Company
241 First Avenue, North
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55401

Re: Photograph - Floyd B. McKissick

Dear Miss Orr:

Thank you for your memo of March 15, requesting a black and white photograph of Mr. McKissick for use in a new edition of THE NEGRO IN AMERICA.

As per your request, we have enclosed such a picture.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
enclosure (1) Glossy -print - F. B. McKissick

SPEEDWRITER MESSAGE

USE TYPEWRITER OR LONGHAND

SEND VIA ☐ REGULAR MAIL ☐ AIR MAIL ☐ SPECIAL DELIVERY

FROM:

LERNER
PUBLICATIONS COMPANY
PHONE (612) 332-3345
241 FIRST AVENUE, NORTH
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55401

☒ URGENT PLEASE REPLY
☐ REPLY NOT NEEDED

DATE March 15, 1967

TO:

Mr. Floyd McKissick
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

MAR 20 1967

SUBJECT

PHOTOGRAPH

MESSAGE

FOLD HERE TO FIT WINDOW ENVELOPE

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Our company is preparing a new edition of THE NEGRO IN AMERICA by Dr. Earl Spangler. We would like to include a photo of you in this publication. Could your office furnish us with a black and white print of yourself?

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Marilyn Orr

SIGN HERE
Marilyn Orr, Photo Editor

REPLY

DATE

SIGN HERE

ADDRESSEE: PLEASE KEEP WHITE COPY AND RETURN PINK COPY

Dear Mr. McKissick,

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your autographed photograph which I recently requested. It was most kind of you to take the time and effort.

Again please accept my regards for your Health and Happiness.

Respectfully,

Jim Wiggins

JUN 9 1967

CONGRESS OF

CORE

RACIAL EQUALITY

working to create a society in which all men are equal

200 WEST 135th STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10030
281-9650

Floyd B. McKissick
national director
Lincoln O. Lynch
associate director

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Wilfred Ussery
chairman
Arthur Evans, Jr.
first vice-chairman
Solomon Herbert
second vice-chairman
Bonnie Barrow
secretary
Cecil Brown, Jr.
treasurer

STAFF

George Schiffer
assistant general counsel
Don Smith
public relations director
Clora Coleman
comptroller

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

James Farmer
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Ralph Abernathy
James Baldwin
Algernon D. Black
Jim Brown
James B. Carey
Allan Knight Chalmers
Grenville Clark
John Cogley
Earl B. Dickerson
Irving J. Fain
Eugene E. Frazier
Harold Gibbons
Roland B. Gittelsohn
Sidney Hollander
Charles P. Howard
William R. Hudgins
E. Stanley Jones
Bishop F. D. Jordan
John O. Killens
Martin Luther King
Douglas Levin
David Livingston
David Mc Call
A. J. Muste
Benjamin F. Payton
Sidney Poitier
A. Philip Randolph
Ira deA. Reid
Walter P. Reuther
Hodson R. Reynolds
Jackie Robinson
Arnold M. Rose
Nathan Schwerner
Fred M. Shuttlesworth
C. K. Steele
John S. Stewart
Gardner Taylor
Bishop W. J. Walls
Goodwin Watson
Joseph Willen
Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman

Dear Friend:

Last summer, during our fact-finding mission to Cambodia, one very important insight each of us gained anew was the realization of the crucial role that an aroused Negro community can play, for peace and world-wide justice.

CORE has initiated a serious and long-range educational effort which has begun to show black and white Americans the total dimension of the struggle for peace and freedom, and to establish clearly the direct connection between America's repression of Negroes and America's violence abroad.

Both education and action are the purpose of CORE's proposed display advertisement to run in the New York Times and the Negro press. Friendly critics have already told us that the enclosed initial text must be shortened and revised. A professional artist is redesigning the layout. But the ad's message, with all its far-reaching implications, is urgent; for Americans of all colors and for the countless Asians, Africans, Latin Americans and Europeans who will read it and hear about it in the Times' International edition.

To place the ad before these millions of people, ten thousand dollars is needed. So far, individual contributions have ranged as high as $500 from people who rejoice at the unity of the peace and civil rights movements at this crucial historical moment.

Having encountered some unexpected and unavoidable delays, we wish to wind up our fund-raising for this special project and get the message out to the world. Will you join with others in helping us go over the top?

Very truly yours,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

Please make check payable to CORE: Floyd B. McKissick, National Director, CORE
200 West 135th Street, New York, N.Y. 10030

( ) I am happy to enclose $____, earmarked for CORE's display ad.

( ) Please reserve for me _____ reprints of the ad as it will appear in the N.Y. Times

Name:_____ Address:_____ Phone:_____

November 2, 1966

The Honorable Senator Abraham Ribicoff
United States Senate
Committee on Government Operations
Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization
Washington, D.C.

Re: Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization
Hearings on Urban Problems

Dear Senator Ribicoff:

This is to confirm that Mr. McKissick is scheduled to appear before the Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization in Washington on Thursday, December 8 at 10 a.m. These arrangements were made through Mr. Jerry Snarsky of your office.

I am sure Mr. McKissick is looking forward to what can be a most meaningful and constructive session.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH

October 24, 1966

The Honorable Senator Abraham Ribicoff
United States Senate
Committee on Government Operations
Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization
Washington, D.C.

Re: Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization
Hearings on Urban Problems

Dear Senator Ribicoff:

Thank you for your letter of October 14th, inviting Mr. McKissick to appear before the Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization on December 13, 1966.

Mr. McKissick is now out of town and will return later this week. When he returns, I will bring your request to his attention.

Meanwhile, will you please indicate whether his expenses will be paid?

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH

JOHN L. MC CLELLAN, ARK., CHAIRMAN
HENRY M. JACKSON, WASH.
SAM J. ERVIN, JR., N.C.
ERNEST GRUENING, ALASKA
EDMUND S. MUSKIE, MAINE
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JOSEPH M. MONTOYA, N. MEX.
KARL E. MUNDT, S. DAK.
CARL T. CURTIS, NEBR.
JACOB K. JAVITS, N.Y.
MILWARD L. SIMPSON, WYO.

JAMES R. CALLOWAY
CHIEF CLERK AND STAFF DIRECTOR

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION
(PURSUANT TO S. RES. 188, 89TH CONGRESS)

SUBCOMMITTEE:
ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, CONN., CHAIRMAN
JOHN L. MC CLELLAN, ARK.
ERNEST GRUENING, ALASKA
ROBERT F. KENNEDY, N.Y.
FRED R. HARRIS, OKLA.
JOSEPH M. MONTOYA, N. MEX.
JACOB K. JAVITS, N.Y.
MILWARD L. SIMPSON, WYO.
CARL T. CURTIS, NEBR.

JEROME SONOSKY, STAFF DIRECTOR

Xpenses?

OCT 18 1966

October 14, 1966

Mr. Floyd McKissick, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Last August, the Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization held three weeks of hearings on the crisis of the American city. Our particular concern was how the Federal Government was organized to handle the complex problems of urban life in a technological age.

As the hearings progressed, it became apparent that we lacked some basic knowledge about life in the city. We did not know enough about the sociology, the psychology, and the economics of urban life; about what it is like to live in the city. If we don't know enough about the problems, we know even less about the solutions. This is what we must explore.

If we are going to develop an urban policy at the national level, then we must begin to learn the basic facts of urban life. We must determine what the actual needs are and organize our programs accordingly. We must question all past assumptions and concepts previously taken for granted.

The Subcommittee plans to resume its hearings in November to consider these matters. We believe you can make a significant contribution to the understanding of urban problems. We would appreciate having the benefit of your personal views in an appearance before our Subcommittee on December 13, 1966. If you are so willing, please let us know. Thanking you for your courtesy, I am,

Sincerely,

Abraham Ribicoff
Chairman

[redacted]

Bill Rowe

PRESENTATION BY FLOYD B. McKISSICK,
NATIONAL DIRECTOR, CONGRESS OF RACIAL
EQUALITY, TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE
COMMITTEE ON URBAN AFFAIRS, SENATE
HEARINGS, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1966

National Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030

INTRODUCTION

The central cities of this country are disaster areas -- the debris is mounting, the walking wounded everywhere. For weeks you have been listening to the catalogue of this crisis, much as the legislators of the 18th century in the plague cities, studied the lists of the dead. It is true: ...death is everywhere: the death of the body, the death of hope.

I am no longer certain that we can turn the tide... God knows we must try.

There is no time...there is no time to talk of half-measures, no time to prosecute wars, no time to lash back at the angry poor, no time to moralize about an integrated utopia...there is no time. The seminars must end, the conferences conlcude, our wisdom must now be shaped into specific weapons of change. It is in this spirit -- a spirit of crisis and a spirit of fragile hope that I come before you today.

I will talk about many things -- of entire institutions of our society that are crumbling in the central city. I will talk about the black American -- the mass of black Americans; paralyzed in poverty; unmotivated,

suspicious of the white man's promise, blooded on the streets of Los Angeles and on the streets of Saigon. I will talk of racism through the entire American fabric -- a racism that cannot be changed by law alone.

And I will talk about black power...black power, its consequence and its meaning.

The tragedy of the recent spasm of reaction and racism in this country is best dramatized in this room...for it is in this room for many weeks that you gentlemen have seen in exquisite detail, the frustration, the hopelessness and the powerlessness of the American urban Negro. There is no better argument for black power -- for the mobilization of the black community as a political, social and economic bloc than the words you have heard in this room. Moreover -- and this is what we have always meant by Black Power -- it is a rational, militant call from a whole segment of this nation's population to do what you have not been able to do -- destroy racism in this country, create full employment in the American ghetto, revise the educational system to cope with the 20th century, and make the American ghetto a place in which it is possible to live with hope.

Introduction

And once and for all -- I am a man of peace, appalled by a society of violence in which I live.

I am tired of violence -- not only that which has been inflicted on myself, and my children -- but the deeper violence inflicted on the black child in a hopelessly antique system of education: the violence done to the Negro man and the Negro woman, torn apart by the racist employer and defeated by the humiliation of public welfare. Do not ever forget.....90 per cent of the American black community -- that immobile 90 percent -- which is the main subject of my discussion today -- are both the children and the victims of violence.

As I proceed, gentlemen, I would ask that you keep two basic themes in mind. One: the scope of the problem facing the central city is so large and at the same time the despair and suspicion in the black community so deep that any solutions we discuss must be immediate and in large part be financed by the federal budget. Even more important in any such undertaking we must involve and dignify the black man as a fully enfranchised citizen -- capable of administering his own recovery. Secondly, I would ask that we regard this problem in crisis terms, and for the moment set aside our understandable dreams of

integration --set them aside before the "fire next time" is now. As we in CORE have studied the problems facing the mass of American black people, we found over and over again that the great moral struggle for integration has, in fact, barely touched the lives of the people. Every instinct and experience tells us that the larger battle, for real change has hardly begun. Every analysis we can find, the work of virtually every social scientist who has addressed himself to this question -- leads us to the same basic conclusion -- the black ghettoes will not go away -- they are the hard fact of our life. Any solution you may consider, which addresses itself to the cause of despair and poverty must, in fact, accept the existence of a growing ghetto and proceed immediately to the task of restoring its physical, educational and economic integrity.

Again -- let me emphasize, I am not arguing <u>against</u> the past; CORE's credentials in the civil rights movement are written in blood on Mississippi and Louisiana ground -- I <u>am</u> arguing <u>for</u> the future, a future in which a rich nation extends its resources and its energy and its commitment into the central cities so that those who live there may mold their hopes with their own hands, organize and act as a powerful economic, political and moral force and help to re-build this democracy as a nation of brothers.

Education

In 1954 the Supreme Court ruled that separate or segregated education is, by definition, inferior. We thought that this represented the removal of the major roadblock to full citizenship and real participation in the mainstream of American life for Black people. Now, we thought, the way was clear for every law-abiding citizen to develop to the full potential of his ability.

But the law of the land was not enforced. Twelve and half years later only 13% of Negro children in the South attend integrated schools. Today, over 50% of the children in N.Y.C. are Negro or Puerto Rican. 90% attend segregated schools. The white population in Philadelphia declined from 51% in 1961 to 43% in 1965. White enrollment in Detroit has dropped 9.2% in the last five years.

Most important, however, is the fact that the children left behind are not being taught. A recent survey of the reading levels in the segregated schools of New York shows that almost 87% of the children are reading below grade. This is compared to 50% below grade in 1954, the year of that great court decision. At this rate, by 1970 all of the children in ghetto schools in that city will be "under-achievers".

Education

From the time a black child enters the public schools, he is fighting an uphill battle not to be pushed out of the educational system. Not the best, but the least experienced teachers are still being assigned to ghetto schools.(1) Teachers rarely teach; they keep order and impose discipline and too often hold their ghetto pupils in low esteem. "The crucial ingredient in improving education of the disadvantaged is changing the attitude of the teachers".(2) Yet, human relations courses are still nonexistent in many urban centers. Staffed by teachers and administrators from the middle class, "the American high school tends to be a white, middle-class institution loaded against the Negro, working-class pupil."(3)

The Harlems of this country are public school disaster areas. The continuing failure to educate black and poor children when education is a necessary ingredient for success in this society amounts to genocide. The fact that the "mind-killing" may be unintentional is irrelevant to the victim and of little comfort to the bereaved family.

Integration for all children is not feasible in many large cities today. Yet parents in the black communities of our cities are no longer willing to stand by and watch their children's minds wither and die. Typical are the Negro parents at New York's

widely publicized I.S. 201. They demanded of the Board of Education:

1. Black authority figures (e.g., a black principal) with whom their children might be able to identify and to whose position they might aspire.
2. They insisted upon sympathetic teachers who represented black children, were supportive and encouraging and who expected black children to learn.
3. They called for a curriculum that reflected the Negro's contribution to world and American history and therefore could rebuild a self damaged by living in a world that ignored them.
4. They pledged themselves to increased participation in their children's lives. By being vigilant and unafraid they knew that they would compel response and respect from the school administration, the teaching staff and their own children.

In effect, they were saying to educators that if a child with native intelligence is not achieving, the fault does not lie with the child. One must assume the technique is wrong, the perception of the

child is wrong. As with a doctor and a sick patient, it is more prudent to try changing the medicine and mode of treatment than to curse the patient for not getting well. (4)

Integrated quality education is still a desirable goal and there must be Federal action to insure integration wherever feasible,..in suburban school disgricts, smaller cities and towns, Southern school systems, and border districts in major cities. Of all solutions proposed for the ultimate answer to the big city's educational dilemma, CORE would favor the building of centrally located, well-equipped educational complexes offering superior education to all children and the utilization of intelligent curriculums and staffs at all levels.

None of these solutions can really be considered final unless we realize this. Racism is the crux of this nation's problem. Whites must be re-educated if integration is ever to have meaning. It is time for conferences on the White Problem in America. The experts who have been called together so often to discuss the Negro must now turn their attention to white racism and violence in this society. CORE calls for a National Board of Education made up of experts, activists, parents, and administrators to develop new

ideas and put them to work.

Methods of teaching black children must be improved and adopted to their needs. There must be new forms of teacher recruitment and training; the teaching profession must be made attractive to our best thinkers and leaders. There should be experimentation with ungraded classrooms in ghetto schools, team-teaching, opening schools all day, all night and all year around. Non-professionals must be used as community aides to motivate parents and children. A pupil-teacher ratio of no more than 15 to 1 is required to overcome the effects of decades of inferior education. We should consider extending education requirements downwards and upwards, guaranteeing all students at least two years of college education. We would also recommend community schools with school-parent committees which have a voice and a function.(5)

But just as important, there must be new ways to halt and reverse the spread of racism in this country. The National Board of Education must consider this problem as well. We must know why white children are more racist when they finish school than when they enter. We must know why their parents panic at the words "black power". We must know why the sickness of racism erupted in such ugly ways in Cicero, Chi-

cago, and Philadelphia and we must know why it took its toll in the November elections. And we must devise programs to cure these ills.

We accuse school boards across the nation of being instruments of death. But the Federal Government also bears a heavy responsibility. Even experimental educational programs have too often been a rehash of tried methods that have already failed. We have not forgotten the fact that Congress passed a Civil Rights Act in education one year and cut its budget and powers the next. A similar default was congressional inaction on the Teachers Corps. We are disgusted by the Federal Government that permitted CDGM, a creative Head Start program run by the poor, to die because political forces opposed it. We are appalled at a government agency that one day cuts off funds for Chicago public schools and restores them the next. We bitterly remember the treatment of my predecessor, James Farmer, whose literacy program was dropped for political reasons. If the OEO had gone ahead with the funding of that program, tens of thousands of illiterates would today be on their way toward full participation in American life.

Here as never before there is a need for creative partnership. Parents of black and poor chil-

dren must become respected partners in the coalition. Civil Rights groups have already proved that they can produce. One of the most successful Head Start programs in the country, according to Dr. Julius Richman, formerly head of the National Head Start program, was run by Long Island CORE. Universities can offer new ideas. Foundations and businesses can offer funds. The public media can almost singlehandedly reverse the tide of racism, just as they reversed attitudes toward the Japanese and the Germans in a few short years. Programs featuring violence for adults and children instill the attitude that violence is a method of solving problems. Educational programs need to replace them showing that there are other ways of solving problems in a democratic society. The public needs to know what black people have contributed to the history of this nation. They need to know what black people are contributing today.

Government, if for no other reason than that of self-interest in developing productive citizens, should take the lead in creating and educational system of which we can all be proud. The right to get an education is a constitutional right. It is your responsibility to see that that right is guaranteed.

WELFARE AND ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAMS

CORE believes that the gradual phasing out of Anti-Poverty Programs will only result in gradual building up of frustration and alienation by the poor, black and white. We believe that conditions of poverty can best be resolved with programs of constructive militancy that give people dignity and self respect.

Take for example the present Public Assistance program which reaches only 8 million of the 34 million poor people in this country. It costs $5 billion dollars a year to finance this system of the social worker-recipient relationship, which is a modern version of the master-slave relationship with both black and white slaves. On the other hand, last year a mere 1.8 billion dollar anti-poverty program operating under a philosophy of maximum feasible participation of the poor" began mobilizing millions of poor in self-help programs which began to instill a degree of self-determination for the poor.

The system of public welfare fosters dependency and denies basic human and constitutional rights of the poor. In many cases, once you become a welfare recipient you lose most of your citizenship rights and have no vehicles through which to assert your rights except through the good graces of the social workers. It has been said that the welfare

system in this country is one of the most lawless systems in history, and that "public welfare regularly invades the privacy of individuals, denying benefits arbitrarily because government functionaries do not like somebody's housekeeping or bedroom habits." Local social welfare programs are governed by an archaic system of poor laws stemming from the 17th century. Examples are: residence laws; violations of equal protection and suitable home laws which give the state the right to take children from their parents because they are illigitimate.

Attempts to fight through the issue of the constitutionality of present social welfare laws will take decades. The parallel here is with the long struggle fought by CORE and other civil rights groups in the courts to overcome segregation laws.

CORE recommends that less emphasis be placed on Public Assistance programs that stifle initiative and merely perpetuate poverty and that more emphasis and money be put into programs that will help people rise out of poverty and achieve dignity and self respect.

What is needed are programs that encourage competitive activities on the social and economic functioning of

Negroes and the poor. We support the proposal for a guaranteed income maintenance system or negative income tax because it guarantees money as a right for those who are not able to support themselves. But this system alone does not allow for challenging the economic system that now exists in this country. We challenge business, industry and government to initiate and finance black capitalism.

The other factor with the present system of public assistance is that the benefits received by most are below the poverty level. This means that the government is financing a 5 billion dollar POVERTYprogram, not an anti-poverty program. And what's more embarrassing, this POVERTY program costs 2½ times more than the anti-poverty program did last year.

For addressing immediate problems of people on welfare, we suggest a system similar to the ombudsmen or special agencies to enforce the rights of welfare recipients.

HOUSING

Thirty four million Americans are officially designated as poor. Ten million are black. By 1970, nearly 80% of our population will live in urban areas. More significantly, by 1970 more than 50% of the black people will live in the North and West, most in inner city areas.

This means that the problem of slum housing is very much a black man's problem. More and more black people are migrating to cities in search of jobs, housing, decent lives. But when they arrive, they join their urban black brothers in being denied access to jobs, housing and a decent life.

The major problem for this country to address is a shift in priorities and values. We subsidize the railroads, the airlines, the highways--all in the interest of promoting and supporting private enterprise. This makes it all right. When it comes to subsidizing people, we call it welfare for the undeserving.

CORE does not agree that it is more important to build airplanes than people. We must develop ways for the poor to stop being poor--to become a part of this economy and this society.

Ghetto areas should be treated as under-developed countries with no balance of payments, money flows out of the ghetto areas, little money circulates in the community and remains for development. Governmental programs should be used to intervene to correct the balance of payments--to develop an economic base, to develop basic social and economic institutions in these areas.

Housing

In the field of housing, governmental programs have been used to promote and stimulate private enterprise, not to meet the housing needs of the poor; nor have they provided economic stimulation and activity to ghetto areas. The profits go home somewhere else. That somewhere else is the suburbs.

White construction companies reap the profits of building federally funded public housing built in ghetto areas. Black construction companies don't get the jobs and they don't even get bonds. Black workers do not get any of these jobs, nor does any of the money stay in the black community for further investment. Regulations base eligibility on maximum income limits, keep out families receiving public assistance, or families without steady incomes and with personal problems, and pitch rents to construction costs. The result is that poor people and black people who have suffered the revages of a punitive, prejudiced society either cannot afford or are declared ineligible for the so-called low-rent housing that is claimed as being built for them.

Federally funded urban renewal projects are built in border areas where they effectively remove the black and the poor. These projects are planned not to provide decent housing for the people who are being removed, who desperately need it, but to get them out -- to "improve" the neighborhood, to enhance the cities' tax revenue.

With the flight of the middle class and many industries to the suburbs, cities face terrible financial problems, because their tax base is constantly decreasing, while needs for services for those who remain in the cities, the poor, are constantly increasing.

HOUSING

Cities do not have the money to survive.

The federal government must develop new concepts of subsidizing people, and free land to be used for human needs.

Where is this money to come from? This week Mayors around the country have been demanding cuts in the nation's space program and reallocation of funds to the cities. A few weeks delay in reaching the moon represents years of decent living for millions of Americans. Yet the housing and anti-poverty budgets are considered low-priority and "non-essential." Each year $100 million is returned as surplus by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Why is this money returned? Why is it not used to build decent housing and create new jobs?

We must develop programs which do away with the feeling of uselessness of poor people, of black people. They have no property and no chance to own anything. Our society is based on propoerty ownership, our personal identification comes from our jobs, yet black people have few opportunities to participate in either of these critical activities.

We must rebuild our cities to deal with the needs of the people living in them. Rehabilitation programs should be directed toward the elimination of slumlords exploiting the poor and the development of tenant ownership. They should create new jobs for ghetto residents in the rehabilitation work as well as in the management area. This will be a tre-

mendous undertaking. It has been estimated by the Architects' Renewal Committee for Harlem that $3.8 billion is necessary for New York City for the next ten years to rehabilitate existing structures to create decent housing out of them. Another $27 billion is needed to build new units to create a sufficient supply of decent housing for the city. Another $780 million is needed just to make short-term repairs to provide decent housing while new units are being built. In addition, rent supplements will be required because rehabilitation costs will push up rents which poor people cannot pay. This will require an additional $1.1 billion per year.

This is the extent of the problem in just one city. How does the federal government deal with it? As an example, the current rent supplement program, which barely squeaked through Congress, has an appropriation of $20 million.

Nearly 80% of our citizens living in urban areas, the cities are being forced to carry the burden of our domestic problems--without any of the resources necessary to do the job.

There is only one answer: The federal government must accept its responsibility. However, history has shown that federal housing programs have never really been used for the benefit of the masses of the people.

Liberal efforts to obtain legislation to deal with

slum problems have been directed toward abolishing segregated housing patterns. This approach has been destructive and has not resulted in significant increases in low-rent housing.

According to Dr. Richard Cloward and Dr. Frances Piven, in an article to be published in The New Republic next week, only 600,000 low-income units have been built since the start of the public housing program thirty years ago. But in less than half that time, nearly 700,000 units, mostly low-rental, have been destroyed by federal urban renewal and highway programs. In addition, federal tax incentives and mortgage programs have enabled private builders to take slum land at low costs to build middle and upper income housing. This has resulted in the dislocated being crowded into remaining ghetto areas, where the deterioration of ghetto housing has increased. People who have money already have been getting more: "To him that has, it shall be given."

New York City is a prime example. Mayor Lindsay's Housing and Urban Renewal Task Force recently reported that between 1960 and 1965 alone, the number of unsound units in the city rose from 420,000 to 525,000. During the same period, the stock of low-rental units decreased by 260,000 or almost one third.. Similar statistics can be cited in Newark, Cleveland and Baltimore--cities we are particularly concerned about.

HOUSING

The writers contend that: "while the turmoil rages over integration, the housing conditions of the masses of urban poor worsen. They worsen partly because the solution continues to be defined in terms of desegregation, so that the energies and attention of reformers are diverted from attempts to ameliorate housing in the ghetto itself. They worsen more because the issue of integration arouses the racism of the white majority, with the result that housing programs for the poor are defeated."

Gentlemen, the ghetto is a rotten place to live... and it is getting worse. We do not think that integration is the way to decent housing. We do think that federal programs, undertaken in cooperation with local communities, should now be directed to the concrete needs of the people. using all mechanisms and resources that have been so cleverly developed to raise tax revenues and sweep the poor under the rug.

The idea of a COMSAT type corporation for housing, pooling the massive resources of both private industry and government, offers exciting possibilities for the creation of new housing and new jobs. We do not need new legal and administrative mechanisms so much as we need Congressional commitment and funds to be used creatively.

We propose a two-pronged approach:

The first should be massive central city rebuilding programs to be developed with ghetto residents.

HOUSING

This should not be a continuation of token demonstration programs affecting few people, held up by the facade of token community participation. We call for rehabilitation of all existing structures in ghetto areas and the building of new public housing on under utilized sites. This must include employing and training ghetto people to do the work, and turning the ownership of the buildings over to tenant housing corporations. Let us use the financial devises of Urban Renewal in the hands of the poor so that ghetto organizations can acquire and improve slum properties and operate them as decent housing.

Let us make money available at low interest rates. Let us create and develop black contracting companies and train and hire black workers. Let us provide sufficient rent supplements so that people can pay rents increased by rehabilitation costs. Let us remove red tape and create the consept of instant money, and use it to develop our own backyards.

Let us also use federal guarantees to promote private investment in low-rent housing and to bring businesses and industries into ghetto areas. Let us bring the poor into society by providing them with an economic function, and make meeting their needs economically attractive.

The second is the construction of new cities. While many planners have looked to new towns as a solution to many urban problems, we see them as a way of dealing with

HOUSING

the increasing migration of black farm workers to the cities. The construction of new cities offers tremendous opportunities for creation of new jobs, for the development of a whole new skilled population, and most importantly, for the creation of a new environment fit for men, black and white, to live in.

PROTECTION AND LAW ENFORCEMENT

In my opinion there were two tragic omissions on the part of the white majority in the history of this nation -- two cases of reneging on the thrust of black people. One was the failure to give freed slaves forty acres and a mule, a mistake we are paying for to this very day. The other was the failure to send federal registrars into every black community of the South, the day after the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was signed.

The failure of government is clearly shown when citizens are not protected in the exercise of their fundamental rights. A government which has passed laws that it will not enforce is courting disaster. How can such a government demand respect and allegiance from the citizens it ignores?

We don't ask for any more laws. We simply demand that the constitutional rights be enforced. We are aware that political expediency determines decisions far too often. How else can we explain the practice of rewarding political retainers with judgeships when it is known that they are part of the very system that denies justice to black Americans?

Protection and Law Enforcement

A system of justice which depends upon ignorance and poverty to secure convictions is no justice. We support all reforms in this area -- funds for legal assistance, bonding on personal recognizance, and so on.

The role of local law enforcement agencies in provoking revellions in our cities has been discussed to death. We can make specific suggestions so that better qualified men would serve as policemen in our communities. It is mandatory that the nation's law enforcement agencies be men and women of high caliber, judgment and training. Mandatory human relations training provided through the assistance of Federal funds; a massive recruitment program among minority groups; the raising of wage scales comparable to the new professionalization, and access for citizens to a review board made up entirely of civilians to examine charges of police mal-practice are a minimum program.

But we are also aware of the desire of too many police forces to look upon themselves as their own lord and master. CORE reminds this nation that enforcement agencies on all levels, from the CIA to the police force of Los Angeles are responsible to the people they serve. To accept their services on any other terms is to invite totalitarianism.

EMPLOYMENT

Let's briefly review the employment situation. The statistics are familiar to all of us, but they only paint half of the picture. The other half, THE SOLUTIONS, will require money and determination. However, the question of financing is really not the major problem. There is a problem far deeper and greater in scope-- That is the attitude of government as well as private industry as to their responsibility to the millions of poor and unemployed citizens in this country.

It is appropriate here to cite the following statistics: In August 1965, the white unemployment rate was 4.1% and the Negro unemployment rate was 7.7%. The traditional level of almost twice as many unemployed blacks as whites. Presently, white employment is down to 3.5% while at the same time, Negro unemployment has risen to the tragic figure of 8%. The gap continues to widen. Among young men of 18 to 24, the national rate of unemployment is 5 times as high for Negroes as for whites. In addition to the problem of unemployment is the hidden factor of equal pay for equal work. Negroes with Ph.D's make $4,000 less than white Ph.D.

With statistics like these, even people educated in the public schools of our major cities can figure out that employment is a national problem and must be dealt with on a national level. And by the way, we don't agree that one national solution is to lower the unemployment rates by sending nearly 400,000 employables to a war in Southeast Asia.

EMPLOYMENT

The Congress of Racial Equality believes that immediate corrective measures must be instituted. The development of Negro skills is being prevented by racist practices by both government and private industry. Organized labor hasn't cleared its own house yet. The opening up of apprentice programs across the board could be a first step. For example, in New York City, according to a recent article in the NEW YORK TIMES, the plumbers and electricians unions continue gross discriminatory practices to the extent that only about 25 Negroes are electricians and plumbers in this great American city, the "example" of democracy.

First, we should consider creation of jobs for the poor. We do not have in mind "make work" programs, but programs which would affect the hard-core unemployed. The Scheuer Amendment to the anti-poverty act can be used as a basis if Congress will appropriate sufficient funds to make the amendment achieve the objectives for which it was designed. In such a program, jobs would have career potential and should raise the level of hope for those affected.

In such a program for example, young Negro high school graduates from the ghetto who are often found idle on the streets for lack of job opportunities, who are functionally dead as far as the American economy is concerned, can be brought back into the life of the economy by using them as teachers for elementary school children. They can teach reading and recreation activities, and be paid by the government for doing so. They can set up

classes in storefronts for younger teens, churches and other private and public places. These high school graduates can thereby increase their worth to themselves and to the community, and at the same time, earn money.

Secondly, thousands of ghetto dwellers can be employed in hospitals. There are tasks too numerous to mention which can be performed by unskilled persons, relieving nurses and other hospital personnel to attend to their primary tasks. Such sub-professional jobs inherently have potential for advancement. In addition, libraries are understaffed, city streets are filthy, parks need more employees. All of these and many other needs can be alleviated by giving people employment in their own communities, with the financial support and insistence of the federal government.

Employment and urban redevelopment go hand in hand. We need to construct hospitals, schools and numerous other community facilities. We need housing rehabilitation and thousands of new housing units. In this connection, the federal government should only aid those cities who demand that the labor force for these endeavors come primarily from the ghetto community. A percentage of units should be stipulated to be built by qualified Negro prime and sub-contractors, and all contractors should be required to draw some construction workers from the community. If we can force builders to observe certain requirements of <u>structural engineering</u>, there is no reason why we cannot certify them to observe requirements of <u>human engineering</u>.

EMPLOYMENT

Another primary concern of ours is the operation of businesses by black people in their own communities. In this too, there is much more that must be done by the federal government. It has been almost impossible for black men to obtain financing from the white banking and mortgaging community.

The recent action by the government which put the Small Business Administration under the jurisdiction of the Department of Commerce, CORE believes was a regressive act. SBA when removed from the Office of Economic Opportunity, was removed from the more progressive philosophies toward self-help programs for the poor. Since its creation, SBA has not worked effectively. It needs massive funds and drastic re-vamping to create self-help businesses in ghetto areas. In fact, to qualify for a SBA loan you really have to prove that you don't need money.

We need many more black-owned businesses in our black communities, employing local residents. Secretarial schools and small business training programs should be supported by government funds. Cooperatives and credit unions should be encouraged.

In Baltimore, for example, CORE's Target City, CORE has many success stories to its credit. Led by Walter Brooks and staff, it is an example of what CORE can do in an urban area when there is cooperation with business, local officials and government. A job training program for auto mechanics, gas

station operators and small business skills was funded Monday, December 5th, as a cooperative effort by the Department of Labor, the Humble Oil Company and political leadership on local, state and federal levels.

Shortly after the first Watts riot in 1964, CORE established Operation Bootstrap, a job development agency for unemployed young men whose slogan was "Learn, Baby, Learn." Without federal grants or foundation money, a self-help effort developed by CORE and the people in WATTS, in cooperation with several corporations which contributed materials, facilities and training. With federal grants and foundation money, Operation Bootstrap could expand its operations and really become a unique demonstration of constructive building of a community.

In Louisiana, CORE helped to create a sweet potato co-operative which is now successfully supporting 375 Negro and white farmers.

The Congress of Racial Equality will continue to do its share; If government, private industry, and Labor do theirs, full employment and productivity can be a reality for all.

SUMMARY

In summary.....the urban crisis must come into this room. The anguish of poor people -- black people fenced into the squalid ghettoes must actually govern your deliberations. The themes repeat endlessly -- the ghettoes are here, polluted by racism and cynicism -- and the people are here, shattered, humiliated and vengeful. Nothing short of an immense national commitment spending the nation's resources on life as easily as we spend them on death-in-battle -- nothing short of this can take us out of this dishonorable time of our history.

We in CORE will do what we can -- and it will not always suit you. Today I have urged you to re-define your commitment and I have presented dozens of programs that can, if enacted and administered with integrity, reverse the river of violence and hopelessness. And beyond all of this -- I would hope that you heard me say even more --

1. For God's sake end this terrible war in Viet Nam, bring black men home to re-build their own lives, their own communities. And take the incredible costs of killing and use them to save the lives of the poor.

Summary

2. Understand that there is no longer time for the utopian dream -- integration will only come when strong black men and women with pride are fully functioning in our society.

3. Throw out the rule-book of education. Create a National Board of Education dedicated to the task of stopping the maiming of black children's minds -- and give them a heritage instead of a bayonet. And stop the systematic production of racists-minded white children.

4. Create jobs -- real jobs, honorable work. Change the course of rivers, build highways, landscape our nation -- and let us do the job. In the entire history of the immigrant American, the Northern Negro is the first to be denied the right to build his own land.

5. And build homes that men and women can live in --not just in the fringes of the city, but in the heart of the ghetto -- and let those who are the veterans of the slums be the beneficiary of these homes.

6. And remember that black people are the victims of public media -- the victims of stereotypes and canned violence.

Summary

7. And stop the backlashes, the hysteria...because we intend to do what we must do with or without you. Twenty-two million American black people are indeed emerging into a massive political consciousness -- we <u>will</u> be reckoned with...there is no form of slavery, however subtle, that we will ever countenance again.

FOOTNOTES

1. (N.Y. Times - 11/16/66) "More than 80% of the 1700 college graduates trained for teaching this summer in a seven week emergency program have been assigned to schools with heavy concentrations of disadvantaged pupils." Said one principal: "We have committed a horrible and horrendous crime in assigning these youngsters to classes that require an expert of experts."

2. (N.Y. Times 12/1/66) From a report to the President by the National Advisory Council on Education of the Disadvantaged made Nov. 30, 1966, an evaluation of the $250,000,000 spent on specific summer education projects for disadvantaged children earlier this year, went on to say: "Yet in most communities studied, the special projects for the poor 'were alarmingly deficient in facing up to this need'."

3. (N.Y. Times 11/24/66) Report submitted by Dr. Robert Vinter, Assoc. Dean of University of Michigan School of Social Workers and Dr. Rosemary Sarri, Assoc. Prof. of Social Work, financed by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and the Dept. of H.E.W.

4. Floyd B. McKissick, "Is Integration Necessary?" New Republic, December 3, 1966, pp. 33-36.

5. The controversy over I.S. 201 - One view and a proposal by Preston Wilcox, Prof. of Social Work, Columbia University School of Social Work.

734 South Lynn Avenue
Elizabethton, Tennessee 37643
December 8, 1966

DEC 12 1966

Mr. Floyd McKissick
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Please know that I applaud your courageous and noble stand before the Congress of the United States today, as you defended the rights of man, the Negro who has been oppressed, disfranchised, and denied the basic constitutional and human rights under our democracy since his arrival in this country.

In the face of racism and defense of the white backlash, you upheld our demand for equality in all areas of human coexistence. "The Negro American is, under the Constitution of the United States, a full and legal citizen of this country and those rights of citizenship cannot legally be abridged by any individual or group or by any township, city, county or state government.

The United States Constitution is respected throughout the world as a classic document outlining and defining the rights of the individual under a democracy and American citizens almost since the beginning have bitterly contested any move that might for even a moment deprive a white citizen of even the most minute portion of these rights."

God bless you, Sir, and all friends of CORE and all believers in the rights and dignity of man.

Faithfully yours in freedom,

Eugene A. Jackson

Eugene A. Jackson

xxxxxx 200 W. 135th St.

December 9, 1966

Mayor John V. Lindsay
City Hall
New York, New York

Dear Mayor Lindsay:

Mr. McKissick requested that the enclosed testimony he presented to the Senate Committee on Urban Problems, Subcommittee on Government Operations, on December 8, 1966, be forwarded to your office, for your information.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
Enc. (1) Testimony

xxxxx 200 W.. 135th St.

December 13, 1966

Conrad J. Lynn, Esq.
Lynn, Spitz & Condon
401 Broadway
New York, New York 10013

Dear Mr. Lynn:

Your note of December 10th is very deeply appreciated.

Your expression of support is particularly welcome as it represents the praise of a man whose accomplishments I very much respect.

Very truly yours,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

FBMcK:ilh

DEC 13 1966

LAW OFFICES
LYNN, SPITZ & CONDON

CONRAD J. LYNN
GEORGE R. SPITZ
GENE ANN CONDON

401 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10013
212-CANAL 6-5226

December 10, 1966

Floyd McKissick, Esq.
National CORE
New York City

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Permit me to extend to you my heartiest congratulations on your remarkably courageous and intelligent presentation before the Senate subcommittee on Thursday. It was apparent that you towered intellectually and morally above everyone in that room.

The white power structure is desperately trying to save the handkerchief heads as our leaders but that cause is lost. I hope to see you at the regional black power conference near the end of January.

Sincerely,

Conrad J. Lynn

cjl/ym

xxxxx 200 W. 135th St.

December 13, 1966

Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Attention: Paul Ylvisacker

Dear Mr. Ylvisacker:

Mr. McKissick requested that the enclosed testimony he presented to the Senate Committee on Urban Problems, Subcommittee on Government Operations, on December 8, 1966, be forwarded to your office, for your information.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
Enclosure (1)

xxxxxx 200 W. 135th St.

December 13, 1966

Mr. David McCall
c/o C. J. LaRoche
575 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. McCall:

Mr. McKissick requested that the enclosed testimony he presented to the Senate Committee on Urban Problems, Subcommittee on Government Operations, on December 8, be forwarded to your office, for your information.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
Enclosure (1)

DEC 19 1966

12/15/66

Mr. Floyd McKissick
Cong. Racial Equality N.Y.C

Sir.

Enclosed editorial Dec. 14th. "Newark Star Ledger" - also a copy my letter Dec. 15th, to Ed. Star Ledger.

to wit

Anent your editorial "Black Power, 12/14/66, I have read and reread your editorial and, in the light of our history, the more revolting it becomes. Are you aware that for years every white immigrant landing on Ellis Is, New York harbor, was handed a leaflet warning our prospective citizens to beware of the Am. Negro citizen? Separatism? We asked, are architects of "Black Power" Now I do not like "Black Power" any more than you. However, I repeat, we created the atmosphere for Black Power in 1863-5 +

Now the Challenge!! If, as you say you are so opposed to separatism, I challenge you to print on your page one two full size photographs - one a black American [not African or Ethiopian] and an American white woman in a close kissing embrace - also, reversely, a black American woman and a white man. Having done this, you can in all sincerity take issue with Mr. McKissick. Dealing with the Ellis Is. issue, request a replay tape of John Rebel - Roy Wilkins NAACP radio interview WNBC '66.

Signed An Objective White

Black power

The unfortunate implications of the inflammatory slogan of "black power" represent an insidious form of segregation, the turning of the nation's 22 million Negroes into themselves, a process of ghettoizing distinct and apart from the whites.

If one were to ascribe to the beliefs of Floyd B. McKissick, the national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), this is the only inference, the only conclusion that can be drawn.

The urban Negro of the North, says Mr. McKissick, is resigned to life in a segregated black ghetto. As he sees it, racial integration is a utopian goal, and what the Negro is now demanding is to control the ghetto, politically and economically.

This is the profile of "black power."

Its fervent, and continued espousal by Mr. McKissick serves only to broaden the breach with concerned, responsible liberals in the North and moderates in the South. It feeds the voracious appetites of the racists in the South and the reactionaries in the North.

Most important, it victimizes the American Negro, only now emerging from a century of social, economic and cultural deprivation in this country.

It is the arrogance of negative thinking that inspires Mr. McKissick to proclaim that the "civil rights movement is dead." This epochal struggle for human equality has been grievously injured by unthinking, intemperate slogans like "black power" but it is far from dead.

There are other responsible Negro leaders, as militant and as dedicated as Mr. McKissick, who have been valiantly attempting to undo the damage wreaked by those who pursue a reckless course of inflammatory rhetoric and irrational polemic without the fundamental substance of constructive purpose.

The civil rights movement will survive the negativism of slogans that divide the Negro from the white, but it would be naive to assume that this inflammatory diversion has not been deeply hurtful. It represents a formidable challenge to responsible Negro leaders, now faced with the task of undoing the damage created by the intrusion of a basically unsound racial philosophy.

The Star-Ledger

S. I. NEWHOUSE, Publisher
GEORGE P. SLOCKBOWER, Associate Publisher
MORT PYE, Editor
Star-Ledger Plaza, Newark, N. J., 07101
Telephone: 877-4141

120 Evergreen Road
North Fort Myers
Florida 33903

December 21 1966

DEC 27 1966

Friendly Greetings to Floyd McKissick!

What fine and constructive things you said to the Senate Urban Affairs Committee! I've just read your words in "National Guardian" for December 17th.

My enclosed may help to make your great work for peace more effective. Again I praise your Americans Want To Know group. Donald Duncan, Dave McReynolds, Staughton Lynd and Russell Stetler are among those I'm proud to say who have written to me to express appreciation for this particular article. I hope you find it of value also.

Best Wishes!

Gordon

Gordon Caulfeild

Muhammad Speaks

PUBLISHED BY MUHAMMAD'S MOSQUE NO. 2, DEDICATED TO FREEDOM, JUSTICE AND EQUALITY FOR THE SO-CALLED NEGRO

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JAN 3 1967

December 30, 1966

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
CORE
200 West 135th Street
New York 38, New York

Dear Floyd:

Thank you for sending me the statement -- it is qualitatively superb. I wish there were someway to get more of your remarks made during your journeys through this land. Like the travels of Marco Polo, they need to be recorded for posterity -- where posterity can see it.

Sincerely,
Richard Durham
Richard Durham,
Editor

RD/f

midstream

A Monthly Jewish Review

515 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10022 • Phone Plaza 2-0600

JAN 5 1967

January 3, 1967

Miss Marie Simmons
Public Relations Department
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Miss Simmons:

As per our telephone conversation this morning, I am enclosing a permission slip as well as a covering letter, explaining our request to Mr. McKissick.

I look forward to your early reply.

Sincerely,

Deena A. Forman

Deena A. Forman
Editorial Secretary

/daf

midstream

A Monthly Jewish Review

515 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10022 • Phone Plaza 2-0600

December 19, 1966

Mr. Floyd McKissick, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. McKissick:

We are planning to have the symposium on Negro-Jewish Relations in America published in paperback book form.

We would like to have your permission to include your article in this book. Because of the nature of the subject it is urgent that the book appear without delay, and we must therefore have your consent as soon as possible.

As you no doubt realize, the publication of this symposium in book form, even as its publication in Midstream, is an educational, rather than a profit-making enterprise. In view of the limited budget at our disposal we can (with due apologies for the smallness of the sum) offer each contributor to the symposium the very modest sum of $25.00 for his permission to include his contribution in the book.

We are sure that, like us, you too are anxious that this important symposium in which you participated should reach a wider audience.

We urge you to reply by return mail.

Sincerely yours,

Shlomo Katz
Editor

SK/daf

January 11, 1967

Mr. Robert Allen
National Guardian
197 East Fourth Street
New York, New York 10009

Dear Mr. Allen:

As per our telephone conversation of this afternoon, we have enclosed a copy of Mr. McKissick's testimony to the Senate Committee on Urban Problems, Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
Enc. (1)

January 17, 1967

Mr. A. M. Browan
4182 Shafter Avenue
Oakland, California

Dear Mr. Browan:

Thank you for your letter of December 11, 1966.

Although Miss McGrory's column was quite accurate, it did not, and could not give the entire program that Mr. McKissick presented to the Senate Committee on Urban Problems, Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization. Therefore, for your information, we are enclosing the entire 33 pages of prepared testimony, which includes our program for the ghettos of America.

Thank you very much for your interest and for taking the time to write to us.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
enclosure (1)

DEC 15 1966

4182 Shafter Ave.,
Oakland, Calif.
Dec. 11, 1966

Dear Mr. McKissick

I read the report from the Washington Staref your appearance before the Senate Cities Committee, and I wish to give you my impression on the things you said asreported by the writer Mary McGrory.

I believe the Civil Rights Movement has helped the Negro people considerably, but should be put in its place as secondary to the economic issue, as I see you have done in declaring the end of the Viet N am war as the first step in better race relations. But I also think this statement needs some airing, as it leaves one to guess just how the war and race relations are vitally related.

Further down the column you are quoted as saying "--1966 is theyear the Negro said 'I am what I am'," This is telling the Negro people nothing at all! Spell it outstrong and clear as they say, and repeat and repeat that the Negro shall not be any longer a ward of the state; that he shall demand his birthright now of the industrialists and military that are running Washington. One could take it from here and write a book, but isn't this in part what you mean by 'I am what I am'?

The story goes on to say and I quote: McKissick demanded instant money for the ghettosnow. Has CORE a plan for that money--what is the PLAN? SPELL IT OUT! The demand is worth broad support which could be forthcoming if people new the economy can xxxx well afford it, and in fact it would bring a measure of prosperity to the ppor. and to the country as a whole. You are right -- the first is the War must be stopped.

To say that black and white people are different is to defeat in my opinion the very truth you are fighting for; that is that no people are superior or inferior to anyother. To misread all we know of human nature, all we know of history, even if only of the last hundred years, will be tragic to the youth, both black and white. You and Carmichael have the eyes and ears of the youth--carry this trust as you would a new born so that in the immediate future we do not have youthful martyrs of both races.

Your movement can be the spearhead for great changes in this country--remember you have friends among the whites and you have foes among the blacks. The attck must be on the vested interests. The demands must be on Washington which is under the control of the Industrial-Military Combine.

Sincerely yours,

A M Brown

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 90th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 113 WASHINGTON, MONDAY, JANUARY 23, 1967 No. 8

Senate

MONDAY, JANUARY 23, 1967

THE COMPETENT CITY: AN ACTION PROGRAM FOR URBAN AMERICA

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, I introduce for appropriate reference a number of bills dealing with urban affairs, which I shall discuss this afternoon.

Mr. President, the Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization of the Government Operations Committee held 6 weeks of hearings last year on the Federal role in urban affairs. We heard the testimony of 75 witnesses—Federal and local government officials, representatives of industry, labor, finance, universities, foundations, private organizations, and the ranks of the citizens themselves.

Our inquiry was wide ranging. We proceeded from the premise that the appropriate organization of the Federal Government's efforts—and therefore the direction of our national efforts—to solve the continuing problems of American cities should be determined by examining the nature of the problems themselves.

Our witnesses described urban America. We examined both sides of the urban coin. On one side we found the highest standard of living known to man, a strong and growing economy, high wages, and record employment.

The other side of the urban coin is etched with the acid of despair. There is an urban America seething with discontent, erupting in violence, rotting at the core of its cities, bound with the chains of problems too long unsolved and too massive to be ignored.

Witnesses recited a long series of statistics, calculated to demonstrate the magnitude of the crisis—but so familiar that we have become immune to their significance.

We heard from witnesses, too, who live with—and are—the statistics. They described the hopelessness that comes from cycle after cycle of frustration and despair—from dangling on the cliff between unemployment and underemployment. Their children attend schools described by educators as custodial—not educational—institutions. And they spend a far greater proportion of their meager incomes than the rest of us on the basic necessities—food, shelter, and clothing.

Sixteen million poor live in our metropolitan areas—10 million in the central cities of America. Another 26 million live in the shadowland of deprivation—with incomes above the minimum poverty level, but below what most authorities define as "adequate" means.

But it would be a tragic mistake to regard our poor and near-poor as basically different from the rest of us—with different hopes and different dreams. Like all Americans, they want a decent job and a home in a decent environment. The urban poor want to participate in the American free enterprise system. This system has worked for most Americans—now we must make it work for all.

The crisis in the American city is a crisis of doubt—doubt that the promise of America can be kept. It is the danger that exists when a legitimate hope is frustrated and aspirations destroyed. For when men cannot accomplish their goals in acceptable ways, they resort to shortcuts—and far too often, violence is the shortcut chosen.

Violence is self-defeating. It cannot result in true progress. But one of the tragic lessons of last summer's riots was that violence—the last alternative—often accomplished short-term results where reasoned approaches and orderly protest failed. Riots seemed to produce results—from sprinklers on fire hydrants to increase job opportunities.

Law and order must be maintained. But punishment alone is no answer. Orderly cities cannot be based on the passive order of a citizenry bowed into submission. They must be built on the order of a democracy working together for the common good.

Trucks, tanks, troops, and guns can restrain violence. But only citizens can maintain democracy—citizens with the self-respect that comes from participation in the society and the recognition of the rewards of initiative. Citizens denied the chance to achieve self-respect—economic, social, and moral—are denied fundamental justice.

How, then, shall we attain this justice? Not by talk. We have talked a great deal about the problems of our cities. To solve them, we have too often resorted to rhetoric—our most abundant resource.

Nor will we attain our objectives by continuing on our present course. The temptation to do so is great. We are at war in southeast Asia. We have committed the lives of our men and the material of our industry to the defense of a nation thousands of miles away. And when foreign battle threatens, domestic efforts slow. We are tempted, then, to trust to good luck and fortune to muddle through—to keep on doing what we have done, but a little slower and a little less.

I submit that to take that road is to dissipate our resources. It assumes that our domestic programs are fully relevant to the problems of today, that they are properly organized for an effective attack on these problems, and that—if our foreign commitments were reduced—we would achieve automatic success in our cities.

That simply is not the case. For our current approach to solving social problems is programmatic—not systematic—in nature. For 35 years we have acted as if each individual problem in our society—large or small—could be solved by passing a new program. In view of the progress we have made in this Nation, it often is difficult to understand the need for a new approach at the Federal level.

Consider, for example, that since 1935 our gross national product has climbed 843 percent; per capital disposable income—in constant dollars—has increased 125 percent; unemployment has been reduced by seven times to a current rate of 3.7 percent. Examine the profits of corporations, which reached a new level of $48.2 billion in 1966—an increase of 1,612 percent since the bleak days of 1935.

Our people are both better educated and better employed. As late as 1940 the median education level in America was between the eighth and ninth grade. Today, it is close to a full high school education—a jump from 8.4 years of learning to 11.8 years.

Back in 1930, only 14.2 percent of our labor force was employed in managerial and professional capacities—while 19.8 percent were unskilled laborers. By 1965, the proportion of managerial and professional people in the labor force had risen to nearly 40 percent—and our unskilled labor force had dropped to 11.3 percent.

For more than three decades, and through the administrations of five Presidents, we have educated the young, cured the sick, protected the aged, and promoted industrial growth. And there can be no question that our efforts were crowned with a success beyond the highest dreams of those who worked in the New Deal to found a new concept of government. Yet even the programs of the Great Society represent the end—not the beginning—of an era.

Our society has changed—and so our task has changed. We have moved from a nation staggering in the depths of a great depression to a nation of great affluence—from a society in which the bond between man and neighbor was forged of crying need and common desperation—to a society capable of living in large measure apart from the tragedy of our inner cities.

But we cannot continue to move ahead—to eliminate the slums of America today and build the competent city tomorrow—unless we change our tools and our techniques. For these are the most massive and complex domestic goals this Nation has ever set.

The hearings before the Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization demonstrated the magnitude of the task ahead. It is enormous—as large as life itself—for we are speaking of the future life of an urban nation.

The cost of the task has been estimated as $1 trillion—but that number can cause as much fear as concern. Let us examine that awe-inspiring figure.

One of the best analyses was included in, "Capital Requirements for Urban De-

velopment and Renewal," by John W. Dykman and Reginald R. Isaacs. The authors estimate the capital requirements to accomplish the rehabilitation of America's cities at nearly one thousand billion dollars over a 12-year period. They define rehabilitation as:

> The total of all public and private actions which must be taken to provide for the continuous sound maintenance and development of urban areas.

Under their assumption, there would be—

> safety and comfort in housing, highways, and public places, and availability of full utilities and community facilities, including police, fire and health protection. . . . All slums would be cleared and all existing structures would be replaced, renovated or repaired, and all new structures maintained in standard condition.

It is self-evident that the job is too big to be accomplished by government alone. Dykman and Isaacs believe the ratio of private to public investment should be 7 to 1. In testimony before the subcommittee, David Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, stated that five private dollars should be involved to every one governmental dollar.

So let us not think of a trillion dollars of Federal money. Let us rather approach the subject systematically—as a question of assembling capital investment—something we have done in this Nation time and again. In times of war—in the assault on space—in the construction of a supersonic transport—even when we decided to lay rails across the continent, we have taken public actions to generate response by the private sector. So we must take public actions today to aid the cities where most Americans live.

There is no gimmick—no slogan—no simple mechanism called "Comsat" or anything else—that will automatically generate private investment in the rebuilding of our cities. Rather, there is a need for commitment—a commitment of time, money and talent—a commitment sufficient to shape the future. We must make that commitment and take constructive and selective actions to carry it out.

Imagine, for a moment, that all the problems of the cities were contained in a large, heavy, and irregularly shaped rock. We want to move that rock—to get our cities and their problems off dead center. One strategy would be to strike the rock with a massive force. We could commit $1 trillion of new Federal money to solving the problems. That would be both unrealistic and inefficient. Another strategy would be to try and move the rock by throwing many smaller stones at it—by continuing our present programs. That would only chip away at the surface.

Obviously, there is a more effective way. We can determine the key pressure points and then move the rock by applying leverage in the right places. We must apply leverage at the pressure points in our cities, so that private investment will multiply the original force of public investment.

Rebuilding our cities is a task of great magnitude—a difficult task which challenges our sense of responsibility as citizens. Assembling capital to build mechanical devices—whether they are trains or spacecraft—is far less complex and formidable a job than assembling the resources necessary to rebuild people's lives.

Since we are dealing with people, since we must understand the forces at work in the city and our society, then we must look at the people, not the houses—at the individual, not the group—at what a man wants, not what someone else tells him he needs.

An age symbolized by the computer and the megalopolis carries with it the threat of a nation of anonymous individuals—a lonely crowd of people without personal identities. Our policies must reflect the conviction that the larger our society becomes, the more we are dutybound to pay attention to its smaller units—the individual and the neighborhood.

The need is for Federal programs flexible enough to allow for local decisions and local control by the citizens who participate in them. We must measure our successes not in terms of conformity, but in terms of concrete impact on the life of the individual.

I have described the Great Society as the successful end of the New Deal, and the beginning of a new era. Fundamentally, the New Deal was a major innovation in the organization of the Federal Government—an innovation in scope and scale. Agencies and departments were reorganized and created to deal with the monumental problems of the depression.

Those problems are in large part solved. Now we have another set of problems, equally challenging. Yet our Federal agencies continue to administer programs in the time-honored traditions of the 1930's.

As the problems of the 1930's forced the Federal Government to reorganize to the problems of the second half of the 20th century demand that the Government be modernized again.

It was Franklin Delano Roosevelt who said:

> The principal object of every Government all over the world seems to have been to impose the ideas of the last generation on the present one. That is all wrong.

We should heed this call to change today.

And so I propose a five-point program to improve life in our cities—a program that offers no single solution, because there is none—a program to provide:

First. Guaranteed job opportunities for all;

Second. A home in a decent environment;

Third. Maximum encouragement for private investment in rebuilding our cities;

Fourth. Involvement of the individual and an emphasis on neighborhood development; and

Fifth. Reorganization in the executive branch to meet the challenges of today with the techniques of the present—not the methods of yesterday.

GUARANTEED JOB OPPORTUNITIES

The most obvious fact in America is that a good job at an adequate wage is the key to providing self-respect for an individual and progress for a nation.

We have known this lesson for years. Yet our overall manpower situation still troubles us—and in the central cities it depresses us—economically and psychologically.

Unemployment in the central cities is twice the national rate. Men in the prime working years—25 to 54—have an unemployment rate three times greater than their counterparts in the Nation at large. One out of every four teenagers in the central city cannot find a job.

Even these statistics are incomplete. They include only those we know about. Hundreds of thousands who live in our cities are never counted.

Because we define "unemployed" as "actively looking for work and unable to find it," we overlook the men and women who have lost out so often they no longer seek a job. These are our most serious cases of unemployment—but we have little information about these people.

To rebuild and rehabilitate the American city, we must find out how many Americans we have in our cities—who they are—how many of them are working—and at what kind of jobs.

As the Reverend Leon Sullivan, whose opportunities industrialization centers have had huge success in training poor people and then placing them in good jobs, told us:

> Begin to rehabilitate a people and you begin to rehabilitate a city. Structures do not make democracies or civilizations. Only attitudes and the spirits and desires of men to promote a change for their own betterment can do this. . . . Poor people . . . want a skill to prepare themselves for a job in order that they might be able to stand on their own feet.

The goal is clear: a job for every American capable of working, as well as adequate salaries and training programs so our people do not find themselves trapped in underemployment and unemployment.

I believe our society is capable of reaching that goal—and we should begin that effort in the central city. That is where the unemployment and the poverty, the crushed hopes, the alienation and the anger, the apathy and the despair are concentrated.

We begin there for two very important reasons: First, we want to break the cycle of hopelessness; and second, it is to our economic advantage to do so.

Reverend Sullivan's program in Philadelphia is an example. In its 2 years of operation, more than 2,500 men and women—most of them unemployed, the rest underemployed—have been trained and placed in new productive jobs. They have added $6 million a year in new purchasing power to the economy of the city of Philadelphia and saved the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania a welfare cost of $1 million a year—an overall gain of $7 million. And this has happened with people whose median age is 27 and whose average level of schooling is below the ninth grade. This surely bears out another witness, Dr. Robert Coles, a psychiatrist, told us:

> There is nothing in the minds of any group of Americans that necessarily compels our present problems to continue.

A fuller employed and a better employed nation—a nation of cities that function as complete human environments with enough jobs—accessible jobs—for all—will be a more financially and socially sound nation than one that concentrates its poor and near poor in one area and its jobs in another.

For this—the separating of the people from the jobs—is a major characteristic of American cities.

The central city as an economic unit is getting weaker and weaker. More than the middle class moves away. The jobs and factories disappear too.

In the low-income neighborhoods of an earlier generation, a man could walk to work. But between 1960 and 1965, three-fifths of all new industrial plants were going up outside the central cities. In some cities, the percentage of new plants being built away from the areas of unemployment has been as high as 85 percent. This occurred at a time when local transit fares reached record heights and when wages did not consider the fact that a low-income person often had to travel twice as far to get to work.

Thus, when we look at our central cities in terms of manpower, we find that our current statistics are misleading in many ways. They do tell us that Negro unemployment is disastrous—twice the national average, and reaching the largest levels since the depression in some places. And they tell us that in terms of sheer numbers, there are more white unemployed in our central cities than Negro because there are more poor whites than poor Negroes.

But employment and manpower are constantly shifting factors. When men can slide into poverty very quickly, there is always a fear of layoffs and underemployment.

When we look at the city in these terms, we find that the poverty risk is greatest in the city—70 percent greater than outside the central cities.

We learn that families of service workers in the central city have an average income of 11 percent less than their counterparts outside the city in the same kind of jobs.

Work alone is no guarantee of a decent living standard. City families whose main bread winner was a service worker earned 18 percent less than comparable families outside the city. For laborers, the figure was 23 percent less.

And we still have not begun to consider the tragedy of teenage unemployment—and what happens when young people suddenly learn that their education has not opened any doors. Where will they turn then?

When we contemplate this waste in human resources and financial productivity, how true is the observation of Gunnar Myrdal, the distinguished Swedish observer of the American scene:

> Never before in the history of America has there been a greater and more complete identity between the ideals of social justice and the requirements of economic progress.

EXPANDED EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR

Our job is to put people to work in our cities. We must involve in this endeavor all the resources of the Nation, public and private.

Our first task is to expand private employment opportunities in our cities. This is basically a responsibility of the private sector. The availability of employment depends on the location of the plant, business or store—and that, as it should be, is a private decision, freely arrived at, by American business and industry.

I believe that American business would locate, and relocate, in the cities again. It must be given the proper incentives—the proper assurances—and the clear understanding that government—be it Federal, State, or local—is willing to do its share and fulfill its commitment.

We cannot expect private businesses to locate in areas of unemployment out of the simple kindness of their hearts. We cannot ask the private sector to undertake a commitment that the public sector either has not made or has made halfheartedly. The private sector must be encouraged to locate where unemployment and underemployment prevail. Here the Federal Government can proceed in a number of ways.

THE ROLE OF THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

We should begin with an examination of the role of the Economic Development Administration—EDA—the only Federal agency created for the specific purpose of providing new job opportunities in areas of high unemployment or low family income. One would think that this would be the ideal agency to move into a high unemployment or underemployment area of a city in order to generate economic development in the area, new plant location and the like.

The EDA program is described in the "catalog of Federal programs for individual and community improvement" as one "designed to provide new industry and permanent jobs in areas where they are most needed. The single primary objective of the act is to create a climate conducive to the development of private enterprise in economically distressed communities." Has that meant help for Hough, or Harlem, or Watts? No—it has not, because those communities are parts of Cleveland, New York, or Los Angeles, and the cities are not economically distressed. But the jobless are in Watts, Hough, and Harlem. That is where the discontent breeds. That is where the poor life. That is where EDA should be operating at full speed.

Many have made suggestions about this vitally important proposition. I propose the addition of a new title VIII, entitled "Urban Redevelopment Areas," to the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. The amendment would enable the Economic Development Administration to provide financial assistance under title II of the act to public works and business loan projects in order that additional vitally needed job opportunities may be created to benefit the areas of concentrated unemployment now existing within the Nation's larger urban areas. Under the amendment, urban areas having a minimum population of 20,000 persons could be designated as urban redevelopment areas. The amendment contains a mandatory requirement of interagency coordination between the Secretaries of Commerce, Labor, Housing and Urban Development, and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

It is not enough simply to qualify core city areas for EDA title II assistance. We must examine the availability of that aid to determine its adequacy. Under existing law, EDA is authorized to make direct loans for 65 percent of the cost of industrial and commercial enterprises. Though an annual authorization of $170 million is available for this program, we appropriated last year $56 million—about one-third the authorized amount.

Experts estimate $10,000 as the average amount of private investment needed to create one job. The $56 million appropriated last year thus committed the Nation to the creation of 5,600 jobs—and hardly one was in a major city. How can we expect private enterprise to take Government seriously when we pass bills and administer them with great ballyhoo and little followthrough? We should greatly increase this program and fund it accordingly. At least $1 billion a year should be made available for this direct loan assistance.

But the Federal Government need only be the lender of last resort. Direct loans are important—but we should also encourage private business and industry to locate in distressed areas through other, less costly means. To do this, we need to look at both the borrower and the lender.

INTEREST SUBSIDIZATION

First, how do we encourage the borrower—the businessman willing to locate in unemployment areas—to seek private financing before coming to the Government? One way is through the principle of interest subsidization, proposed by the administration in 1965 but not enacted by Congress. Under this proposal—called "interest rate rebate"—the Federal Government would reduce by two percentage points the interest costs incurred by the private business borrower who was able to find financing for his plant or business from private sources. This is a feature of some of our existing housing laws, which should be made applicable to private business investment as well as private housing.

The system works in Belgium and West Germany. It could well be the kind of inducement a business needs to locate in an area of high unemployment rather than in some other area. Assuming a $5 million first year cost of such a program over a 10-year period, because of amortization only $30 million will be expended—an average of $3 million annually. According to testimony before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee, this amount of money would generate $2.5 billion of loans.

A Federal investment of $30 million over a decade that generates $2.5 billion of private investment is money well spent—especially when you consider the millions poured down the drain on programs. I will introduce such a proposal.

GUARANTEED LOANS

Interest subsidization helps the borrower—but we must also encourage the private lender, so that direct Government loans are truly loans of last resort. A program of Government guarantees—whereby the Federal Government reduces the risk to the lender by undertak-

ing to guarantee repayment of principal—could generate private loans in a ratio of 20 to 1 to appropriated Federal funds.

I will propose the establishment of a program of guaranteed loans by private lenders to businesses willing to locate in areas defined as "economically distressed" by the criteria—including a new title VIII—of the Economic Development Act of 1965. I propose that $100 million in Federal funds be appropriated to establish a capital reserve, sufficient to guarantee $2 billion in private loans and new investment capital.

REGIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

Finally, I would establish a system to encourage regional economic development programs, as suggested by the National Commission on Technology, Automation and Economic Progress. As pointed out in the Commission's report:

> Federal Reserve Districts have several advantages as bases for regional development programs: The Federal Reserve Districts approximate existing regional economies; they are already established; and, since the Federal Reserve System is closely associated with private banking institutions, it could effectively stimulate the application of private funds to the development of local and regional economies.

The Commission's entire recommendation relating to venture capital banks and technical institutes is far-reaching and requires further study. But I do believe that the suggestion relating to a program of economic analysis operated through the Federal Reserve System is sound. This should be pursued by amending the Federal Reserve Act by adding a new section 13(b), establishing a program of economic analysis and evaluation within each Federal Reserve district and establishing in each district an Advisory Council for Economic Growth.

IMPROVED TRAINING AND MANPOWER PROGRAMS

The involvement of the private sector requires more than direct Federal loans, interest rate rebates, loan guarantees, and economic planning in the Federal Reserve System. The practical businessman knows that all his good intentions coupled with the good intentions of government will not create job opportunities, if there are no trained men and women to fill the jobs when they are created. The lack of trained and skilled workers is one of the most important obstacles to locating plants in the core city.

While the educated and skilled moved to the suburbs, the poorly educated and unskilled were migrating to the central city. The former Administrator of EDA, Eugene Foley, put it well:

> In theory of course, the blue-collar workers in these needy urban areas should have followed the blue-collar jobs out of the city. But in practice this hasn't happened, and there is no indication that it is about to happen. The blue-collar workers in these areas either do not have the motivation—and for very understandable human reasons—to move, or else they do not have the money to move, or some may be barred by discrimination from living near these jobs outside the city. * * * In other words, they do not have easy access to employment at best, and no access at worst.

Therefore, while we encourage the private sector to locate in unemployment areas in our cities, we must also take steps to assure the necessary work force to fill the jobs we are trying to create. Unless we do this we lose credibility with business. The private sector must have confidence in the public official, the public agency, and the public program, if we expect the private sector to play a meaningful role.

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR

Private enterprise itself can play a meaningful role. American business and industry can engage in massive training and basic education programs, both on the job and communitywide. I will introduce legislation to encourage such activity by permitting industry to claim as a credit against their taxes the direct costs of such training programs.

GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSIBILITIES

Still in all, the kind of massive training and basic education we need in this country is the responsibility of the public sector. How is this responsibility being carried out? Since 1961, federally supported manpower programs have increased eightfold and cost $2.1 billion annually. The Department of Labor, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare and the Office of Economic Opportunity now administer manpower programs in 10 separate organizational units. According to Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz:

> There are fifteen to thirty separate manpower programs administered by public and private agencies, all supported by Federal funds, in each major U.S. metropolitan area.

One would think that with such a large expenditure of funds we would have a national manpower program in this country. But we do not. Only about one out of every 10 Federal dollars is spent on programs operated by agencies of the Federal Government. The rest is spent through grants and contracts to encourage and assist State and local governments and private institutions to provide employment-related services.

Attempts to coordinate these wide-ranging programs at the Federal level have failed. Until we have a unified manpower program in a unified manpower agency we will continue to dissipate much of the good that flows from our existing training and education efforts. If we learned nothing else during the 6 weeks of hearings, we learned it is not how much you spend that counts—it is how you spend it.

To coordinate our training and education programs at the Federal level, I shall introduce legislation to bring all Federal manpower programs into a single agency located in the Department of Labor. This proposal, which grew out of discussions by the National Manpower Policy Task Force, has been advanced by Sar Levitan and Garth Mangum of the Upjohn Institute for Employment Research. It makes good sense. As they say in their recent paper entitled "Making Sense of Federal Manpower Policy":

> The proposal is not just to bring existing programs under one roof, but to combine all Federal support for manpower programs into one Federal agency, dissolving the current individual programs, but perpetuating their functions in a single integrated program. The new agency should absorb the budgets of the existing programs and with them provide support for state and local proposals concerned with preparation for jobs requiring less than a college education, placement of people within these jobs, provision of employment opportunities to persons unable to compete effectively for existing jobs, experimentation with new approaches, and the gathering and analysis of labor market information. In doing so, all the current functions could be supported more rationally and with less administrative overhead, thus providing more effective administration as well as a "bigger bang for the buck".

A unified, rational, one-stop training program at the Federal level will help local communities, private organizations, and industry to use local funds and training agencies effectively and efficiently. And it will move us further down the road with the private sector in helping to solve the job crisis in our central cities.

COMMUNITY TRAINING CENTERS

The unified manpower program at the Federal level needs a counterpart at the local level. Each community should have a center to provide 2-year technical courses in a wide range of specialities; short, more specialized vocational training courses for those unable or unwilling to undertake the more demanding 2-year program; adult education courses—both to provide basic skills and prepare for specialization; and prevocational guidance and orientation.

Both full-time and part-time courses to upgrade the skills of employed persons should also be available. Those who wish to improve their skills, as well as those with no skills, should be welcomed.

Mr. Levitan, Mr. Mangum, and the National Manpower Policy Task Force deserve a great deal of credit for their proposals, which are worthy of our most serious consideration. I shall introduce legislation to establish a program of community training centers—combining the functions of the community college and the area vocational school with the "skill centers" already underway in some cities—like Hartford and New Haven, in my own State of Connecticut.

But even if we create new job opportunities in the private sector and establish better training programs, there will continue to be those left by the wayside and outside the mainstream of American life.

A compassionate and sensible society must provide assistance for those unable to compete successfully in the free job market.

Some have spoken of a guaranteed annual wage—a negative income tax—or a family allowance. Such proposals may have merit when advanced to assist the aged, the blind, the disabled, the mothers of families—those unable to work.

But I am convinced that the vast majority of Americans—in every income category, of all races, in every part of the Nation—want jobs; not relief. They want employment—not handouts.

"THE EMPLOYER OF LAST RESORT"

Just as the Government can be a "lender of last resort" to the entrepreneur who cannot get investment capital in the private sector for such projects, so the Government can be an "employer of

last resort" for men and women who cannot find jobs in the private sector.

The National Commission on Technology, Automation, and Economic Progress advanced this concept and it was recommended in the report following the recent White House Conference on Civil Rights. Said the Commission:

> In terms of our image of the labor market as a queue, fiscal and monetary policies begin at the front of the queue and work toward the rear. Education and training and labor market policies affect not only relative places in the line, but the depth to which general economic policies can reach without generating inflation. Yet when all that is done, there remains another possibility: to begin at the rear of the line and create employment opportunities tailored to the abilities of those with serious competitive disadvantages.

"At the rear of the line" we see those left behind in an otherwise prosperous economy. We see the paradox—excessive unemployment in a society burdened with a huge backlog of public service needs—in its parks and streets—and slums and countryside; in schools and colleges, libraries, hospitals, nursing homes, public buildings; indeed, throughout the public and nonprofit sectors of the economy.

Estimating that there is a potential of 5.3 million new public service jobs, the Commission pointed out the opportunities in medical institutions with health services, educational institutions, national beautiffication work, welfare and home care, public protection, urban renewal and sanitation. In the Commission's words: "employing the unemployed is, in an important sense, almost costless. The unemployed consume; they do not produce. To provide them meaningful jobs increases not only their income but that of society."

PUBLIC SERVICE EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES ACT

I will propose a "Public Service Employment Opportunities Act" to implement the Commission's recommendations. The legislation would establish a 5-year program, with an initial appropriation of $2 billion, to provide about 500,000 additional full-time public service jobs.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the bill of Public Service Employment Opportunities be referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and, without objection, will be referred as requested.

The bill (S. 585) to provide meaningful public service employment opportunities to unemployed individuals with serious competitive disadvantages, and for other purposes, was received, read twice by its title, and, by unanimous consent, was referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, the wages paid under the act would be no lower than the Federal minimum wage; the program would be linked closely with basic education, training, and counseling—provided in large measure by the proposed Community Training Centers. Such training would be designed to raise the productivity of employees and assist them in moving on to better jobs.

Society needs these jobs done in its medical institutions, its schools and colleges, its beautification projects. Men and women want to learn new and useful jobs. No element of make-work is involved, only commonsense and constructive action.

Therefore, I propose a major national effort to find meaningful work for all Americans able to work and anxious to work, but unable to find jobs—whether their handicap is racial, physical, or educational. I propose guranteed employment, not a guaranteed dollar. This would bring that dignity and self-respect that comes only from self-sufficiency.

FIVE-YEAR URBAN CENSUS

The more we focus on jobs and the city, the more obvious our lack of information becomes. Employment projections are based on sample surveys conducted at the national, regional—or at best, metropolitan—level. The core of the problem is in the central city and its smaller units—the neighborhoods and the blocks.

Without adequate data, neither the Federal Government nor the local governments can make the most informed policy decisions, especially in a highly mobile society. For as Richard Scammon, former director of the U.S. Census Bureau, told us:

> I think it is fair to presume that in 1966 over half of the American population lived in a different house than it did when the 1960 Census count was taken.

So that we do not base our policies on out-of-date information, I shall propose legislation to undertake an urban census every 5 years. We already have a rural census every 5 years. The last one was taken in 1964 at a cost of $25 million.

SOCIAL SECURITY REFORM AND DAY CARE CENTERS

There are millions of dependent Americans who cannot work. They are the very old, the very young, the blind, the permanently and totally disabled; they comprise well over 6 million of the 7½ million people now receiving public assistance payments. No one expects a woman in her eighties, or a little child, or a severely disabled needy person to go out and find a job.

My point is that those dependent adults who could work toward independence—no matter what their number—should be given the opportunity to do so. Those who could gain new freedom and fulfillment from vocational rehabilitative services should be able to get such rehabilitation. And we must work out new, dignified, humane ways of helping other dependent Americans who simply can no longer compete in the labor market. A rational compassionate society can pursue no other goals.

Fortunately, we have a practical way of achieving these goals at hand. Significant changes and revisions in the social security system will be proposed today by the President. I am confident that Congress will respond to constructive suggestions with bipartisan support.

In addition, the programs established by the public welfare amendments of 1962 will expire this year. These programs constitute a major part of our basic public welfare laws; revisions and improvements will be thoroughly considered. The intervening years have brought many changes, not only in our cities, not only in our Government, but in our whole society.

Serious attention should be given to the advisability of transferring the aged, blind, and disabled recipients of public welfare from the welfare rolls to the social security system. As a member of the Finance Committee, I intend to give the matter careful study.

There are now about 1.1 million parents of needy children on the public welfare rolls. The vast majority are women heading households. These women, and other needy mothers not on welfare rolls, should have the opportunity to gain independence through gainful employment. Now most do not have this opportunity because they have no safe, healthy place where they can leave their children, and no responsible person to care for these children.

Therefore, I propose that this Nation undertake a realistic, effective day-care program. Just as we cannot belabor the businessman to locate in the central city unless we assure him a competent work force, so we cannot tell the woman who heads a household to "get a job" unless we assure her competent day care. Such competent day care, like a competent work force, would serve as an investment for the future, preventing juvenile delinquency, crime, and needless accidents.

Right now, we have day-care facilities for about 310,000 children, though we estimate that we have 2.7 million boys and girls in desperate need of day care. I propose that we amend our social security laws to provide an additional $500 million authorization for day care. This would start us up the proper road, for it would be earmarked for needy young children.

A DECENT ENVIRONMENT

Mr. President, too frequently, our discussions of housing narrow down to a statistical rehashing of the number of units needed to house our growing population. We are constantly reminded that in the next 34 years, the United States must build more new housing than exists today in the entire country; that there are currently 58.3 million dwelling units; that by the year 2000, the projected need is 68 million additional units, an average of 2 million a year; that we are currently building at the rate of 1.5 million a year; and that this is 25 percent less than needed to keep up with the basic demand.

This is useful information. But this kind of information does not tell us enough about the people we are housing.

The risk of relying too heavily on large-scale statistics is that we overlook the diversity of our society and the need of the individual. For it is the people—and not the buildings—that define an environment. We learned this lesson best from Johnnie Scott, a young author from Watts, who described the ghetto this way:

> The ghetto is not the houses. It is the people.

So let us put a rein on our discussion of the year 2000 and look at the realities

of today. Let us think in terms of the living environment as well as the living room with a bath and a half. We must think in terms of real goals and objectives—where people are taken into account—not in statistical scorekeeping about how many units we are building or not building.

What are some of the goals and objectives encompassed in a decent environment? They fall into three main categories—physical, social, and planning.

Our physical goal should be to create a clean and attractive environment. We should remove structurally unsound buildings, relieve overcrowding, provide open spaces, improve both the street and mass transportation systems, provide community facilities, remove refuse and vermin and improve the overall appearance of our neighborhoods and cities.

Our social goal should be to improve the quality of that environment. We should offer a variety of housing to choose from, improve health, education, and recreation facilities; provide employment; direct welfare assistance or social service referral according to a person's need; reduce or prevent segregation, encourage community participation by individual citizens and their organizations, and reduce tension and violence in the community.

Our planning goals should tie together our first two goals—to build an attractive America and improve the quality of that America. We need to develop large areas of our cities and include in these endeavors plans for sound, complete and compassionate relocation programs. We must devise systematic programs that achieve several goals simultaneously, that improve the cost-benefit ratios, that strengthen local government, and foster technological advance. In sum, we must effect a major change in both the character and the quality of our environment.

Bearing all this in mind, we turn our attention first to the most serious and most definable aspect of our housing problem—the urban ghetto—those 4½ million substandard urban dwelling units that are the shame of our Nation. For we must do in housing what we did in employment—go to the end of the line to start rebuilding. Because that is where and what the ghetto is—at the end of the line.

MODEL NEIGHBORHOOD ACTION PROGRAM

Our vehicle for the eradication of the ghetto over the next decade is the model cities program now in operation. But first, I would change its name to model neighborhood program, because that is what it is. The bill passed last year by Congress does not deal with cities. It deals with neighborhoods. So let us call it that to insure that we focus our efforts in the right direction.

And second, I think we must realize that it establishes a competition among cities that is basically unfair. A city that can comply with the requirements would be eligible. But as the program now stands, we are going to make some hairline decisions in choosing the few over the many.

So I propose that we reshape the program. We should spend the next 3 years preparing for our brick and mortar requirements in the 1970's by using the entire amount now authorized and uncommitted in this program—$924 million—for planning, experimentation, and small demonstrations.

With this amount of planning money we can help all urban areas prepare for the elimination of substandard housing and ghettos in an orderly, intelligent fashion rather than experience another pell-mell dash to Washington before the Federal dollars run out. We should say to the local leaders of America, the planners, and the people themselves, that our war on the ghetto is one war that will be backed up by a sound strategy. In the long run, we will save money and time. We may even be able to reduce the cost of this gigantic effort if we go about it systematically.

And the cost is gigantic. An investment of $50 billion over a 10-year period is required to eliminate substandard housing in urban areas. This is not a haphazard figure. It has been closely calculated, based on a standard area of 80,000 people living in 24,000 dwelling units and shopping at 500 places of business. All costs are included—acquisition, demolition, new housing replacement, rehabilitation, relocation, improvement of business establishments, administration and planning, and community participation.

The gross cost excludes—and this must be clearly understood—the construction costs of new schools, community buildings, health centers, and the other associated services and facilities essential to the well-being of the people of the area. For when we talk about wiping out the ghetto, it is more meaningful to present the housing and social costs independently of the associated services costs.

Thus, we can determine that the total cost of the physical and social effort needed to eliminate substandard housing in the central cities alone is roughly $27 billion—a figure that does not include the less direct costs of associated services and facilities.

Extending the same program to the entire metropolitan area increases the cost by $16 billion to $43 billion. And extending it to include all our urban areas will raise the cost to a final figure of $50 billion.

I propose, therefore, that in 1970—after 3 years of careful planning—we begin spending this money at the rate of $5 billion a year. We should start and continue until all substandard housing is erased from the land and replaced with decent living accommodations. We can eliminate all poor urban housing in a decade at this pace—rid ourselves of the ghetto cancer that destroys so many of our cities and our people.

HOMEOWNERSHIP FOR LOW AND MODERATE INCOME

But, Mr. President, we have another basic housing need in this Nation—one that has not been spotlighted as the ghetto has been. And that is homeownership for low and moderate income individuals. The truly overlooked individual in our housing market is the $5,000 to $8,000 wage earner. He is priced out of most of the decent housing market and is ineligible for direct Government help or subsidy.

Nothing really helps him—not even the laws already on the books designed to assist private industry in providing housing for low and moderate income families.

But these laws—either already on the books or with minor modification—can help this middle group become homeowners if they are given substance, direction, and proper administration.

Take, for example, the Housing Act's below market rate program for low and moderate income housing—section 221 (d) (3). A merger of more guaranteed special assistance money from the Federal National Mortgage Association with the principles of 221(d)(3) and other sections of our housing law can result in excellent housing for people to buy and to live in—for less than $90 a month. And that covers principle, interest, taxes, insurance, and utilities.

I intend to seek the enactment of legislation that will allow an individual in the $5,000 to $8,000 income category to obtain 3-percent mortgage money so he can buy a home of his own. We already grant similar terms to a builder who constructs rental units for this individual. The time has come to let the occupant buy a house if he wishes instead of renting, and on the same terms.

We should make available each year at least $270 million to guarantee mortgages for construction of below market rate 221(d)(3) low and moderate income single family dwelling units. The program for homeownership would operate through the private lending institutions as regular mortgage guarantee programs do now. It would offer an important choice to an often overlooked middle group of our society—either to rent or to own in decency and dignity.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE HOUSING STANDARDS

We must make certain that through our public assistance programs we are not subsidizing the slums of America. Estimates are that today, 30 percent of the total welfare dollar is spent on shelter—most of it on housing that clearly is below standards and that comes, Mr. President, to some $2 billion of Federal, State, and local funds. In one city, building inspectors found that almost 50 percent of the housing units of persons on public assistance were either deteriorated or dilapidated.

The establishment of minimum housing standards in our Federal welfare laws has been proposed. Some States—such as Pennsylvania—have begun to withhold rent from landlords who refuse to repair substandard buildings occupied by public assistance families. Some cities—such as Baltimore—are starting pilot projects to move families in substandard housing to more adequate homes.

All these efforts deserve the support of the Federal Government. And I will introduce such legislation.

PERSONAL SECURITY

A decent environment includes more than the inside of a person's home. It includes all his physical surroundings and the peace of mind to enjoy those surroundings without fear. He needs security and safety as well.

In many of our urban areas, the environment seems ready made for crime.

Dark and poorly lit streets breed crime. Automatic elevators and enclosed stairwells in high-rise buildings often are the scenes of assaults and robberies. So are dark and isolated parking lots that adjoin otherwise attractive apartments. Conversely, the location of walkways inside and outside of buildings can make a difference in detecting possible criminal activities. So our architects and planners have a responsibility to understand these problems when they design new living areas.

But basically, controlling crime is a matter of police protection. And this is what all our citizens want—no matter where they live. The Kraft report—a survey by the John F. Kraft, Inc., research organization on attitudes in Harlem and Watts—found that the people in these communities were as concerned about police protection as they were about police brutality. They wanted more—not less—police.

We understand why many people turn to crime. We heard about it from Claude Brown and Arthur Dunmeyer. But they did not recommend it as a way of life—and we do not condone it. A knowledge of the causes of crime can help control and reduce crime. We can work to eliminate the conditions that cause crime—and we can strengthen and improve our law enforcement agencies.

Our police forces have been neglected for too long and blamed for too much. We ask our policemen to be supermen—to run the gamut from delivering babies to arresting dangerous criminals—without any increase in compensation, status or training. And we expect them to do all this, as Judge George Edwards, of the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court said, "with the wisdom of Solomon, the concern of a social worker and the prompt courage of a combat soldier."

Although the policeman is responsible for only part of the administration of justice—the courts and the correction institutions must bear their share as well—we blame him when the system breaks down because he is the visible part of the machinery.

So we ask him to be a scapegoat as well—at a median salary of $5,843 a year in cities with a population of 25,000 or more and at a salary of $4,920 in cities where the population is between 10,000 and 25,000.

President Johnson, in his state of the Union message, made a meaningful statement in support of the police and their job. His program deserves the understanding and the support of Congress and the country.

THE HEALTH OF OUR CITIZENS

America is the richest country in the world—but still it lags behind other countries in many areas of personal health. In particular, we have far less information on the health of our young people than we should.

With the exception of some antipoverty programs such as Headstart and the Job Corps, we must rely exclusively on the Selective Service System for this information.

Not until a young man is 18 years old do we find many defects that should have been identified and treated when he was a child. And we still are missing knowledge about the health of our young women.

NATIONAL CHILD HEALTH CENSUS

We should do better. We need to learn the extent of our health problems so we can provide the resources to treat sickness and disease. One-third of the chronic conditions that handicap children could be corrected in early life if they were discovered.

I propose, therefore, a national child health census to remedy this intolerable situation. My bill would provide grants to the States to conduct a health census survey of preschool children in community centers and schools. Medical teams in mobile units could travel within a single community—the same technique so successful in our fight against polio. I believe $5 million would be more than enough to start the operation.

Perhaps the most important health question we face in our urban areas is that of delivery of health services. Many who need health services most, cannot get them in an efficient and effective way. Their plight must receive continued and careful consideration. One example of the inadequacy of existing programs is the fact that despite the $2.5 billion we have expended on hospital construction since 1947, there is still no hospital in Watts.

III. ENCOURAGING PRIVATE INVESTMENT

Our hearings demonstrated that rebuilding American cities is a massive undertaking—far beyond the capacity of Government alone. The testimony also showed that private enterprise—already involved in building and construction—will invest in the cities, if public policy establishes the appropriate conditions and a climate of partnership.

As David Rockefeller testified:

> Many of my businessmen friends tell me that they would be glad to get their companies into the field of city problems, but they say government units seem to want that field all to themselves. They get the impression that many government officials tend to look upon them as rivals in competition rather than partners in progress.

The question, then, is this: How do we encourage the involvement of the private sector in the large social problems confronting us?

Let us recognize, first, that there is no simple mechanism—no magic organization—that will automatically generate a significant role of private enterprise in rebuilding our cities. No slogan—no single device—will attract the private sector into what is basically a public function.

Let us recognize, second, that the private sector is already at work building houses, apartments and facilities to accommodate a significant part of the current need—1,600,000 housing units a year.

And let us keep in mind the dual role of private industry in our Nation—its role as private entrepreneur, and its role as contractor to Government. Private industry, acting as contractor to the Federal Government in a public market, is building the spacecraft to take Americans to the moon. Private enterprise is also manufacturing 9 million autos a year to take Americans around the country to shopping, to work, and on pleasure trips—autos which fill a private market's needs.

Similarly, American industry can participate in the rebuilding of our cities.

With guaranteed jobs, millions of Americans will move from consumers of public funds to consumers of private goods and services. Guaranteed employment will create new purchasing power—a new market—for American industry. Since one of the major talents of our free enterprise system is its ability to supply new markets, and since one of the primary needs of people is shelter, it is reasonable to expect that American industry will make new efforts to provide and sell adequate housing to those newly able to afford it.

The action program I have proposed to rebuild the ghettos of America would create a second market for private enterprise. The $20 billion we have committed to conquer space created an aerospace industry out of the aircraft electronics, and associated industries. The $50 billion we should commit to wiping out the cancer of our ghettos could create a "cities industry" in addition to disparate segments of what is today a "building industry,"—bring greater efficiency and better organization to a highly scattered current effort, and encourage private enterprise to develop new products and techniques. Few Americans would buy the rockets developed in aerospace; a great number of Americans would buy the better houses in our cities.

But we must make Government activity believable to the private sector. The private businessman must have confidence that when he works with the Government cooperatively in a private-public endeavor, the public official or agency knows what it is doing and where it is going. We do not build that kind of trust—that sort of relationship—with the outmoded, inefficient, directionless, and redtape snarled programs of today.

So we must streamline, improve, and tighten Government procedures and techniques, organizing ourselves in the public sector as the private sector must organize itself in our highly competitive free enterprise system. Much remains to be done—a job which the executive branch and the Congress, working together, must do.

INSTITUTE OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

An important element in the partnership between Government and business can be the effective transfer of research results and development techniques from Government-sponsored efforts to private enterprise use. We need, therefore, a substantial research and development effort in the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Millions of American families cannot live in decent houses or apartments because they cannot afford them. One element of the problem is, of course, the income of the families themselves. Jobs for those able to work will accomplish much to bring income near need.

But the other element of the problem is cost—the cost of shelter still built with the materials and methods of the 1920's, in an age of technology and science. Re-

sponsible experts estimate that the cost of housing could be cut in half—from $16,000 per unit to $8,000—by applying modern techniques to increase productivity.

Low-income families are most seriously affected by high costs and poor housing. But middle and upper income families are also paying more for their housing than they should have to pay.

Existing Federal programs have failed to meet this need. Fiscal aids—like FHA, Veterans' Administration efforts, federally supported below-market interest rates—are important. But they cannot alone solve the housing problem. Housing costs continue to rise more rapidly than cost levels in the rest of the economy.

We must focus on housing and other building construction the same research techniques used so successfully in other industries. In fact, no other single field in America holds greater promise for the application of organized research and product development than housing.

The major effort in research and development must be sponsored by the Federal Government. As is well known, the building industry is made up of many small businesses, with even the largest builders unable to spend the kind of money on comprehensive research that needs to be spent.

Even the largest suppliers of building materials are not interested generally in the house as an entity. Each—supplying siding and roofing, or plumbing fixtures, or flooring, or any of the countless other elements of a house—fears that change will make present products obsolete.

Labor should also understand that constructive change would result in more jobs and steadier work, and at the same time lower the cost of housing to everyone including their own union members.

Similarly, the matter of building codes deserves our careful and considered study and evaluation—which it will receive from the Temporary National Commission on Codes, Zoning, Taxation, and Development Standards. I am highly pleased that our former colleague, Senator Paul Douglas, of Illinois, has been appointed Chairman of this Commission.

Congress recognized the need for additional research and development in the Demonstration Cities Act of 1966, authorizing the expenditure of $5 million in fiscal year 1967 and $10 million in fiscal year 1968 for research and development carried out by the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

This research and development effort already authorized is the ideal task for the Institute of Urban Development—first proposed in early 1965, but still being "structured" in the Bureau of the Budget. The Institute could be established tomorrow by administrative action. I think we have waited long enough for the executive branch to act. I will propose, therefore, the creation of an Institute of Urban Development in the Department of Housing and Urban Development by specific legislation. I would hope enactment of my bill would not be necessary and that the executive branch will act promptly.

BUSINESS ADVISORY COMMITTEE FOR HUD

In addition to an Institute for Urban Development, there should be established in HUD a Business Advisory Committee, as recommended at the hearings by David Rockefeller. He suggested that a group from the business and financial community, similar to the Advisory Committee on International Monetary Arrangements in Treasury, be set up to work closely with the Secretary of HUD.

According to Mr. Rockefeller:

> Such a high-level panel could bring fresh insight to the deliberations of HUD, as well as practical expertise in many areas that are vital to its success—areas such as financial policy, management organization, audit and control, and the like. Beyond this, an advisory group of this kind would be able to represent a sector of our economy that is pivotally important to the solution of city problems, and one that does not feel that its views are being given an adequate hearing at present.

This is an eminently sound proposal, which I shall introduce. If we are saying to the private sector that we expect it to invest $7 for every dollar of Federal investment, then the Federal agency most involved in city rebuilding must be in the mainstream of American economic life. As Mr. Rockefeller points out:

> The towering problems that beset our cities . . . cannot—indeed, they should not—be relegated exclusively to government. These are problems calling for action on a broad front and for participation by the entire citizenry, including the business community.

The Institute of Urban Development and the Business Advisory Council in HUD will help foster and create that "better communication and cooperation between our business leaders and our political leaders" called for by the chairman of the board of General Electric, Gerald E. Phillipe, when he testified.

NEW TOWNS

While the Federal Government has a major responsibility in urban problems—especially ghetto elimination and low-income housing—I believe that the private sector has a primary developmental responsibility: new town development. But even the Federal Government can also lend a helping hand.

One of the most interesting witnesses during our 6 weeks of hearings was Mr. James Rouse, the developer of Columbia—a "new town" to be located between Washington and Baltimore. Mr. Rouse was accompanied by representatives of the Connecticut General Life Insurance Co. who invested some of the original seed money for Columbia—$25 million private venture capital.

Our existing urban centers, even when revitalized and rebuilt, cannot accommodate all the urban Americans of the next generation. I think we should all be willing to think not only about clearing up our mistakes of the past—the ghetto—but about the new towns of the future. With three million new residents added each year to our present urban population, new communities, and new patterns of land use are inevitable, as the world-renowned city planner, Constantinos Doxiadis, testified.

While new town development is the basic responsibility of the private sector, there are certain "threshold" problems and costs which may fall to the public sector. These may include assistance in land assembly and help in providing capital requirements, particularly in community facilities and initial land purchase; assistance to local governments in the areas involved to plan in anticipation of the impact of new towns; encouraging the development of equal opportunities and helping to solve marketing problems; by coordinating the location of government installations and assuring adequate economic bases for the communities.

"New towns" give government and the private sector another opportunity to work together in a meaningful way on a new venture—at the head of the line—rather than locking horns over who is to blame for the failures of the past. I am preparing legislation to establish a joint Federal-private sector "new town" development program containing, among other things, establishment of State and Federal development corporations. Their purpose is to solve some of the more difficult problems of land assembly and reduce the possibility of unwarranted land speculation; technical assistance in planning, to assure the best quality of design and execution now available; deferred interest charges on loans to reduce the critical start-up costs of such enterprises; and special arrangements for the timely provision of community facilities under existing grant programs.

IV. INVOLVEMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND AN EMPHASIS ON NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT

New major outlays, Federal and private, to fund major housing construction and job development in the slums are necessary. But our hearings also showed that any new national effort in our cities must involve the people of the neighborhoods. It is not enough to have new national programs and new major endeavors by private industry if they are simply to rebuild the slums from the top down. To succeed, such programs must involve the people in their neighborhoods.

A new word has entered the picture of urban crisis—neighborhood. We must focus on the neighborhood, a practical human unit of planning and management within our cities. Witnesses such as Doxiadis, Leon Sullivan, and David Rockefeller emphasized greater neighborhood involvement. Milton Kotler, in his testimony on the ECCO project in Columbus, Ohio, gave his entire attention to the fundamental problem of building neighborhood corporations of local decision and management in our cities.

Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY is also engaged in an imaginative and promising neighborhood corporation development effort in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of New York. His program is based on the same premise: That effective programs of change and new hope—no matter how ingeniously they may employ private industry, private capital and Federal help—must ultimately rest on the people's involvement in decision at the neighborhood level.

We must rebuild our cities for new dignity and prosperity—and in order to make the resources of private enterprise work, we must join grass roots support

to their efforts. We must rebuild our slums from the bottom up. This insight is based on our own historic experience of democracy—not only as a shining ideal, but also as a practical way of getting the job done.

We have become so bureaucratic in our thinking—so concerned with metropolitan, regional and national scale—that we have forgotten about the neighborhood and the people who live there.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I yield.

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, I recall with a great deal of pleasure the hearings which were chaired last year by my able friend, the Senator from Connecticut, on the general subject of the plight of the urban American.

I congratulate the Senator today on the excellent and provocative statement which he is making to the Senate.

There can be no question that the trend toward urbanization in this country is not going to stop and that the dreadful plight of the municipality in the Nation constitutes a basic problem for all American people and all American society.

My able friend has made an excellent comment with respect to the need of the "private sector" to participate with American government in solving the problem.

As far as I am concerned, I recognize the Senator as a leader in this field.

I shall study very carefully the recommendations he makes.

I salute him as a fellow Senator today for the contribution he makes toward this crucially important public problem.

Mr. RIBICOFF. I thank the Senator.

The Government cannot do the job by itself. There is no question in my mind that this task is so vast that the Government by itself does not have the money, the capacity, the ability, or the techniques with which to do the job.

We must involve the private sector. We must involve private banking, private industry, private builders, and private insurance to do this job. It is a job that must be done.

We have talked about $1 trillion. That is a lot of money. It is one thousand billion dollars. I estimate that about $200 billion of this amount will be Government funds. The rest of it will come from the private sector. In involving the private sector, we will be giving America a new age of prosperity such as it has never seen, because the needs are there, and private industry will need to supply an additional 2 million units of housing a year.

Our population is growing so rapidly that in the next 14 years an additional 53 million people will be living in our urban areas. By the year 2000, 95 percent of all Americans will be living in urban America.

This is why I say that we are faced with an urgent problem, because each passing year and each delay compounds the problems—and makes solving the problems that much more difficult.

Mr. KUCHEL. The Senator is eminently correct.

I simply repeat to the Senator on this occasion that the series of bills which he intends to introduce merit the respectful consideration of all Senators. Surely, until we face up to the problem of the cities as the Senator has suggested, the basic obstacle to the success of our way of life will remain.

Mr. RIBICOFF. I thank the Senator.

Today, some of our cities are larger than our whole Nation was at the time we won independence. Our Founding Fathers drew a constitution to govern people's lives that recognized the need for self-government and local diversity. Authority was given to States; the States spread authority to counties and municipalities—so people would have the means to shape their locality in a way that expressed their particular values.

Today it is said our cities are unmanageable. We can begin to make them manageable by recognizing the diversity that exists within them. We can begin setting up the means for new kinds of local participation in our cities.

NEIGHBORHOOD DEVELOPMENT CORPORATIONS

I believe that the neighborhood community must be corporately strengthened to cooperate with the public sector and private enterprise. I am therefore proposing new legislation to establish a program of neighborhood development corporations to build neighborhood oriented programs for economic and social improvement.

The neighborhood development corporations would be set up as territorially defined units, not exceeding 50,000 people. With adequate funding, which I propose be administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity, the neighborhood development corporations would be organized as legal structures on the basis of articles of incorporation and bylaws, dedicated to self-help and rebuilding their local areas. The ECCO project in Columbus, Ohio, is a shining example of the neighborhood development corporation—and an illustration that, in the neighborhoods of our cities, town meetings can work.

The corporation would bring each interested resident into the direct and responsible task of determining the life and public face of his community. With funding to set up these neighborhood development corporations and pay for their administration for a limited period of 2 years the corporation could, through their committees and employed professionals, help develop the kinds of programs they know will work in their neighborhoods. These programs would then be submitted to various agencies—public and private—for funding.

Certain existing Federal programs, especially in manpower training, basic education, vocational rehabilitation, small business assistance, and the like, might need to be amended so that funds from these programs could be made available to neighborhood development corporations—either directly or under arrangements of municipal approval or sponsorship. The neighborhood and the city, cooperating together in rebuilding the neighborhoods, should be the new basis of justice, prosperity, and order in urban America.

TAX INCENTIVES FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The neighborhood organization efforts of ECCO in Columbus and the work of the Reverend Leon Sullivan in Philadelphia are just two examples of responsible activity at the local level. Other ideas have been advanced—such as the Greater Hartford Housing Development Fund, Inc., a nonprofit corporation established to eliminate blight and promote "opportunity housing" in the city of Hartford. The goals and work of this group—and similar groups throughout the country—are impressive. I shall introduce legislation making contributions to such organizations deductible as contributions under our tax laws.

BLOCK GRANTS

We must enhance the capability of individuals—acting for themselves—to solve their own problems. We should also help local governments to build up their ability to administer complex programs and deal with the problems of an urban society.

Here is an ideal opportunity to combine an old problem with a new, experimental solution. In its simplest terms, the problem is how to finance local government. As pointed out by Joseph A. Pechman of the Brookings Institution:

> In the past, state and local needs have been met in part by Federal grants-in-aid for particular purposes. These specific Federal grants have helped to finance programs in which the national interest was particularly strong. But it is now clear that the states and local governments also need help to meet the needs of their citizens in areas of traditional state-local responsibility.

It is obvious that State and local governments need help. Between 1953 and 1963 State and local expenditures increased from $27.9 billion to $64.8 billion, an increase of 132.2 percent. State and local government debt in the same period went from $33.8 billion to $87.5 billion. The fiscal pressure shows no sign of easing.

Many solutions have been offered—including tax rebates from the Federal level to the States. The so-called "block grant" approach makes sense.

The block grant concept takes a little of the past and some of tomorrow—and arriyes at a meaningful and understandable method of helping State and local governments function. The block grant is not as rigidly constricted as the usual grant with Federal standards, forms, requirements, and redtape. The block grant would be used to accomplish generally defined goals—such as paying for municipal operating expenditures. The block grant could be described as "general aid" to provide what are considered basic local services—such as police and fire protection, sewerage and sanitation, local parks and recreation.

Federal block grants to urban municipalities would allow local governments to decide priorities of needs. Each city would decide for itself where it should bolster its own system of services. The Federal Government would not dictate which needs of the local government should be met. But the responsibility of deciding which city governments are most in need of aid—and how much

should be apportioned to them from available program funds—would remain with the Federal Government. The block grant approach reflects the changing times—it is a reasonable approach between the usual categorical grant method followed since the 1930's and the outright rebate concept advanced by some. Our distinguished colleague, Senator EDMUND MUSKIE, chairman of our sister Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, has done an outstanding job of exploring the intricacies of this entire matter. His work on Federal grants-in-aid program management has laid the foundation for all programs in this field.

THE ROLE OF URBAN UNIVERSITIES

The hearings clearly demonstrated the need for more trained manpower in municipal and local government. We cannot turn over funds and ask local officials to administer programs without providing the training and skills they need to make sense out of problems and progress in programs.

Senators MUSKIE and CLARK have done yeoman service in bringing this need to the attention of the Senate, the Government, and the Nation. We must have adequate funding for the urban training programs already authorized for the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Both Dr. James Hester, president of New York University, and Prof. William Doebele of Harvard University, emphasized in their testimony the need for trained manpower and the role of the urban university.

The urban university can play a major role in filling the need for trained manpower—through graduate fellowships for study in community planning; through special advanced education for young people who show promise for leadership in urban affairs; through urban research in areas of local concern. I shall introduce legislation to establish Federal support for such programs.

The role of the urban university is vital in a city rebuilding effort. There is much the university can do by expanding current efforts and starting new ones.

First. The urban university should offer a program of study that is relevant to the world outside and that will attract the most committed—as well as the most intelligent—young people of our Nation. For many years, Einstein has been our academic model. We still need our Einsteins. But we also need our men of action who can apply their knowledge to the immediate task at hand. That is the first point.

Second. Our universities should offer degree programs in urban studies—in areas in which we will need an increasingly large number of trained personnel in the years ahead. We have just begun to study the whole problem of who will organize and manage our cities and their services.

Third. The university should develop urban extension programs to meet the immediate and pressing needs in a community or a neighborhood. One of the great tragedies of our cities is that we tend to write off a whole generation of adults—those who live in the slums and gray areas—as a lost generation. We have programs for their children, but little beyond the basic literacy courses for the parents.

Fourth. The university should offer refresher, inservice training programs to public officials who want to improve their skills and learn new techniques of administration as well as new theories and discoveries about human behavior.

Fifth. The university should conduct research into the major issues of the day—issues such as crime and violence, pollution, and transportation. The application of systems analysis—used so successfully in our space program—has great potential in the urban area. We must understand that a social system and a large-scale human environment are much more complex than a space capsule environment and a missile system.

Sixth. Our urban universities should pool their research efforts and establish urban action centers in all our major metropolitan areas. The model already is before us—in both the Center for Urban Education and in the Cooperative Project for Educational Development in New York City. These two projects—consortiums of the major institutions of higher learning in the New York area—are making important advances in our knowledge of the educational needs of the poor, and in developing new ways to train both teachers and administrators for our school systems.

V. REORGANIZATION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

We began the hearings last August on the "Federal Role in Urban Affairs" to determine how the Federal Government is organized to deal with what has become—not a problem of the cities alone—but of the Nation as well. For the term "urban" no longer holds its old meaning. It no longer means just the city. It no longer has only a geographic connotation.

No matter where we live, we live today in a nation rapidly becoming totally urban—with an urban mentality, an urban society, and overwhelmed with urban problems. As Doxiadis put it:

> By the end of the century the structure of our society will be different. Ninety-one percent of the population will be urban, and this percentage will continue to rise. The remaining 9 percent will have many characteristics of an urban population. This entitles us to say that by the end of the century, 95 percent of the population will belong to an urban society, and this percentage will continue to increase. We are heading towards a completely urban society, and we overlook this fact.

So our hearings soon became a look into the very mirror of our national life—past, present, and future. And what we saw was not always pleasant. In the words of Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare John Gardner:

> Some of the city's troubles are physical—transportation, water and sewage, pollution, slum dwellings, lack of open space, and so on. But the most menacing ills of the city are at bottom not physical, but social. One could recite the familiar list of specific social ills—crime, poverty, segregation. But beneath and behind all of these we are faced with problems of social organization, of governance, of politics in the Aristotelian sense of the word. . . .

Neither the programs nor the organization of the thirties can cope with problems of such magnitude. Yet we find ourselves facing the problems of today and tomorrow with the programs, policies, and procedures of the past. We need to reorganize for the future or our efforts will be in vain.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

In my view, we need a new and reorganized and reoriented Department of Housing and Urban Development. No longer the insurance office of the past, looking on people as credit risks—good or bad—rather than human beings needing decent housing, HUD has a fundamental stake in the social advances this Nation is capable of making. We are not going to rebuild America if our eye is constantly on FHA's reserve strength. HUD must begin to think and act anew. With men like Secretary Robert Weaver, Under Secretary Robert Wood, Assistant Secretaries Charles Haar, Ralph Taylor, and many others, it has the necessary leadership. But we must strengthen the regional and field offices—the basic working core of the Department. And we must strengthen that core in all other agencies of Government as well.

No matter how good its intentions, HUD is topheavy with brick and mortar, and weak in the social aspect of housing and community development. This is of special concern in view of the fact that the existing model cities program—and the model neighborhood program I have proposed—anticipates not only physical, but social change in the model area. But HUD is not equipped to deal with this phase of rebuilding the city and community.

I recommend, therefore, the eventual transfer of the community action program of OEO to the Department of Housing and Urban Development, to operate in close coordination with the model neighborhood program. In short, I believe we must humanize the HUD program.

But for the present we must recognize that OEO needs an effective program to reach into the communities and neighborhoods of the Nation. The community action program should not, therefore, be transferred to HUD until the new neighborhood development corporation program has been established in OEO.

In the meantime, strong liaison should be established immediately. between HUD's model city program and the ongoing community action program—so that meaningful social services are planned for and developed in the model city program.

In addition to a new Institute of Urban Development and a Business Advisory Council, there should be established in HUD a Council on Interdepartmental Coordination, staffed by a Director of Community Program Coordination, to insure that the Federal Government's efforts in improving the physical quality of urban life are run in a coordinated and efficient manner. I would also transfer out of HUD the college housing

program and place it in the Office of Education.

I will introduce legislation to reorganize HUD in the manner I have described.

DEPARTMENTS OF COMMERCE AND LABOR

The President's proposal to create a single department out of what are now the Departments of Labor and Commerce requires our careful study. Such a department existed from 1903 until 1913 when two separate departments were created by President Woodrow Wilson.

The employment opportunity programs I have proposed should strengthen the authority of both the Department of Labor and the Department of Commerce. I have long felt that both agencies have been underutilized as makers and movers of public policy and programs. They have been relegated instead to the role of statistical gathering and reporting.

My proposals contemplate transferring to the Department of Labor programs under titles I, II, and V of the Economic Opportunity Act and manpower training and work-relief programs now in HEW. The Department of Labor would then be able to embark on a massive and meaningful manpower development program—and become a vitally important factor in the years ahead.

So too should we strengthen the Department of Commerce. Under my proposals it would become both "the lender of last resort" and "the employer of last resort" in an effort to expand economic opportunity and development in this Nation. Once the Department of Commerce is established as a truly effective arm of economic development, consideration can be given to transferring out of it certain environmental science programs—more logically connected with departments and agencies engaged in similar work.

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

I have suggested taking from the Office of Economic Opportunity some of its operating functions. The Job Corps, work training, work study, work experience, and adult basic education programs would be transferred to the Department of Labor. Employment and investment incentives authorized under title IV could be transferred to the Department of Commerce. Rural programs under title III could be transferred to the Department of Agriculture. The community action program would be eventually transferred to the Department of Housing and Urban Development to work in conjunction with the model neighborhood program in that Department.

One might ask: Why not scrap OEO altogether once its major operating functions have been transferred to other agencies?

OEO should not be scrapped. OEO has been a great success. The programs started there 3 years ago on an experimental basis now have become fully established action programs. Now they are ready to be transferred to the departments with associated functions. We achieve two important goals by this move. First, we avoid an excessive and destructive fragmentation of our urban programs. Second, we free OEO to continue what it can do better than any other agency of Government: innovate and experiment—test new ideas and new techniques before they are put on a full-scale operational basis.

New techniques and new ideas are necessary to accommodate the requirements of our changing society—but the change we seek can only come from the community and the neighborhood. We cannot neatly package and pay for progress in Washington.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I yield.

Mr. RANDOLPH. I fully agree with the statement that new techniques and new ideas are necessary to accommodate the requirements of our changing society."

My able colleague the Senator from Connecticut presents a very comprehensive picture in his statement today. The Senator underscores the problem in its many facets, and they are real, and we need to know more about them in this forum and throughout the country.

The Senator from Connecticut indicates that he would wish that the bill which he would present actually would not be passed, but that within the structure of the executive branch we might do something without another legislative measure. Is that correct?

(At this point, Mr. HART assumed the chair.)

Mr. RIBICOFF. The Senator is correct. In my opinion, much of the reorganization I have recommended could be done administratively, through reorganization plans, without the passage of additional legislation.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I make this further comment because oftimes we think only new and creative ideas come from this period in which we live. Senators probably will recall the words of Abraham Lincoln when he said:

> The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate for the stormy present. We must think anew. We must act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves.

If Abraham Lincoln could say that then, we should be saying it now, as the Senator from Connecticut is saying so well.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, by funding neighborhood development corporations, OEO would help develop self-managed local organizations to help people begin defining and dealing with their own problems in their own way—and thus continue its role as innovator.

But OEO is not only the "innovator" at the local neighborhood level. It should perform that task at the very highest Federal level as well.

So as new ideas are developed and new techniques discovered, the Office of Economic Opportunity should be the national agency to test their worth. The Office of Economic Opportunity was also charged with the responsibility of insuring that all Federal programs related to poverty are carried out in a coordinated manner. But we learned in our hearings that although "coordination" is subject to a great deal of talk in the executive branch, little actually exists. We were told about coordinators and convenors and interagency groups until it appeared that what was needed most in the executive branch was a coordinator of the coordinators.

But we have not accomplished effective coordination at the Federal level—and the coordination function given OEO has largely been ignored. We cannot exactly ascertain why this happened, but one thing is certain: Once OEO became the administrator of massive national projects, it became in the eyes of other agencies not the coordinator but a competitor. And so a statutory coordinator at the Federal level was lost.

So we also need OEO because only that agency is empowered by Congress to exercise the kind of coordination needed today to assure the effectiveness of the massive Federal effort in our cities. A close reading of the 1964 act discloses a grant of more coordinating authority to a unit of government than ever before in our history. That function has never been adequately performed. OEO has become so identified as an independent agency that many are unaware that the act creating it states: "There is hereby established in the Executive Office of the President"—that is OEO's base of power, and it is a greater power than exists in any other agency—it is a greater power than the authority to administer huge sums of grant money. It is the power and prestige of the White House itself that gives OEO its advantage in the Federal bureaucracy. It is time OEO was used to provide direction, and coordination, and effectiveness to the programs Congress has enacted since the New Deal.

OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE EVALUATION

The question now becomes: How do we evaluate our efforts? What methods do we have beside taking the word of the department or agency involved that we are succeeding in our social goals?

As Daniel P. Moynihan testified at the hearings:

> Up until now the executive branch of the Federal government, and the executive branch in American government in general, has had a virtual monopoly on the product of evaluation research. Congress, the State legislatures, the City Councils, are simply told what have been the results of such research. They do not have to agree, but they are hard put to disagree.
>
> There is nothing sinister about this state of affairs. Serious evaluation research as I have said, is only just reaching the state of a developed, as against an experimental, technique. Inevitably it has been sponsored in the first instance by executive departments. However, because the findings of such research are not neutral it would be almost dangerous to permit this imbalance to persist. There are a number of reasons. First and most importantly, the Congress and other legislative bodies are put at a considerable disadvantage. A major weapon in the "arsenal of persuasion" is in effect denied them. Second, the executive is exposed to the constant temptation to release only those findings that suit its purposes; there is no one to keep them honest. Third, universities and other private groups which often undertake such research on contract are in some measure subject to constant if subtle pressure to produce "positive" findings. The simple fact is that a new source of knowledge is coming into being; while it is as yet an imperfect technique, it is likely to improve, and if it comes to be accepted as a standard element in public discourse

it is likely to raise considerably the level of that discourse. This source of knowledge should not remain an executive monopoly.

To correct this situation, Moynihan suggested the creation of an Office of Legislative Evaluation. He compared the function of this new office to the function of the General Accounting Office and contended that the GAO, "has in its 45 years of activity raised the level of financial honesty in the programs of the Federal Government to the point that it is no longer even a remote obstacle to Federal legislation. Federal money may get wasted, but it does not get stolen."

This proposal speaks directly to the cogent issue raised by the distinguished majority leader, MIKE MANSFIELD, in his letter to committee chairmen last December calling for a "concentrated Senate exercise of the oversight function" and for a "major re-examination of new and old Government programs."

As Senator MANSFIELD said:

> Few if any of these older legislative structures have had a thorough-going, second-look for many years. These, too, it seems to me, might profitably be subject to complete re-study by the Senate. That kind of study could provide not only a basis for adjustments of legislation, as necessary, to the current needs of the nation but also a check on the equity and efficacy of the administrative interpretations and practices which have developed.

A concerted effort by Congress in the exercise of its oversight function is needed—and needed now. Over the long range, however, Congress needs an agency to perform the task of systematically evaluating the results of the social and economic programs it has enacted and paid for out of public moneys, just as 45 years ago it needed an agency to routinely audit the fiscal activities of Federal agencies.

I propose that we establish an Office of Legislative Evaluation to make sure our money is not wasted and that our programs accomplish their goals. We should place the office in GAO and change that agency's name to the Bureau of General Accounting and Legislative Evaluation. I shall introduce a bill to this effect.

The majority leader has spelled out the need for Congress to exercise its legislative oversight responsibilities. I am confident that the Committee on Government Operations, under the able leadership of Chairman JOHN MCCLELLAN, will continue to assume its proper role in assuring that the programs of the Federal Government are carried out in an efficient, economical and well-coordinated manner. Few other Senators are cognizant as Chairman MCCLELLAN of the need for effective organization in Government, and the changing requirements of Government in our times.

I make this speech on the floor of the Senate as a Senator from Connecticut who has had the privilege of chairing a subcommittee of the full Committee on Government Operations. Needless to say, the programs I recommend and the proposals I advance are my personal beliefs and are not the report of the subcommittee. That report will be forthcoming after the members of the subcommittee have had a chance to review the record in detail.

Inasmuch as the distinguished chairman of the committee Senator MCCLELLAN, is in the Chamber, I wish to take this opportunity to publicly and personally thank him for the warm encouragement he has given me throughout our efforts to achieve sound reorganization in the Federal branch. The chairman of the committee has an excellent staff, and I wish to pay tribute to the head of the staff and all the men working on the staff for their encouragement, dedication, and assistance. In connection with everything I have asked to do and wanted to do, the chairman and the staff have been there.

I wish to say to the distinguished chairman of the committee that no matter how many years I am a Senator I will always be most appreciative and grateful for his kindness, generosity, encouragement, and understanding.

Mr. MCCLELLAN. I thank the distinguished Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], who is a member of the committee. I assure him that it is and will always be the purpose of the chairman to invite and cooperate with the members of the committee in the study of the Government, with the purpose of determining where reorganizations will promote efficiency and economy. I wish to add that the distinguished Senator from Connecticut performed yeoman service on the committee. He is dedicated to the task, the hope, and purpose of finding solutions to many of our organization problems.

With respect to the Committee on Government Operations, the work that we do is tedious. Much of it is not spectacular. It involves much detail, study, search, research, and evaluation, and any progress that we make toward reorganizing our Government and dealing with some of these vital problems is of immense importance to us.

I appreciate the services of the Senator and his friendship.

Mr. RIBICOFF. I thank the distinguished chairman.

CONCLUSION

Mr. President, when we speak of the city we speak of the oldest and newest of mankind's experiments.

It is the oldest because this experiment began thousands of years ago when men first came together in settlements to increase their opportunities by sharing their talents and resources.

It is the newest because the style of urban life has changed constantly throughout history as men have sought to articulate new hopes and dreams and give concrete shape to those hopes and dreams.

Thus, the fundamental aspect of urban life is the concept of change.

The change I have spoken of today is not limited to our large cities—it is occurring in every city and town, large and small, across this land. For when we build new houses, we build them in Chisholm, Minn., as well as in New York City. When we develop new industries and new job opportunities, we develop them in Excelsior Springs, Mo., as well as in Los Angeles. When we seek a deep commitment to individual worth and citizen participation in the community, we seek this commitment in Baker, Oreg., as well as in Chicago.

The most vivid reflection of change in our society may occur in our large cities. But the fastest growing settlement in America today is the city with a population between 10,000 and 50,000.

Tradition teaches us that we are a rural nation. But history shows our basic unit of common destiny has been the small town—what one observer has called the "city upon a hill."

As we attempt to absorb and control the rapid change of the 1960's and the 1970's, let us remember that the society we seek to build is the society based on the principles of the small town—that "city upon a hill"—and the technology of our new megalopolis.

We can achieve this goal—if our starting point is the individual human being. He is the key pressure point in our system. When he moves, society moves. When he can do the job, society can do the job. When he is a competent citizen, our communities become competent communities, our cities become competent cities, and our society becomes a competent society.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I am pleased to yield to the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, I rise to commend with great enthusiasm the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF]. He has delivered an excellent speech. In my judgment, his speech is one of the three or four most significant speeches I have heard in the 10 years I have been in the Senate.

The Senator from Connecticut addressed himself to a major problem that faces this country: the cities; a problem that many people feel is insolvable.

Mr. President, I submit that there are few people in the United States who are better qualified to talk about this problem than the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], who has been a distinguished Congressman, an outstanding Governor of a heavily urban State, a man with rare experience in urban problems in the Cabinet of President Kennedy as the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, and an outstanding Senator.

I think that what should be stressed about this speech is its unique quality. It does not simply take programs we have had in the past and suggest that they be polished up and shifted in a different direction. It does not just shift people around in the executive branch.

The Senator from Connecticut has sketched a most ambitious program. He talked in new terms—the "competent" city—and the "model neighborhood." He proposes "guaranteed jobs," a far more congenial concept to the overwhelming majority of Senators than guaranteed annual income, yet striking at the same vital and difficult problem of long-term unemployment.

He has talked about an interest subsidization program which may be shock-

ing to many but could provide a great deal of good housing for a small investment and 100 percent private ownership. I think the Senator from Connecticut has given it a new explanation and a new understanding that is most helpful to us. He has talked about loan guarantees, economic planning through the Federal Reserve districts, the availability of 3-percent housing money for those with incomes between $5,000 and $8,000; and also research—research to get at the very heavy cost of housing; research which we have not had that we should have and must have, and which will save itself money many times over in the process of developing cheaper methods of producing homes.

Above all, the Senator from Connecticut has given us a rationalized Government reorganization proposal. He has shown how, in spite of the fact that we have competent presidents who have been deeply concerned with this problem, our urban agencies have grown like Topsy and need the firm touch of the Senator from Arkansas, chairman of the Government Operations Committee, as well as the specific and particular understanding which the Senator from Connecticut brings to this problem.

I should like to ask the Senator two very brief questions. I know that the Senator from Virginia has been waiting, but I shall not take very long.

A series of figures has been given, and I think it would be helpful if we could have them clarified a little more.

As I understand it, the Senator proposes a program of $50 billion over a 10-year period, beginning in 1970 or 1971—$5 billion a year—for the purpose of providing for new housing. As I understand it, this would be the cost of—what is it?—the Federal Government's, the overall cost?

Mr. RIBICOFF. This is to be the overall cost of supplying the new housing to wipe out 4½ million substandard housing units in all the slums and rundown neighborhoods of America.

Mr. PROXMIRE. And the portion of the Federal Government's outlay would be substantially less than this?

Mr. RIBICOFF. It would be less, but since much of this housing would be on a nonprofit basis, one could assume that the major portion would be Federal, but it would go on the basis of the model cities program which we passed in demonstration cities, in which is provided that the Federal Government would pay up to 80 per cent to the cities. The cities' contribution would also contemplate investments by private enterprise, but I would assume, in order to do the job right, in fairness to the Senate—that the $50 billion would be $50 billion of Federal funds to do this job and do it right, and on a Federal basis we should be prepared to contribute $5 billion each year for 10 years.

Mr. PROXMIRE. The Senator cited the overall urban cost for housing and everything else over a period of 12 years, which would be something like $1 trillion which is, of course, a thousand billion dollars—a fantastic sum of money. He said that approximately 20 percent, as I understand it, of that money, would be Federal funds. As I understand it, the Senator has the notion—with which I believe many economists would wholeheartedly agree—that this $200 billion of Federal funds would be seed money and would involve $800 billion expenditures by private enterprise, that this would nurture great economic growth which would result in an enormous increase in income and, therefore, in greater revenues by the Federal Government, that the net cost would be far less than $200 billion and we would very possibly, not necessarily, have to increase tax rates This is because the urban investment would increase incomes of individuals and business growth with a corresponding increase in Federal revenues. Is this correct?

Mr. RIBICOFF. I believe that the Senator is correct. One of the most distinguished bankers in the United States, David Rockefeller, president of one of the largest banks, Chase Manhattan—if it is not the largest bank in America—estimated that it would involve $5 of private money for every $1 of Federal Government money. Other economists have put the ratio at 7 to 1—that is, $7 private money to every $1 of Government money.

The Senator from Wisconsin is absolutely correct. We should keep in mind—and we must keep in mind—that the gross national product has reached the $750 billion mark. By 1973, the economists estimate that the gross national product will then reach $1 trillion.

Thus, we are generating a fantastic, rapidly growing economy. This rapidly growing economy will certainly generate a substantial amount of federal revenue, even based on the present rate of growth and that a major portion of the program, starting in the year 1970, when I am hopeful—I pray, and I am sure that all of us pray—that the crisis in Vietnam will be over, will free approximately $25 billion which we are now spending there out of Federal resources. Thus, it could be done without additional taxes. Whether it can be done without additional taxes, naturally, will depend on many other basic problems which America will face. What those commitments will be at that time we cannot foresee, of course, at this time—which I must say in all honesty.

Mr. PROXMIRE. One last question, one on which the Senator from Connecticut may or may not wish to comment—that is this notion of the guaranteed job. This is not quite so shocking as the guaranteed annual income, which is something to which I am almost instinctively or automatically opposed—but the guaranteed job carries the notion that everyone will get a job whether he is competent or whether he is willing to work hard or whether he is willing to deserve it on merit.

I am sure this is not the position of the Senator from Connecticut because I know how strongly he feels on this matter. At the same time, it does raise certain very difficult questions. It is a new concept. It would be most helpful, I think, to explain this, in view of the guaranteed annual income which has great appeal but is not acceptable.

Mr. RIBICOFF. There has been much debate about it and a great deal of writing in the intellectual community concerning the so-called negative income tax, the guaranteed annual income, and the family allowance. Let me say that I am against all three. I think that what the people in the slums and the people on welfare need and want most is selfrespect, their individual worth.

It was most interesting that during the course of hearing testimony, Dr. Kenneth Clark, himself a Negro, chairman of the City College of New York and an outstanding sociologist, was bitterly opposed to the guaranteed income, or the negative income tax concept. The Reverend Leon Sullivan, who has done such yeoman work in Philadelphia told us:

> Our people want their self respect. Do not destroy it. Anything you give to the people on a handout basis, no matter what the sum, will take away their self respect, will take away their feeling of worth.

This is something we should avoid at all costs. But the guaranteed job, where we say to any man who is able, any man who is employable, any man who is trainable in an employable job of some sort or another, where he earns the dollars he receives, which is the real American concept, that is what our obligation should be as Americans, to come up with a program to guarantee everyone who wants to work a job.

I am unalterably opposed to giving a handout to people either through the negative income tax, the family allowance, or the guaranteed annual income, if they themselves are employable.

It becomes another problem if they are aged, or sick, or cannot work. Then it becomes another problem which we must look at.

Mr. PROXMIRE. I want to say to the Senator from Connecticut that I am impressed and informed by his outstanding speech today. Let me say, incidentally, regarding the Employment Act of 1946, that it provides for high employment. This has been interpreted by many Members of Congress and many economists as providing some basis for an approach to the notion of the guaranteed job.

I think that the fact that the Senator from Connecticut is on that committee will help us greatly in working out some of the ideas which can advance this program, and advance it swifty.

As the Senator stated in his speech, quoting Johnnie Scott:

> A young author from Watts * * * described the ghetto this way: "The ghetto is not the houses. It is the people."

The way to improve this situation is to improve the opportunity for these people to maintain their self-respect.

I thank the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. RIBICOFF. I thank the Senator from Wisconsin.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, the distinguished Senator from Connecticut [Mr. RIBICOFF], has made a thoughtful speech dealing with the problems of our cities. I appreciate the opportunity and the privilege I have had of reading it in advance of its delivery today.

The Senator is deeply concerned about the problems of urban America, has devoted long hours to the arduous task of exploring them, and has attracted widespread and useful public attention to them. I congratulate him upon these efforts and will certainly give thoughtful consideration to the specific proposals which he advances to deal with these problems.

I appreciate the thoughtful references which the able Senator makes to the work of my own Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, which has been involved since its creation in the operation of the federal system and the relationships of the Federal, State, and local levels of government.

The work of the two subcommittees—Senator RIBICOFF's dealing with the organization of the Federal Government and mine, dealing with interlevel organization—is obviously complementary.

The Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, in its staff studies, inquiries to Federal, State, and local officials, hearings, and legislative proposals, has explored the problems of administering Federal grant-in-aid programs, improving the coordination of cooperative Federal-State-local programs, improving the quality of personnel at the State and local level, providing uniform policies in relocation assistance under various Federal aid, strengthening regional and metropolitan planning operations, programs, and developing an improved mechanism for policy planning and coordination of Federal aid programs in the executive branch. All of these areas are intimately concerned with the viability of our metropolitan centers. Some of our recommendations were incorporated in the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966.

Senator RIBICOFF's concern, and the concern of his Subcommittee on Government Reorganization, has been more directly involved with the internal organization of the Federal departments and agencies with responsibilities for Federal programs affecting our urban areas. I am glad that he is pursuing this concern and I look forward to continued cooperative efforts in this area.

In closing, Mr. President, I want to compliment the distinguished Senator from Connecticut for this thoughtful and idea-packed presentation. His speech today should stimulate a continuation of the effort to build a better America in our cities.

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, I wish to compliment the Senator from Connecticut on his comprehensive statement. He has made a number of constructive proposals which deserve the close attention and careful consideration of Congress.

These are not proposals for the distant future. They are not the proposals of a visionary academic, but rather a sober assessment of some hard necessities of life by one of America's most capable public officials. We cannot postpone action. The issues which we face in our cities go to the question of the survival of our society. They deserve the highest priority consideration.

Senator RIBICOFF's statement today is a culmination of an effort over the last 6 months in which he has really educated the entire Nation. The hearings on urban problems which he conducted will be required reading for an understanding of the problems of our cities for years to come. We heard the city and its problems examined from every angle—the Federal officials who have urban responsibilities, mayors of cities large and small, scholars from a variety of different fields, and the people of the cities themselves.

I think every American who is interested in understanding why our cities have staggering financial problems, why they seem to fall further and further behind in dealing with problems of slum housing and inadequate schools, air and water pollution and traffic congestion, and why we have failed to bring millions of Americans into the mainstream of our society was educated by the hearings which Senator RIBICOFF conducted.

We now know much more than we knew before about the nature of the problem, and Senator RIBICOFF, with his thoughtful speech today, offers us some useful suggestions as to what we must do to meet these problems. I was glad to be associated with the Senator from Connecticut in the hearings on urban problems and I am delighted to associate myself with his remarks today on the Senate floor.

February 7, 1967

Mr. J. M. Graham
460 East Washington Street
San Jose, California 95112

Dear Mr. Graham:

Please forgive the delay in replying to your letter of December 10, with the enclosed dollar and the request for a copy of the testimony Mr. McKissick presented to the Senate Committee on Urban Problems, Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization.

Copies of that testimony will be available within about one week, as we had only a very limited number of the testimony, we have found it necessary to reproduce it.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH

460 E. Wisconsin St
San Jose, Calif 95112
Dec 10, 1966

Floyd B. McKissick:

Dear Sir:

I have read accounts of your testimony the other day before the Ribicoff Senate Committee on crisis in the cities.

I would appreciate a copy of your statement.

1.00

Sincerely yours,
J. W. Graham

DEC 19 1966

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION
(PURSUANT TO S. RES. 188, 89TH CONGRESS)

Fib Ribicoff

MAR 1 1967

February 23, 1967

Mr. Floyd McKissick
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. McKissick:

The hearings on the "Federal Role in Urban Affairs" are in the process of being edited. I would appreciate it if you would return your copy of the transcript of December 8 with your additions and corrections.

I would like to get this second round of hearings into printed form as soon as possible, and your cooperation is necessary.

Sincerely,

Jerome Sonosky
Staff Director

March 3, 1967

Miss Eleanor Crain
48 Magnolia Lane
Roslyn Heights, Long Island 11577

Dear Miss Crain:

Enclosed are three copies of CORE's statement regarding the War in Vietnam, which you may use for distribution on Long Island.

At the present time, we do not have copies of Mr. McKissick's testimony before the Senate Committee on Urban Problems, Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization, available. We are waiting to receive them from the printer. When they are available, we will forward a copy to you.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
enc. (3)

April 3, 1967

Mr. Mathis Becker
University of Arizona
College of Law Library
Tucson, Arizona

Dear Mr. Becker:

Thank you for your letter of March 27, which was addressed to Mr. McKissick, requesting that he reply to a questionaire you had enclosed regarding slum conditions in America's cities.

For your information, we have enclosed a pamphlet which summarizes CORE's positions on urban problems - the most outstanding of which, of course, is slums. We hope it answers all of your questions.

The pamphlet is a summary of Mr. McKissick's presentation to the Senate Committee on Urban Problems, Subcommittee on Executive Regrganization, which was delivered on December 8, 1966.

Thank you for your interest.

Very truly yours,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
enclosure (1)

APR 3 1967

Mathis Becker
University of Arizona
College of Law Library
Tucson, Arizona
March 27, 1967

Floyd McKissick
213½ W. Main St.
Durham, North Carolina 27701

Dear Mr. McKissick,

I am a law student at the University of Arizona. One of my courses is a seminar on Land Use and Control. Each member of the seminar is required to do a research project. I have chosen as my project a study of slums to see if they are the result of city planning and zoning. I am especially concerned with the effect zoning has on the creation and perpetuation of racial and economic ghettos.

Could you please be so kind as to answer the accompanying questioneer? Any other information that you could give me would also be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Mathis Becker

Mathis Becker

QUESTIONEER

1. Do you believe that city planning plays an important part in the creation and perpetuation of slums, and if so how?

2. In our society, is the existence of some slums inevitable and why or why not?

3. Do you believe that city planning and zoning could play an important role in reducing the existence of slums and if so how?

4. What effect does suburbian planning and zoning have on the central core of our larger cities?

5. Do you believe that our present city planning and zoning result in the existence of racial ghettos and if so how?

6. If you had the power, what would you do to reduce or completely destroy the existence of slums?

April 15, 1967

Representative John Conyers
Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Conyers:

Thank you for your note of March 31, requesting a copy of Mr. McKissick's testimony before the Senate Sub-Committee on Executive Reorganization.

We do not have available the transcript of that testimony. However, we have enclosed a pamphlet "Constructive Militancy", which summarizes that testimony and depicts our position regarding many of the problems facing the urban ghetto.

Thank you very much for your interest.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH
enclosure (1)

JOHN CONYERS, JR.
1ST DISTRICT, MICHIGAN

COMMITTEE ON
JUDICIARY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

DETROIT OFFICE:
7310 WOODWARD AVENUE
DETROIT, MICHIGAN 48202
AREA CODE: 313
PHONE: 873-5240

APR 6 1967

March 31, 1967

Mr. Floyd McKissack
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. McKissack:

I would appreciate very much your sending me a copy of your testimony before the Senate Sub-Committee on Executive Re-organization.

The text of the December hearings at which you testified has not been printed as yet so I am unable to get your statement from the Committee.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Conyers, Jr.
Member of Congress

We have a saying among our people that goes this way: "If you see me fighting a bear, help the bear." You might say that translates roughly: "With friends like that, who needs enemies?"

And that is the sentiment instilled by long hard experience, by bitter disappointment, by mounting frustration that prevails in the Negro community. When I say prevails, I am not referring to the people with whom the white community and its liberal leadership communicate. I am not talking about the so called civil rights leaders who were willing to sell themselves and their organizations for a mere promise of Presidential support for a Federal fair housing legislation--when the President had it within his power, by the stroke of a pen, to sign an executive order which would have conferred all those same rights. I am talking about the man in the street, the man with whom the leadership has increasingly lost touch, the man in the street who knows duplicity and hypocricy when he sees it, the man in the street who is tired of hearing: "Trust in me. I'm on your side. I have the contacts. The power boys talk to me. Let me fight for you and be your leader and gain glory for myself."

The man in the street knows what the people who fought the revolutionary war knew: You can't delegate the job of citizenship to anyone. These days the devil does not quote scriptures. He quotes the Civil Rights Act. He says: "You never had it so good." But he means: "I never had it so good." He says: "Look how much progress we've made." And he means: "White leaders will talk to me now who five years ago would never have done so." (cont.)

That's what Black Power is all about--refusing to let the other man do it; insisting that if a job is to be done, do it yourself. That's not a radical philosophy. It's a conservative one. It's a democratic one--with a small D. And it comes closer to the kinds of values which Republicans with a capital R are talking about these days than it does to what our so-called friends are busy telling us we need.

We know what we need. We need a chance to act, to do, to speak, to contribute--without waiting on anyone else--and without being told that it is the white man's money, the white man's institutions and the white man's time table that we must wait upon and depend upon.

Black Power is right now the biggest scare word around. It has been defined and redefined and redefined. Let me tell you whom I think it scares the most. It scares the so called leadership--and the so-called liberal because it means that for every chunk of progress, for every gain made, he may be deprived of his cut, his piece of the action in terms of glory, prestige, banquets, summit meetings, and press coverage. It means that the people are beginning to believe that if men built this society brick by brick, road by road and factory by factory, then men can improve it brick by brick and stone by stone. It means we have been the victim of our myths too long: We are so proud that men built institutions that we have now begun to worship institutions as idols, praying to those institutions as gods, to grant us favors, and losing sight of the fact that what man made, man can remake, and what man created, man can improve.

What doesaBlack Power mean in terms of the cities: It does not mean simply

(cont.)

that we want more—that we have our hands outstretched begging. It means that we have come to respect ourselves—and we have come also to know that what we have has been an instrument, conscious and purposeful, of degradation, retardation, exploitation, enslavement.

Does that make sense? Can that be true? The Coleman report certainly bears that out: It says that the disparity in educational achievement cannot be accounted for by the disparity spent on black and white schools. And itss says that the most important variable which correlates most consistently with academic achievement is one's feeling of mastery of one's own destiny.

It makes sense in housing: Where Negroes pay the same or more for rat infested fire traps as whites pay for split level homes in the suburbs. And where a unit of public housing costs as much to build as a Levittownhouse complete with car.

It means that any service, any program, any assistance can become—and has consistently been perverted into a means of degradation, of continued slavery, of colonization.

What does Black Power mean?
~~Exxwhatx Blackx Powerxmeans~~. It means we are tired of having things created "for our benefit", turned into a means of subjugation and slavery. It means we want to have a say in how we are helped. It means we are tired of saying thank you for the high priced leg irons that society carefully fits and forges for each of us through welfare, public housing, public education/

(cont.)

and other programs.

It means we are tired of being victimized by merchants, brutalized by police, kept ignorant by teachers, denied our manhood by welfare, and branded undesirable tenants by landlords who have flouted the building code, the sanitation code, and the code of human decency for years without end.

More important, it means that we have discovered that we have something to contribute--something worthwhile--something in which we can take pride, a basis for our dignity, in who we are and what we are. And we are no longer willing to be told that our contribution is worthless, that we are a burden, a liability, a drain on society, while at the same time we are prevented at every turn from making a contribution, from rebuilding our slums, from keeping order in our streets, from educating our children, from running our own businesses, from buying or building our own homes, from insisting on our rights, from resisting exploitation, from exacting legal retribution for consumer fraud, slumlord,fraud, professional fraud, governmental fraud, all disguised neatly as acts of largesse.

We are tired of being told that until our hair turns straight, our skin turns white, our noses turn aquiline, our speech patters take on an Oxford accent, our walk and posture and gait become militarized, that we cannot so much as hammer a nail on a sonstruction job, give counsel to a fellow human being in trouble, seek employment with the same opportunity to learn by experience, secure a decent apartment for a decemt rent, get a TV set

(cont.)

that works for the regular discount price, and above all, live as first class citizens in the land of the free and the home of the brave.

We don't just want hand outs. We don't want hand outs at all. Black Power is not a way of saying Gimme. It is not a threat. But it is a credo that says: "I want a voice and as a citizen in a democracy, I am entitled to a voice and I should not have to wait on the white man to get my rights." It means: "I want to contribute--with what I have, right now, and I don't want to be told that I have to be acculturated, fumigated, turned into LBJ's version of Pygmalian, before I am permitted to love and hate, to feel and strive, to say misery is wrong, disease is wrong, war is wrong, poverty is wrong, ignorance is wrong, involuntary idleness is wrong, and before I am permitted to do something about those things with my own hands, my own back, the sweat of my brow and the force of my intellect.

Right now Black Power is nothing more or less that the Statement: "Let my people go." Not out of legal slavery, not out of the slavery of separate but equal. But "let my people go" out of the far more pernicious slavery of culture bound IQ tests, schools that retard, unions that exclude, employers that discriminate, police that presume the Negro is guilty, dangerous, and resisting arrest, welfare that degrades, grocery stores with week-old bread, vegatables, meats and produce, chain stores and department stores with special lines of merchandise for the ghetto, credit practices which are usurious.

This is the slavery from which the black man now says "Let my people go." Not into a separate land--not into exile. But into a land which all of us

(cont.)

have labored to build—a land we have occupied for longer than the white newcomers to this land, a land whose safety and security we have defended through two world wars and a Korean war—and countless international crisis.

Black Power is the statement: There is a will now to freedom as never before. It is a will that will not be stopped—will not be deterred—even by the Red Sea of Watts, of Harlem, of Chicago, and of Mississippi.

We will pass to the promised land. And we will insist upon our right to rebuild that land in the image of liberty to which this nation was consecrated nearly two centuries ago.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Floyd

FROM: Ruth

RE: Interview with Halberstrom and Hearings December 8.

Val suggested that you read this article that appeared in Wednesday's Post prior to the interview with Halberstrom in case some questions come up on it.

Concerning the hearings, could we have a heads of departments meeting on them as soon as possible? Since this is an excellent public forum, I would hope we could get our heads together on it so that any preparations necessary will hot have to be shortchanged for lack of time. In fact, it would be my hope that the meeting could include some of the best thinkers in Baltimore as well since they are dealing directly with city problems.

Let me know what you think on the latter suggestion.

WILKINS DEPLORES ANY URBAN AID CUT

Tells Senators Such Savings Would Be 'Criminal'

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 30 —Roy Wilkins asserted before a Senate subcommittee today that it would be "criminal" for either Congress or the Administration to cut back budget expenditures on social and urban programs.

The executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People made this point a day after President Johnson announced, at a news conference in Texas, that he was canceling or deferring $5.3-billion worth of Federal programs in the current fiscal year.

The President insisted that none of the cuts would "short-change the young, or the needy, the ill or the old." Sources here confirmed today that the cuts would not require elimination of key Great Society programs but would delay the award of some grants and require some belt-tightening as well.

Mr. Wilkins said after the hearing that although he was disturbed by the possible consequences of some of the cuts—he did not specify them—he had intended his remarks largely as a "warning to the new Congress," which, he feared, might interpret Mr. Johnson's action as a "mandate" to begin making further slashes.

The Negro leader was one of four witnesses who appeared before hearing of the Senate Government Operations subcommittee on urban problems. In other points, he:

¶Described the "black power" movement of some young Negro activists as "too dangerous, too amateurish, too teen-agerish, too much like a student prank," adding: "It isn't as bad as it sounds, but it's mischievous."

¶Charged that Federal job-training programs had in some cases helped perpetuate racial discrimination.

"Existing Government programs," Mr. Wilkins said in a statement, "have fallen far short of providing any substantial cure for Negro unemployment."

"Unfortunately," he said, the administration of Federal manpower development and employment programs "has often been marked by outright racial discrimination and by preconceived, stereotyped ideas of what jobs Negroes can and should hold. When colored applicants have been accepted they have often found themselves being trained for blue-collar, service employment, frequently in dying industries."

The three other witnesses were Harry Golden, author and publisher of The Carolina Israelite; Dr. Robert Coles, Harvard research psychiatrist, and Judge George Edwards of the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit.

Mr. Golden proposed that the Negro be given a 10-year, $100-billion "indemnity"—in the form of welfare, housing, and education programs—to pay for his confinement "during the greatest wealth-producing period in the history of the world."

The Negro's struggle for justice, he said, "has not been to alter a single institution. He did not want to burn the bastille, or get rid of the tax on tea, nor did he demand a new parliament, or a new Constitution."

"What he has been telling us is that the American institutions are so desirable that he wants in on them," he said.

Judge Edwards struck a responsive chord in the subcommittee when he called for more and better-trained policemen in urban areas and suggested establishment of a national police academy similar to the service institutions at West Point and Annapolis.

The subcommittee chairman, Senator Abraham A. Ribicoff, Democrat of Connecticut, called for vastly improved police protection last August following the panel's first round of hearings on city problems.

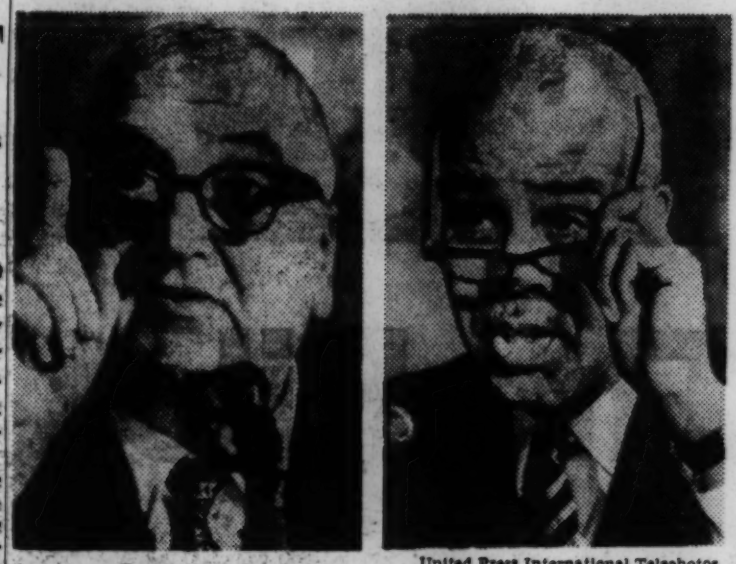
Dr. Coles, a child psychiatrist, reviewed his experience with poor children and their parents in Southern towns and Northern ghettos and said that in many cases he had found "strength" and "vitality" despite huge obstacles.

He said, moreover, that he had become less "convinced" that racial prejudice "is the decisive issue confronting our cities."

Whites and Negroes, he said, share the same basic fears of unemployment, high prices, illness, and the like.

"There is nothing in the minds of any group of Americans," he concluded, "that necessarily compels our present problems to continue."

Problems of U.S. Cities Viewed



United Press International Telephotos

Harry Golden, left, the writer, and Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, testifying yesterday at hearing of a Senate subcommittee on problems of American cities.

*Weekend exception: flight does not operate S

Wilkins, at Senate, Raps 'Black Power'

By WARREN HOGE
New York Post Correspondent

Washington, Nov. 30—Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, today blasted the slogan "black power" as "mischievous," and said it would not help solve Negro problems.

"The term is unfortunate," he said. "It was hatched as a football rallying cry, a marching slogan down in Mississippi. You can't handle the destinies of the Negro people with a football slogan."

Wilkins was speaking before a Senate government operations subcommittee looking into the plight of the cities when he hit at "black power" in response to a question from Sen. Ribicoff (D-Conn.), the committee chairman.

"Where does the civil rights movement stand?" Wilkins was asked.

Wilkins answered that the notion of black power was "too amateurish, too teenagish," to be considered seriously.

Sees Bias in Programs

Responsible rights leaders must concern themselves with Negroes who have loan problems, mortgages to pay, their relationships with white persons and other economic needs of Negroes, he said.

"These people don't want a student slogan with an ethnic tang to it," said Wilkins, in dismissing arguments which say black power means political power or economic power or race pride.

In his prepared remarks, before the question-and-answer period, Wilkins had told the committee that federal manpower training programs have "often been marked by outright racial discrimination."

As an alternative, he called for a national plan to rebuild cities and to liberate urban Negroes from poverty and prejudice.

"It bears repeating," he said, "that what we call the Negro problem is but one part of the gigantic problem of urbabnization."

And he placed part of the blame for the "Negro problem" on the Senators themselves, saying that, like the Negro, they had inherited the problems created by "the criminal practices of the past 100 years."

During that period, Wilkins charged, non-Southerners Legislators had either ignored the problems or had engaged in "active and knowledgeable collusion in their perpetuation.

"Let us remember these items when we are tempted to blame the Negro for his predicament and for the discomfiture of the white population."

Wilkins said he brouhgt no blueprint for rehabilitating ghettos, but only wanted to point to those "areas of life" any plan must reach.

Big-city programs, he said, have brought few gains in Negro employment and income. "Unfortunately, their administration has often been marked by outright racial discrimination and by preconceived streotype ideas of what job Negroes can and should hold."

To wipe out the inequities in American cities will take a vast nationwide program of public housing expansion, an overhaul of welfare programs and legislation to end racial imbalance in public schools, he said.

Another witness before the committee today was author Harry Golden. He proposed that the government begin a $100,000,000,000 ten-year program to help Negroes enter the mainstream of American cities.

The hearings are unusual in that no legislation is either before the subcommittee or necessarily planned.

"We don't want to argue from any preconceived notion," said Ribicoff. "This is a process of education."

During yesterday's first class, the Senators learned from David Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, that careful planning to assure a profit would be the best method of getting businessmen to help needle the ballooning problem of housing shortages. "It would be a mistake to launch a housing venture which would not be economically viable," he warned.

The day's second lesson, from Richard Scammon, former director of the Census Bureau, was that "unfortunately we know more about pigs than people." He referred to the fact that there is an agricultural census every five years, while people are enumerated only once a decade.

Statistics have shown that within a five-year period, more than half of the American public has moved from one house to another, he said, citing it as an example of the kind of shifting patterns that go unrecorded for ten-year periods.

"Without better data, you'll have to act on good intentions and good guesses," he told the subcommittee.

POLITICS AND THE ELECTIONS

In the important area of political education CORE has found that the people want to see a relationship between their political representatives and a change in their living conditions.

Negroes in the urban ghettos are beginning to see that there is little difference in the labels of conservatives and liberals--neither really care what happens to the poor and black citizen. They feel that their representatives are more interested in poor people thousands of miles away in foreign counties. This belief comes from Congressional appropriations and Executive actions which pour more money into Southeast Asia than into northern ghettos or the Southeastern part of the United States, where self-determination for the majority of people is yet to be achieved.

Recent elections proved that the Negro voter can be selective. On November 10th, the New York Times discussed the Negro "frontlash" and commented that "the Negro vote throughout the nation showed a high degree of sophistication and selectivity. The Governor's race in Maryland is a prime example. The CORE Target City project was actively involved in voter registration and political education, in that state where Negroes voted 35-1 against racism in alliance with "responsible" white citizens.

Val

TO BE INCORPORATED IN CONCLUDING REMARKS — Floyd's ideas.

Realizing that racism is the crux of this nationa's problem and that education mus be the first attack on this, W have to recognize that racism can only be eliminated by educating whites. The skills of blacks have to be improved, but racism is not black power. Therefore, we suggest the following recommendations for immediate action on the part of our national leadership. And will take inaction as a sign of lack of commitment to improving the problems of race in this country. There must be a crash commitment to:

1. End the War In Viet Nam by withdrawal of United States troops from that country.
   1) Bread and Guns issue.
   2) Priorities
   3) Morality of the War
   4) The war instills violence as a method to the solution of problems. (Note that two major wars and a series of international conflicts have proven that war is not a solution)

2. By Executive Order, a National Education Board be created for the primary purpose of studying what education has not been able to accomplish to eliminate racism and ~~resultant ghettoization~~ the miseducation of black children.

3. The President should seek a commitment from the national news media for the eradication of solely commercial use of major channels of communication and place greater emphasis on educational programs. All programs of violence, for adults and children, should be removed from the air. Can't have this much authority?

4. Businessmen should develop programs designed to encourage the development of black capitalism, if the Capitalistic Society is to be sustained.

5. That individual civil rights leaders not be taken as leaders of all the black people in America, but that their reports and recommendations be respected only as they relate to the respective program areas and sources of financing these leaders' organizations represent. For example, CORE is a greater authority on the needs and ~~problem~~ aspirations of the ghetto because of its relationship there than NAACP or National Urban League.

6. A timetable should be set for a two-year plan for resolving the major problems of race in this country. Government and private intersts should make money available at the suggestions of the civil rights organizations to implement programs that will attack present problems and ~~prevention~~ further deterioration of American Negroes and american cities.

The subject of this bulletin is the Poor and the Law, which means in practical terms The Poor and the Non-Law, because it is increasingly evident to those of us who might be called the Fortunate that the Unfortunate do not share our freedoms and safeguards. Thus genuine equality before the law is the [redacted] oldest unsolved problem of democracy, and one of the newest fields of endeavor for the social worker. To those who either doubt the existence of these two kinds of Law, or despair of making them one, this bulletin is dedicated, with only one last injunction which appears below: the poem by Emma Lazarus which is engraved on the statue of Liberty ——

Quincy.

wraps-up —

skills ~~that~~ CORE can apply —

Baltimore project

Budget — Priorities

We have a saying among our people that goes this way: "If you see me fighting a bear, help the bear." You might say that translates roughly: "With friends like that, who needs enemies?"

And that is the sentiment instilled by long hard experience, by bitter disappointment, by mounting frustration that prevails in the Negro community. When I say prevails, I am not referring to the people with whom the white community and its liberal leadership communicate. I am not talking about the so called civil rights leaders who were willing to sell themselves and their organizations for a mere promise of Presidential support for Federal fair housing legislation--when the President had it within his power, by the stroke of a pen, to sign an executive order which would have conferred all those same rights. I am talking about the man in the street, the man with whom the leadership has increasingly lost touch, the man in the street who knows duplicity and hypocricy when he sees it, the man in the street who is tired of hearing: "Trust in me. I'm on your side. I have the contacts. The power boys talk to me. Let me fight for you and be your leader and gain glory for myself."

The man in the street knows what the people who fought the revolutionary war knew: You can't delegate the job of citizenship to anyone. These days the devil does not quote scriptures. He quotes the Civil Rights Act. He says: "You never had it so good." But he means: "I never had it so good." He says: "Look how much progress we've made." And he means: "White leaders will talk to me now who five years ago would never have done so." (cont.)

That's what Black Power is all about--refusing to let the other man do it; insisting that if a job is to be done, do it yourself. That's not a radical philosophy. It's a conservative one. It's a democratic one--with a small D. And it comes closer to the kinds of values which Republicans with a capital R are talking about these days than it does to what our so-called friends are busy telling us we need.

We know what we need. We need a chance to act, to do, to speak, to contribute--without waiting on anyone else--and without being told that it is the white man's money, the white man's institutions and the white man's time table that we must wait upon and depend upon.

Black Power is right now the biggest scare word around. It has been defined and redefined and redefined. Let me tell you whom I think it scares the most. It scares the so called leadership--and the so-called liberal because it means that for every chunk of progress, for every gain made, he may be deprived of his cut, his piece of the action in terms of glory, prestige, banquets, summit meetings, and press coverage. It means that the people are beginning to believe that if men built this society brick by brick, road by road and factory by factory, then men can improve it brick by brick and stone by stone. It means we have been the victim of our myths too long: We are so proud that men built institutions that we have now begun to worship institutions as idols, praying to those institutions as gods, to grant us favors, and losing sight of the fact that what man made, man can remake, and what man created, man can improve.

What does Black Power mean in terms of the cities: It does not mean simply

(cont.)

that we want more--that we have our hands outstretched begging. It means that we have come to respect ourselves--and we have come also to know that what we have has been an instrument, conscious and purposeful, of degradation, retardation, exploitation, enslavement.

Does that make sense? Can that be true? The Coleman report certainly bears that out: It says that the disparity in educational achievement cannot be accounted for by the disparity spent on black and white schools. And it says that the most important variable which correlates most consistently with academic achievement is one's feeling of mastery of one's own destiny.

It makes sense in housing: Where Negroes pay the same or more for rat infested fire traps as whites pay for split level homes in the suburbs. And where a unit of public housing costs as much to build as a Levittown house complete with car.

It means that any service, any program, any assistance can become--and has consistently been perverted into a means of degradation, of continued slavery, of colonization.

What does Black Power mean?
~~Do what Black Power means~~. It means we are tired of having things created "for our benefit", turned into a means of subjugation and slavery. It means we want to have a say in how we are helped. It means we are tired of saying thank you for the high priced leg irons that society carefully fits and forges for each of us through welfare, public housing, public educations

(cont.)

and other programs.

It means we are tired of being victimized by merchants, brutalized by police, kept ignorant by teachers, denied our manhood by welfare, and branded undesirable tenants by landlords who have flouted the building code, the sanitation code, and the code of human decency for years without end.

More important, it means that we have discovered that we have something to contribute--something worthwhile--something in which we can take pride, a basis for our dignity, in who we are and what we are. And we are no longer willing to be told that our contribution is worthless, that we are a burden, a liability, a drain on society, while at the same time we are prevented at every turn from making a contribution, from rebuilding our slums, from keeping order in our streets, from educating our children, from running our own businesses, from buying or building our own homes, from insisting on our rights, from resisting exploitation, from exacting legal retribution for consumer fraud, slumlord fraud, professional fraud, governmental fraud, all disguised neatly as acts of largesse.

We are tired of being told that until our hair turns straight, our skin turns white, our noses turn aquiline, our speech patters take on an Oxford accent, our walk and posture and gait become militarized, that we cannot so much as hammer a nail on a construction job, give counsel to a fellow human being in trouble, seek employment with the same opportunity to learn by experience, secure a decent apartment for a decent rent, get a TV set

(cont.)

that works for the regular discount price, and above all, live as first class citizens in the land of the free and the home of the brave.

We don't just want hand outs. We don't want hand outs at all. Black Power is not a way of saying Gimme. It is not a threat. But it is a credo that says: "I want a voice and as a citizen in a democracy, I am entitled to a voice and I should not have to wait on the white man to get my rights." It means: "I want to contribute--with what I have, right now, and I don't want to be told that I have to be acculturated, fumigated, turned into LBJ's version of Pygmalion, before I am permitted to love and hate, to feel and strive, to say misery is wrong, disease is wrong, war is wrong, poverty is wrong, ignorance is wrong, involuntary idleness is wrong, and before I am permitted to do something about those things with my own hands, my own back, the sweat of my brow and the force of my intellect.

Right now Black Power is nothing more or less that the Statement: "Let my people go." Not out of legal slavery, not out of the slavery of separate but equal. But "let my people go" out of the far more pernicious slavery of culture bound IQ tests, schools that retard, unions that exclude, employers that discriminate, police that presume the Negro is guilty, dangerous, and resisting arrest, welfare that degrades, grocery stores with week-old bread, vegatables, meats and produce, chain stores and department stores with special lines of merchandise for the ghetto, credit practices which are usurious.

This is the slavery from which the black man now says "Let my people go." Not into a separate land--not into exile. But into a land which all of us

(cont.)

have labored to build—a land we have occupied for longer than the white newcomers to this land, a land whose safety and security we have defended through two world wars and a Korean war—and countless international crisis.

Black Power is the statement: There is a will now to freedom as never before. It is a will that will not be stopped—will not be deterred—even by the Red Sea of Watts, of Harlem, of Chicago, and of Mississippi.

We will pass to the promised land. And we will insist upon our right to rebuild that land in the image of liberty to which this nation was consecrated nearly two centuries ago.

Suggested conclusion

THESE PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN PRESENTED TO THIS COMMITTEE BECAUSE OF MY REALIZATION OF THE HIGH RESPONSIBILITY OF this CONFERENCE TO STOP THE DETERIORATION OF URBAN ~~XXXX~~ FACILITIES services AND URBAN LIVING. THESE PROPOSALS AND OTHERS PRESENTED HERE MUST BE ~~XX~~ CONVERTED INTO DETAILED PROGRAMS FOR ACTION -- PROGRAMS THAT WILL SPECIFY GOALS, ALLOCATE PRIORITIES AND ASSIGN DEADLINES, AND TO WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION, THE CONGRESS, AND THE NATION WILL BE ASKED TO COMMIT THEMSELVES. MOREOVER, THESE PROGRAMS ~~XXXXXXXX~~ MUST BE GREARED TO PROVIDE JUSTICE AND EQUALITY FOR THE BLACK CITIZENS OF THIS COUNTRY, FOR ONLY IN THIS WAY, BY A TOTAL ATTACK ON ON POVERTY AND THE LIFE OF THE SLUM. OF HOPELESSNESS AND ALIENATION WILL AMERICANS BE ABLE TO ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ CONFORM TO THE THE AMERICAN DREAM OF EQUALITY AND HAPPINESS FOR ALL.

INTRODUCTION

Mr. Chairman,

The central cities of this country are disaster areas --- the debris is mounting, the walking wounded everywhere. For weeks you have been listening to the catalogue of this crisis, much as the legislators of the 18th Century in the plague cities, studied the lists of the dead. It is true: ... death is everywhere: the death of the body, the death of hope.

I am no longer certain that we can turn the tide...God knows we must try.

There is no time....there is no time to talk of half-measures, no time to prosecute wars, no time to lash back at the angry poor, no time to moralize about an integrated utopia....there is no time. The seminars must end, the conferences conclude, our wisdom must now be shaped into specific weapons of change. It is in this spirit---a spirit of crisis and a spirit of fragile hope that I come before you today.

I will talk about many things --- of entire institutions of our society that are crumbling in the central city. I will talk about the black American -- the mass of black Americans, paralyzed in poverty; unmotivated, suspicious of the white man's promise, blooded on the streets of Los Angeles and on the streets of Saigon. I will talk of racism through the entire American fabric -- a racism that cannot be changed by law alone.

And I will talk about black power..black power, its consequence and its meaning.

The tragedy of the recent spasm of reaction and racism in this country is best dramatized in this room...for it is in this room for many weeks that you gentlemen have seen in exquisite detail, the frustration, the hopelessness and the powerlessness of the American urban Negro. There is no better argument for black power --- for the mobilization of the black community as a political, social and economic bloc than the words you have heard in this room. Moreover --- and this

is what we have always meant by Black Power --- it is a rational, militant call from a whole segment of this nation's population to do what you have not been able to do ----- destroy racism in this country, create full employment in the American ghetto, revise the educational system to cope with the 20th Century, and make the American ghetto a place in which it is possible to live with hope.

And once and for all --- I am not a man of violence, spanning my adult life ~~disturbing~~ the peace of this society --- I am a man of peace, appalled by a society of violence.

I am tired of violence --- not only that which has been inflicted on myself, and my children -- but the deeper violence inflicted on the black child in a hopelessly antique system of education: the violence done to the Negro man and the Negro woman, torn apart by the racist employer and defeated by the humiliation of public welfare. Do not ever forget..... 90 per cent of the American black community --- that immobile 90 percent -- which is the main subject of my discussion today --

are both the children and the victims of violence.

As I proceed, gentlemen, I would ask that you keep two basic themes in mind. One: the scope of the problem facing the central city is so large and at the same time the despair and suspicion in the black community so deep that <u>any</u> solutions we discuss must be immediate and in large part be financed by the federal budget. Even more important in any such undertaking we must involve and dignify the black man as a fully enfranchised citizen -- capable of administering his own recovery. Secondly, I would ask that we regard this problem in <u>crisis</u> terms, and for the moment set aside our understandable dreams of integration --- set them aside before the "fire next time" is now. As we in CORE have studied the problems facing the mass of American black people, we found over and over again that the great moral struggle for integration has, in fact, barely touched the lives of the people. Every instinct and experience tells us that the larger battle, for real change has hardly begun. Every analysis we can find, the work of virtually every social

scientist who has addressed himself to this question---leads us to the same basic conclusion -- the black ghettoes will not go away -- they are the hard fact of our life. Any solution you may consider, which addresses itself to the cause of despair and poverty must, in fact, accept the existence of a growing ghetto and proceed immediately to the task of its physical, educational and economic ~~rebirth~~ integrity.

Again -- let me emphasize, I am not arguing against the past; CORE's credentials in the civil rights movement are written in blood on Mississippi and Louisiana ground -- I am arguing for the future, a future in which a rich nation extends its resources and its energy and its commitment into the central cities so that those who live there may mold their hopes with their own hands, organize and act as a powerful economic, political and moral force to help to re-build this democracy as a nation of brothers.

We have a saying among our people that goes this way: If you see me fighting a bear, help the bear."

That translates roughly into: You might say that translates roughly as "with friends like that, who needs enemies?"

And that is the sentiment, the sentiment instilled by long hard experience, by bitter disappointment, by mounting frurstration, that prevails in the Negro community, When I say prevails, I am not referring to the people with whom the white community and its liberal leadership communicate. I am not talking about the so called civil rights leaders who were willing to sell themselves and their organizations for a mere promise of Presidential support for a federal fair housing legislation -- when the president had it within his power, by the stroke of a pen, to sign an executive order which would have conferred all those same rights. I am talking about the man in the street, the man with whom theleadership has increasingly lost touch, the man in the street who knows duplicitly andhypocracy when he sees it, theman in the street who is tired of hearing: "Trust in me wait patiently, I'm on yourside, I have the contacts, the power boys talk to me, let me fight for you and be your leader and gain glory formy self."

Themanin the street knows what the people who fought the revolutionary war knew: that you can't delegate the job of citizenship to any one, Benedict Arnolds come in all colors shades -- and with the devil these days who quotes not Scripture but the Civil Rights Act. The Devil does not quote Scriptures, He quotes the Civil Rights Act. He says you never had it so good. Buthemeans: I never had itso good. He says: look how much progress we've made. And hemans: White leaders will talk to me who five years would never have done so.

That's what Black power is all about -- refusing to let the other man do it; insisting that if a job is to be done, do it yourself. That's not a radical philosophy. It'sma conservative one. It's a democratic one -- with a small D. And it comes closer to the kinds of values which Republicans with a capital R are talking about these days than it does to what our so-called friends are busy telling us we need.

We know what we need. WE need a chance to act, to do, to speak, to contribute -- without waiting on anyone else -- and without being told that it is the white man's money, the white man's institutions and the white man's time table that we must wait upon, depend upon, and beg and sing Hallelujah

Blackpower is right now the biggest scare word around. It has been defiends and redefined and redefined. Let me tell you whom I think it scares the most. Itscares the so called leadership -- and the so called liberal because itmeans that for every chunk ofprogress, for every gain made, he may deprived of his cut, his piece of the action in terms of glory, prestige, banquets, summit meetings, press coverage, and the like. It means that the peop people are beginning to believe that if men built this society

brick by brick, road by road, ~~street by street~~, factory by factory, and men can improve it brick by brick and stone by stone. That

Itmeans we have been the ~~active~~ victim of our myths too long: we are so proud thatmen built institutions that we have now begun to worship institutions as idols, ~~forgetting that~~ praying to thoseinstitutions as gods ~~and forget~~ to grantus favor --~~xxxx~~ and losing sight of the fact that what man made, man can remake, and what man has created, man can improve upon. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

What does it ~~mean in terms of~~ Black power (mean in terms of) and the problems of the cities? ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

It does not mean simply that we want more -- that we have our hand outstretched begging. ~~It/and/we/simply/want~~ It Itmeans that ~~we~~ we have come to respect ourselves ~~and what we have~~ -- and we have come also to know that what we have has been an instrument, conscious and purposeful, of degradation, retardation, explotation, enslavement.

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Dowhat does Black power itmeans: ~~it means stop pretending that resources, institutions programs do not~~ -- itmeans we are tired of having having things created forour benefit turned into a meansof subjugation and slavery. It means we want a say in how we are helped. Itmeans we are tired of saying thank you for the high priced leg irons that society carefully fits and foreges for eachof us through welfare, public housing public education and otherprograms.

Itmeans we are tired of being victimzized by merchants, brutzliaed by police, kept ignorant by teachers, denied our manhood by welfare, and branded undesirable tenants by landlords who have flouted the building code, the sanitation code, and ~~every other code for years without end~~.

The code of Human decency for years without end.

Most important, itmeans that we have discovered that we have something to contribute -- something worthwhile, -- something in which we can take pride -- a basis for our dignity -- in who we are and what we are. And we are no longer willing to be told that our contribution is worthless, that we are a burden a liability, a drain on society, -- while at the same time we are prevented at every turn frommaking a contribution
from rebuilding our slums
from keeping order in our streets
from educatingour children
from running our own businesses
from buying or building ourown homes
from insisting on our rights
from resisting exploitation
from exacting legal retribution for consumer fraud, slumlord fraud, professional fraud, governmental fraud all disguised neatly as acts of largesse.

WE are tiredof being told that until our hair turns straight, our skin turnswhite, our noses turn aquiline, our speech patterns take on an Oxford accent, our walk, and posture and gait become militarized, that we cannot so much as
hammer a nail on a construction job
give counseling to a fellow human being in trouble
seek employment with the same opportunity to learn by experience
~~find a house where a decent rent will buy a decent room~~
secure a decent apartment for a decent rent
get a TV set that works for the regular discount price

~~and above all be listened to, be~~
and above all live as first class citizens in theland of the free and thehomeof the brave.

WE don't just want hand outs. We don't want hand outs at all. ~~Black power is not a~~ way of saying Gimme. Itis not a th;reat.

But it is a credo that says:
I want a voice, and a s a citizen in a democracy I am entitled to a voice and I should not have to wait on the whiteman // to get my rights

It means
I want to contribute -- with what I have, right now and I don't want to be told that ~~it will be forty years wandering in the desert until~~ I have to be acculturated, fumigated, and turned into LBJ's version of Pygmalion
before I am permitted

to love and hate, to feel and strive, to say
misery is wrong, disease is wrong,
war is wrong, poverty is wrong, ignorance is wrong, involuntary idleness is wrong,

and before I am permitted to so something about those things with my own hands& my own back and the sweat of my brow and the force of my intellect. And right now Black Power

is nothing more nor less than the statement:

Let my people go

Not out of legal slavery
Not out of the slavery of seprate but equal.

But ~~out of~~ let my people go out of the far more permicious slavery of

~~being told they cannot, and may not contribute~~
cannot and may not
IQ tests that are culture-bound
schools that retard ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~
union barriers to work that bear no relation to ability
~~employment barriers~~
employer barriers to work that are based on unobtainab---
on non-functional paper credentials, and even more on

culture bound IQ tests
schools that retard
unions ~~xxx~~ that exclude
employers that discriminate
~~objective tests~~ police that presume the Negro ~~arrested~~ is ~~both~~ guilty, dangerous and resisting arrest
welfare that degrades
~~stores with special merchandise for the ghettoes~~
grocery stores with week old bread, vegetables ~~xxxxxxxx~~ meats and produce
~~chain stores with special~~
chains stores and department stores with special lines of merchanddse for the ghetto
credit practices which are usurious

This is the slavery from which the black man now says

Let my people go. Not into a separate land -- not into exile.
But into aland which all of us have labored to build --
a land wehave occupied for longer than ~~three quarters of white America~~ most of The white race now comes to this land.
~~xxland whose riches are the product of in part the product of our lab~~
a land whose safety and security we have defended thro ugh two world wars and a Korean war -- and now countless international crises
~~a land whose~~

Black power is the statement: there is a will now to freedom as never ~~to~~ before. It is a will that will not be stopped -- will not be deterred -- even by the Red Sea ~~xxxx~~ of Watts, of Harlem, of Chicago, and of Mississippi. We will pass through to the promised land. And we will ~~hol~~ we insist upon our right to rebuild that land in the image of liberty to which this nation was consecrated ~~a hundred years and~~ nearly two centuries ago.

Conclusion

Use Edgar Cahn's article

Poverty program - community action programs, use of poor themselves to make policy.

Political disenfranchisement & need for selectivity

Schools again - emphasis - ~~Ed.~~

~~s~~ schools undermine the total social structure.

DOMESTIC SERVICE

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NIGHT LETTER

$ S E

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

1211 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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			CORE	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

April 19, 1966

Assembly Speaker Anthony Travia
New York State Assembly
Albany, New York

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) strongly urges defeat of Marchi-Amann Bill (S.I. 14, A.I. 3025.) Responsibility for appointments to and elegibility for service on New York City Board of Education should reside in New York City.

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

ALL MESSAGES TAKEN BY THIS COMPANY ARE SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING TERMS:

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4-54

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7

File

TELEGRAM to Governor Rockefeller

Governor Rockefeller
Executive Mansion
Albany, New York

CORE strongly urges you to reconsider your support of Senate Bill SI 4311 and join us in urging the passage of Assembly Bill AI 5839. The Provision of effective medical aid under Title 19 of the Medicare Act is seriously imperiled by placing its administration under the Social Welfare Department rather than under the State Department of Health, where it properly belongs. The requirement for repeated "means tests" is degrading and is designed to discourage use by those of greatest need. The provision to broaden the application of AI5839 to include those in medical need as well as needy persons and to extend the criteria of eligibility is absent from SI 4311.

CORE urges that you remove the aura of welfare from the health needs of New York residents.

TELEGRAM TO:

Assembly Speaker Anthony Travia
New YORK STATE ASSEMBLY
Albany, New York

National CORE supports the provisions of AI 5839 and opposes the passage of AI 5593. Health care under the Welfare Department attaches a stigma which discourages its use. The State Health Department is a proper place for the administration of Title 19 of the Medicare Act.

We strongly oppose the repeated "means tests" provisions of AI 5593. The intent and purpose of Title 19 would be thwarted by the passage of AI 5593.

SCHOOL MANAGEMENT MAGAZINE

A PUBLICATION OF THE MANAGEMENT PUBLISHING GROUP

APR 12 1967

April 10, 1967

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
National Director
CORE
200 West 135th Street
New York, N. Y. 10030

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Thanks very much for your response to our questions. I've only glanced at the material but it looks excellent. We appreciate your cooperation.

Good luck.

Sincerely,

James E. Doherty
Editor
JED/emr

THE MANAGEMENT PUBLISHING GROUP
22 WEST PUTNAM AVENUE, GREENWICH, CONN. 06830 • 203-869-8585

SCHOOL MANAGEMENT MAGAZINE

A PUBLICATION OF THE MANAGEMENT PUBLISHING GROUP

MAR 22 1967

Ruth

March 20, 1967

Mr. Floyd McKissick
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Several weeks ago, we mailed you some questions and asked you to answer them for publication. This same letter was mailed to a dozen leaders in the civil rights movement. The response has been good. But everyone wants more time--which we are certainly prepared to give.

The new deadline--and it is still flexible--is March 31.

We have not heard from you. We know you have been very busy. Will this new deadline make it possible for you to respond to the questions contained in our letter of February 27?

Sincerely,

James E Doherty

James E. Doherty
Editor

JED/emr

22 WEST PUTNAM AVENUE, GREENWICH, CONN. 06830 • 203-869-8585

March 20, 1967

Mr. James E. Doherty, Editor
School Management
22 West Putnum a venue
Greenwich, Connecticut 06830

Dear Mr. Doherty:

Thank you for your letter of February 27, with the enclosed copy of "School Management" magazine.

Unfortunately, this package just arrived today. If it is not too late for an article of Mr. McKissick's to be submitted, we would be glad to prepare one. Please let us know as soon as possible.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Irma L. Hellinger
Special Assistant to the
National Director

ILH

THE MANAGEMENT PUBLISHING GROUP ./ EDUCATION DIVISION

SCHOOL MANAGEMENT | P/I FOR SCHOOLS | COLLEGE MANAGEMENT | SCHOOL & COLLEGE CONSTRUCTION FILE | MPG CONSTRUCTION REPORTS

Ruth

February 27, 1967

MAR 2 1967

Mr. Floyd McKissick
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. McKissick:

You may be familiar with some of the major articles we have done in the past few years on school desegregation. We're now planning another effort -- this time, on the subject of "what lies ahead" -- and we need your help.

We would appreciate it very much if you would prepare, for publication, your reactions to the following questions:

1) There appears to be a definite drift away from emphasizing physical desegregation of schools to emphasizing improvement in the educational quality of schools -- even if they remain segregated. Has the drive for physical desegregation passed its peak? Is improved quality the new and major emphasis? If so, is this purely an urban phenomenon?

2) Objectives and emphases aside, what kinds of action can school administrators and school boards -- in the South, in the North, in cities and in suburbs -- expect from civil rights groups? How will tactics differ significantly, if at all, from those presently being employed.

3) Speaking realistically, how much can you expect school administrators and school boards to accomplish on the desegregation front when racism is rooted in the American way of life? In other words, why pick on the poor schoolman?

4) Are you satisfied with the role being played by the federal government and, specifically, by the U.S. Office of Education, in school desegregation in the South? In the North? In cities? In suburbs?

We realize that answering these questions is not a simple, five-minute job. But we offer you a chance to communicate with the managers and policy-makers in every school district in the nation with more than 300 children and hope that you will accept this offer. Can we

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hear from you before March 17th?

Thanks very much, in advance, for your help.

Best regards and good luck.

Sincerely,

James E. Doherty
Editor
SCHOOL MANAGEMENT

JED:emr

P.S. A copy of SCHOOL MANAGEMENT is enclosed in case you are not familiar with us.

File

Article for School Management

Question 1

In 1954 the Supreme Court ruled that separate or segregated education is, by definition, inferior. We thought that this represented the removal of the major roadblock to full citizenship and real participation in the mainstream of American life for Black people. Now, we thought, the way was clear for every law-abiding citizen to develop to the full potential of his ability.

But the law of the land was not enforced. Twelve and a half yearslater only 13% of Negro children in the South attend integrated schools. Today, over 50% of the children in N.Y.C. are Negro or Puerto Rican. 90% attend segregated schools. The white population in Philadelphia declined from 51% in 1961 to 43% in 1965. White enrollment in Detroit has dropped 9.2% in the last five years.

Most important, however, is the fact that the children left behind are not being taught. A recent survey of the reading levels in the segregated schools of New York shows that almost 87% of the children are reading below grade. This is compared to 50% below grade in 1954, the year of that great court decision. At this rate, by 1970 all of the children in ghetto schools in that city will be "under-achievers."

From the time a black child enters the public schools, he is fighting an uphill battle not to be pushed out of the educational system. Not the best, but the least experienced teachers are

still being assigned to ghetto schools.[1.] Teachers rarely teach; they keep order and impose discipline and too often hold their ghetto pupils in low esteem. "The crucial ingredient in improving education of the disadvantaged is changing the attitude of the teachers."[2.] Yet, human relations courses are still nonexistent in many urban centers. Staffed by teachers and administrators from the middle class, "the American high school tends to be a white, middle-class institution loaded against the Negro, working-class pupil."[3.]

The Harlems of this country are public school disaster areas. The continuing failure to educate black and poor children when education is a necessary ingredient for success in this society amounts to genocide. The fact that the "mind-killing" may be unintentional is irrelevant to the victim and of little comfort to the bereaved family.

Integration for all children is not feasible in many large cities today. Yet parents in the black communities of our cities are no longer willing to stand by and watch their children's minds wither and die. Typical are the Negro parents at New York's widely publicized I.S. 201. They demanded of the Board of Education:

1. Black authority figures (e.g., a black principal) with whom their children might be able to identify and to whose position they might aspire.
2/ They insisted upon sympathetic teachers who represented black children, were supportive and encouraging and who expected black children to learn.

3. They called for a curriculum that reflected the Negro's contribution to world and American history and therefore could rebuild a self damaged by living in a world that ignored them.
4. They pledged themselves to increased participation in their children's lives. By being vigilant and unafraid they knew that they would compel response and respect from the school administration, the teaching staff and their own children.

In effect, they were saying to educators that if a child with native intelligence is not achieving, the fault does not lie with the child. One must assume the technique is wrong, the perception of the child is wrong. As with a doctor and a sick patient, it is more prudent to try changing the medicine and mode of treatment than to curse the patient for not getting well.[4.]

Integrated quality education is still a desirable goal and there must be Federal and local action to insure integration wherever feasible...in suburban school districts, smaller cities and towns, Southern school systems, and border districts in major cities. Of all solutions proposed for the ultimate answer to the big city's educational dilemma, CORE would favor the building of centrally located, well-equipped educational complexes offering superior education to all children and the utilization of integrated curriculum and staff at all levels.

But the crisis in our city schools can no longer be ignored. The program emphasis of the Congress of Racial Equality therefore

is "quality education with dignity" in those areas of the country where the deterioration of the schools cannot be reversed through desegregation alone.

Question 2

The main features of the CORE action program are the following:

1. CORE supports and aids efforts made by parents to have more influence on educational policy and programs. In New York City, the organization has backed the parents in the I.S. 201 and P.S. 125-36 controversy and has aided the People's Board of Education's efforts to mobilize parents for better education now. CORE shall continue to organize and support picketing, school boycotts, and other forms of action planned by parents which call attention to the serious shortcomings of public schools and the parents' lack of power or voice to deal with them. We call for stronger Parents' Associations and other organizations which are able to deal with teachers, administrators, and other school officials from positions of strength.
2. CORE supports and encourages student organization. We support the involvement of Student Councils in educational issues and suggest the creation of student boards of education or similar groups in those instances where student government is not free or responsive enough to reflect student concern.
3. CORE has established and supports the development of Liberation or Freedom Schools in major cities which can

serve as models of learning success in black communities. These schools feature Negro history and culture as a means of developing pride and dignity in black students, but also promote informal class discussions, student initiatives in developing and carrying out action projects, training in practical skills necessary for finding and keeping jobs, scholarship information and understanding of legal, consumer and welfare rights. Students in Freedom Schools and their parents organize as pressure groups on existing school systems so that the successful results of the experimentation in Freedom Schools can become part of official policy.

4. CORE supports all efforts to provide more financial resources for public schools, providing that priorities are given to the schools which are in greatest need. We support the theory of preferential treatment for black and poor children and insist that ghetto schools must become not simple "as good as" but "better than" those serving other children.

5. CORE recommends the adoption of improved teaching methods adapted to the needs of black and poor children. There must be new forms of teacher recruitment and training; the teaching profession must be made attractive to our best thinkers and leaders. There should be experimentation with ungraded classrooms in ghetto schools, team-teaching, opening schools all day, all-night and all year around.

Non-professionals must be used as community aides to motivate parents and children. A pupil-teacher ratio no more than 15 to 1 is required to overcome the effects of decades of inferior education. We should consider extending education requirements downwards and upwards, guaranteeing all students at least two years of college education. In short, experimentation in education should be given a much higher priority by school administrators and school boards.

6. CORE calls for the establishment of a National Board of Education to develop an overall education plan, supervise and coordinate existing state systems, developing national standards for curriculum and teacher qualifications, and administering the large amounts necessary to make quality education available for every child in this nation.

Organization around these action objectives has already begun in communities throughout the nation where CORE chapters and staff are located. A greater programmatic emphasis upon education can be expected in 1967 and 1968.

Question 3

CORE accuses school systems across the nation of being instruments of death----death of motivation, death of potential, death of hope. Tangeled in the mesh of irrelevant bureaucracy and hindered by racist attitudes and preconceived opinions concerning the children they are supposed to teach, school boards in too few in-

stances have lived up to the public trust. Statistics documenting the lack of pupil accomplishment in ghetto schools are alarming and should force self-criticism. Educators should not only be willing to accept the advice of interested parties; they should welcome it.

The quality of education our children receive affects their future educational opportunities and their ability to provide adequate housing, recreation, health and other services for their loved ones----in short, their life style and place in society. Because educational opportunity is a reflection of the resources the total community has to offer, CORE is not of the opinion that educators must solve the complex problems of inner city children alone. However, at the very least, it is expected that schoolmen must perform the minimal task assigned to them, the education of children so that they are provided with the best possible opportunities for success. It would be also our hope that educators would recognize the pivotal role the school can play in the life of a community----as a meeting place and forum for ideas, as a catalyst for the reassessment of past decisions as well as a guide to the individual's search for new horizons, and as the vehicle through which the principles of the Constitution can be made a reality.

Question 4

The federal government also bears a heavy responsibility for the state of our nation's schools. Even experimental educational programs sponsored by Washington have too often been a rehash of tired methods that have already failed. We have not forgotten the

fact that Congress passed a Civil Rights Act inn education one year and cut its budget and powers the next. A similar default was congressional inaction on the Teachers Corps. We are appalled at the Office of Education that one day cuts off funds for Chicago public schools and restores them the following day. We bitterly remember the treatment of my predecessor, James Farmer, whose literacy program was dropped for political reasons. If the OEO had gone ahead with the funding of that program, tens of thousands of illiterates would today be on their way toward full participation in American life.

Here as never before there is a need for creative partnership. Parents of black and poor children must become respected partners in the coalition. Civil rights groups have already proved that they can produce. One of the most successful Head Start programs in the country, according to Dr. Julius Richmond, of the National Head Start program, was run by Long Island CORE. Universities can offer new ideas. Foundations and businesses can offer funds. The public media can almost singlehandedly reverse the tide of racism, just as they reversed attitudes toward the Japanese and the Germans in a few short years. Programs featuring violence for adults and children instill the attitude that violence is a method of solving problems. Educational programs need to replace them showing that there are other ways of solving problems in a democratic society. The public needs to know what black people have contributed to the history of this nation. They need to know what black people are contributing today.

It is our opinion that educators on both the national and local levels should reverse present trneds and set new standards of ed-

ucational excellence, if for no other reason than their self-interest in developing productive citizens, who can support school systems in the future. To fail to meet, the challenge of upgrading and democratizing inner city schools is in fact to share responsibility for the continued waste of human potential which this nation cannot afford and should not tolerate.

FOOTNOTES

1. (N.Y. Times - 11/16/66) "More than 80% of the 1,700 college graduates trained for teaching this summer in a seven week emergency program have been assigned to schools with heavy concentrations of disadvantaged pupils." Said one principal: "We have committed a horrible and horrendous crime in assigning these youngsters to classes that require an expert of experts."

2. (N.Y. Times - 12/1/66) From a report to the President by the National Advisory Counsil on Education of the Disadvantaged made Nov. 30, 1966, an evaluation of the $250,000,000 spent on specific summer education projects for disadvantaged children earlier this year, went on to say: "Yet in most communities tudied, the special projects for the poor 'were alarmingly deficient in facing up to this need.'"

3. (N.Y. Times - 11/24/66) Report submitted by Dr. Robert Vinter Assoc. Dean of University Michigan School of Social Workers and Dr. Rosemary Sarri, Assoc. Prof. of Social Work, financed by the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and the Dept. of H.E.W.

4. Floyd B. McKissick, "Is Integration Necessary?" New Republic, December 3, 1966, pp. 33-36.

file

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030

212 281 9650

To: Metromedia, Inc.,
3 East 54th Street
New York, New York 10022

Floyd B. McKissick - MARC. FELLOW.
October 17, 1967

SOCIETY, U.S.A.

What makes society? What factors combine to create that phantom which is so widely revered and so rarely understood? Do Black People have the same concepts of society as white people?

What is society? The sociologist defines it; the theologian muses; the teacher speculates and the politician guesses. And everybody has a different answer. Webster defines society as: "Companionship or association with one's fellows; usually friendly or intimate intercourse. The social order or system restricting the individual..." Other definitions are given.

Yet no popularly accepted definition begins to define "society" in terms relevant to the Black Man and, as a Black Man, that is what interests me most. For, in America, "society" is never used so consistently or effectively as a weapon against any other group — ethnic, religious, or racial — either today or in our country's shameful past.

(cont.)

For this phantom is really no more than the sum total of all the customs, beliefs, values and institutions of a given culture, and in America it adds up to, in the words of one fairly typical Black Harlem Resident: "A crock of shit."

Such a judgement may seem harsh, crude — and a bit unrealistic to the average white American who is enjoying the fruits of his "affluent society" or even to his somewhat less fortunate white brother who still has a chance of becoming part of that society. But to the majority of Black People living amid poverty — and even to many of those who have reached the Black Middle Class — it is something of an understatement.

In preparation for this article, I conducted a five-hour, one-man survey of Harlem bars and restaurants. The answers to the question: "What do you think of American society?" were not surprising to one who has spent his whole life as a Black Man in America — particularly to one who has spent a great deal of time in the north, as well as the south. The answers from Black Businessmen in Frank's Restaurant on 125th Street differed little from those of men who frequent Small's, the Big Apple, Wells', Jock's and other popular Harlem bars. Almost all expressed contempt for American society — contempt and disillusionment, disillusionment with the dishonesty and corruption of an entire structure.

For America works hard to create the illusion of justice and equality. The time and talents of some of the best minds in white America are spent in perpetuation of this myth of the "affluent society" — "the just society" — "the free society."

(cont.)

We are a nation of slogans. Madison Avenue executives are paid millions annually for coining phrases to lull America into a sense of well being. They are paid billions to maintain a society created in the image of white America.

Periodicals and magazines as well as books are dedicated to the sale of the American Dream -- but the tag on that dream may as well read "only whites need apply." -- for society and acceptance by the majority society is something Black People can never hope to achieve, under the present system.

For the American Dream is still a dream of lovely plantations with contented Darkies catering to and serving their white masters. "Gone With the Wind" has broken box-office records for decades because it offers an esaape to a mythical plantation about which white America persistently dreams.

Even in today's industrialized society, Black People are still relegated to the functions of menials and servants. In the public mind, Black People are the unemployables, the uneducables, and white America holds fast to its dream.

And there is no tag that warns the Black Child "Beware Society" and he is constantly told -- at school, at church and by the public media -- that he has a responsibility to society, a debt to be paid. He is taught that society must be served and that all threats to society must be eliminated for the greater good.

In spite of these massive efforts to force Black People to "Think White", most Black People simply do not see American society as do whites. I imagine that

(cont.)

white Americans feel great pride in their ownership of property, power, wealth and international influence. Even poor white Americans can identify with the white power mongers and vicariously enjoy a sense of importance. This is not so for a majority of Black People.

Black Americans can afford no such luxury. Any Black Man who identifies with the American power elite is blessed with an extraordinary imagination — for Black People are consistently the victims of the gilded few. And although it is the gilded few who control the Black Masses and their white counterparts, it is the white middle class and even the white lower class, who protect this evil system by upholding the advantages guaranteed by whiteness.

It is often the lowest economic sector of the white community which is most vicious in its racism — for to the poor white, the racist fantasy is psychologically necessary for survival. At least, they reason, they are better than "the niggers."

The more affluent and sophisticated Americans — the stockholders, the controllers — need not spew forth their racism publicly: They can afford to be gracious and liberal — to dine with "intelligent Negroes," while living off the residue of slavery.

Every single millionaire — every single well-to-do white man whose fortune was "Made in America" — has blood money in his pockets — profits extorted from Black Men and Women. Every single white man has profited from the slavery of the Black Man and, understandably, he has a guilt complex — a complex which is justified by history.

(cont.)

is justified by history.

The inheritors of tainted money -- money gained during slavery and in the days of economic oppression immediately following the Civil War, compound the evil by re-investing in the racist structure from which their wealth was originally gained.

It is money that makes money in this society -- a fact forgotten by many. The original wealth has been re-invested by the slave traders and plantation owners to form the base of the American economy, an economy based on blood and death.

As a lawyer in the South, I saw many, many times what was done by the courts in the name of "society", what was done by the white racists who control the entire powerecomplex. It is unlikely that any major changes have occured during the two years of my absence. The structure was far too well established to have been altered much in so short a time.

One case which comes vividly to mind is that of a young man who I shall call Ben Jones -- a Black Man who shot a white man in self defense. That man had been carrying a loaded rifle and had gone, with clear intent, to use it on Jones.

I remember standing in the small southern courtroom, surrounded by the white bailiff, the white sheriff, the white judge, even the white court clerk. (These men, according to our legal traditions, represented Ben Jones' peers.)

(cont.)

The white judge mounted the bench and the court was tense and silent: "Ben Jones. You have been found guilty of a crime against society. You are sentenced to imprisonment in the State Penitentiary for the rest of your natural life... Every man owes a debt to society and every man must pay his debt to society when he has wronged that society."

A loud scream from the back of the courtroom. It was Jones' pregnant wife.

I felt myself reel. Sweat beaded on my brow. My stomach churned as I looked helplessly at my client. I repeated over and over to myself: "Keep yourself together. Don't blow a fuse. Don't make it hard on your client."

As I watched them lead that young man away, I vowed to fight that monster "society" until I died. I vowed that, even if given the chance, I would never willingly be a part of that which was extracting this terrible debt from Ben Jones.

Ironically, society has never paid its debt to Ben Jones or to any of the poor Black Americans who have spent their lives in powerty and suppression — to the millions of descendants of slaves. Society has never made payment on the lives of millions of Black Slaves who have made it possible for that white society to be built. Society owed Ben Jones' a debt even before he was born; society owes a debt to all children born without chance, born in oppression.

The general American concept of society and man's relation to his society is

(cont.)

particularly warped and especially cruel when applied to Black People. It would not be unreasonable to demand dues to a society which protected rather than exploited its inhabitants — which provided them with livelihood, dignity and freedom. To extract dues — whether in the form of taxes from the poor or lives on distant battlefields — from society's stepchildren — can only be viewed as a cynical continuation of feudalism in an industrialized society.

The American psyche is particularly hypocritical, especially confused, regarding that which we call "society." For when convenient, society is a benevolent phenomenon to which we all owe allegiance. In this context, "society" is invoked, by all from the President of the United States to the local school marm, as that for which we must fight and die if necessary, to preserve. (Of course, the Black Man has difficulty accepting this thesis — particularly since his share of "society" is sufficiently less than the average white man's to insure that if he is Black he will live approximately ten years less than if he were white.)

When convenient, however, "society" becomes an all-encompassing evil — unassailable by virtue of its hugeness and power. We are told that society is responsible for poverty, ignorance, disease and discrimination. (We are rarely told that the real responsibility lies with the white people who control the goods and services, money and racist attitudes which daily create more poverty, more ignorance, more disease and more discrimination — all of which, in fact, comprise society.)

We are told that teachers cannot be held accountable for the racism in our school systems; that reporters and editors are not personally responsible for slanted,

(cont.)

anti-Black press coverage; that the cops can't eliminate the racism in law-enforcement; that judges can't cure the racism of the judiciary, and that the laity and clergy have no control over the racism which pervades American churches.

The individual is generally believed to be powerless against society: It is believed that society is too all-encompassing, too firmly established to be changed or destroyed by only a few.

Such reasoning does not account for the fact that American society is what white people in America say it is; for after all, they are the decision makers; they alone control the economic wealth, the political power, the power of the press, - that "free" press which is used to control the thought processes of all other groups in this country. White America, through its institutions, its moral and intellectual establishment, expresses what white people want to believe about themselves and what they want to believe about Black People.

In short, when a decision is made by the economic-political establishment, that decision is transmitted into reality through the instruments of NBC, CBS, ABC, The New York Times and the Luce publications, to mention a few — for, in America, people believe in what they read. In America, people believe in the "free press."

For a certain amount of dissent is tolerated. One paper supports Romney, another Rockefeller, another Johnson. One editor leans to the Republicans, another to the Democrats — but real dissent, strong disagreement with either the capitalist structure or its racist policies, is stifled: Real dissenters

(cont.)

are arrested and held on miscellaneous charges, from "possessing fire arms" to "inciting to riot." Those who would defy the draft are carted off to jail and even those who would peacefully march in opposition to a cruel and immoral war in Vietnam are barred from public parks.

And following the Bay of Pigs fiasco, even President Kennedy implied that if the press would not censor itself, the government would do it for them. Is this freedom of the press? Is self-censorship for fear of official restriction any less degrading than censorship enforced by an oppressive government?

Perhaps the most effective instrument for thought control in America is the church: Few Americans dare to question or attack motherhood, the flag or religion. Yet, the church in America is one of the most racist institutions — and one of the most dangerous. For the church holds out hope to the Black Child. Black Children become convinced that there is hope, only to have that hope trampled and to be trampled themselves for daring to dream.

Apparently this is the appointed role of the church and of society in general, for the majority of white people do not rebel against injustice to Blacks: Hence, they behave no more nobly in Vietnam or the Union of South Africa than at home. (The only sympathy they allow themselves is of a paternalistic variety: They will rally to the aid of a deprived Black Family whose home has been burned down (occasionally) but no care is given to those thousands of Black Families who are forced to dwell in fire-traps.)

(cont.)

Daily, men who speak for the Christian Church find scriptures to justify every moral wrong, every evil, in this society. They do this today and they did it in the time of slavery. The economic welfare of the church seems uppermost in the concerns of the clergy and the church (The Lord Loves a Cheerful Giver) and the churdh is supported by the same men who control the schools, the press and the industry.

Priests and preachers (white and Black) join in defense of this economic structure, frequently equating capitalist exploitation with Devine Will. (The Meek shall Inherit the Earth)

America, they preach, is the Savior of the World, the great civilizor. America, they say, can do no harm, has done no harm, will do no harm. Slavery, although wrong, brought Christianity to the heathen and if the pagan suffered, it was the Will of the Lord. Any benefits to white society, apparently, are incidental and not intentianal for, white America is charitable. Did they not give their slaves their religion?

But religion, as its part in the system, did its dirty work in making slavery possible, in keeping slaves under control and in supporting the institution. (Jesus the Lamb was the image of Christ most often emphasized in preaching to the slaves: Jesus the fighter, the militant, was reserved for the white folks.) One must also remember that churches, not only Geogge Washington and Thomas Jefferson, owned slaves. In America, memories are pitifully short and consciences pitifully weak — and the misery of the Black People remains forgotten.

(cont.)

Those few courageous clergymen who campaign for justice do so in defiance of a formidable tradition of laissez-faire religion. We cannot hope to change America without changing its most hallowed traditions and beliefs, and Black People must force themselves to re-evaluate their devotion to religious institutions dominated by racism.

Black People must consistently battle every aspect of a society designed to perpetuate their misery. For the white man often fails to realise that his security and happiness depends upon the misery of the Black Masses. Therefore, Black Pepple cannot afford to restrict their vision to any one aspect of this society, believing that if only that one institution or custom or belief were changed, this racist structure would fall.

It will not fall: It will not change, until it comes under constant and deliberate attack by all Black Americans and all white Americans of decency.

Thus, if falls to the victims, the non-participants — the Black People — to be that force which must ultimately change society into a force for good and justice: If these changes are not made,-soon,- a culture, a society founded on evil and oppression, will not survive.

*****

SOCIETY - 1

What makes society? What factors combine to create that phantom which is so widely revered and so rarely understood?

What is society?

The sociologist defines it; the theologian muses; the teacher speculates and the politician ghesses. Webster defines society as "

."

Yet no popularly accepted definition begins to define "society" in terms relevant to the Black Man. For, in America, "society" is never used so consistently or effectively as a weapon against any other group -- ethnic, religious, or racial -- either today or in our country's shameful past.

For this phantom is really no more than the sum total of all the customs, beliefs, values and institutions of a given culture, and in America it adds up to, in the words of one fairly typical

Harlem resident: "A crock of shit."

Such a judgement may seem harsh, crude -- and a bit unrealistic to the average white American who is busily enjoying the fruits of "the affluent society," or even to his somewhat less fortunate white brother who still has a chance of becoming part of that society. But to Black People -- even many who have reached the Black Middle Class -- it is something of an understatement.

In preparation for this article, I conducted a small, one-man survey of Harlem bars and restaurants. The answers to the questions: "What do you think of American society?" were not surprising to one who had spent his whole life as a Black Man in America. The answers from Black Businessmen in Frank's Restaurant on 125th Street differed little from those of men who frequent Small's, the Red Apple and other popular Harlem bars. Almost all expressed contempt for American society -- contempt and disillusionment.

For America works hard to create the illusion of justice and

equality. The time and talents of some of the best minds in white America are spent in perpetuating this myth of the affluent society -- the just society -- the free society.

Periodicals and magazines as well as books are dedicated to the sale of the American Dream -- but the tag on that dream may as well read "only whites need apply."

But there is no tag that warns the Black Child "Beware Society" and he is constantly told -- at school, at church and by the public media -- that he has a responsibility to society, a debt to be paid. They are taught that society must be served and that all threats to society must be eliminated for the greater good.

As a lawyer in the South, I saw many, many times, what was done in the name of "society" by the white racists who control the structure.

One case which comes vividly to mind is that of Leslie Brown --

a young Black Man who has shot a white man in self-defense. That man had been carrying a loaded rifle and had gone, with clear intent, to use it on Brown.

I remember standing in the small southern courtroom, surrounded by white people: The bailiff, the sheriff, the judge, even the court clerk, were white. The only Black People there were in some ~~mxx~~ way connected with the defense.

The white judge mounted the and the court was tense and silent: "Leslie Brown -- You are sentenced to ~~a~~ life imprisonment. You must pay your debt to society."

A loud scream from the back of the courtroom. It was Brown's pregnant wife.

I felt myself reel. Sweat beaded on my brown. My stomach churned as I looked helplessly at my client.

As I watched them lead that young ~~mm~~ away, I vowed to fight

that monster "society" until I died. I vowed that, even if given the chance, I would never willingly be a part of that monolith that was extracthg this terrible debt from Leslie Brown.

Society has never paid its debt to Leslie Brown or to any of the poor Black Americans who have spent their lives in poverty and suppression -- to the millions of descendants of slaves.

The general American concept of society and man's relatbn to his society is particularly warped and especially cruel when applied to Black People. It would not be unreasonable to demand dues to a society which protected its inhabitants -- which provided them with livelihood, dignity and freedom. To extract dues -- whether in the form of taxes from the poor or lives on distant battlefields k- from society's stepchildren -- can only be viewed as a cynical continuation of feudalism in an industrialized society.

The American psyche is particularly confuded, especially paradoxical, regarding that which we call "society." For when convenient, society is a benevolent phenomenon to which we all owe allegiance. In this context, "society" is invoked, by all from the President of the United States to the local school marm, as that for which we must fight and die if nesessary, to preserve.

When convenient, however, "society" becomes an all-encompassing evil -- unassailable by virtue of its hugness and power. We are told that "society" is responsible for poverty, ignorance, disease and discrimination.

We are told that teachers cannot be held accountable for the racism in our school systems; that reporters and editors ~~xxxxx~~ are not personally responsible for slanted, inaccurate, anti-Black Press Coverage; that the cops can't eliminate the racism in law-enforcement, and that judges can't cure the racism of the judiciary. For the individual is generally believed to be powe rless against society: Society is too all-encompassing, too firmly established to be changed or destroyed by only a few.

"Society, U.S.A"

SOCIETY - 1

What makes society? What factors combine to create that phantom which is so widely revered and so rarely understood? Do Black people have the same concepts of society that white people ~~have~~? ~~Should not both black and white have a common definition~~? What is society?

The sociologist defines it; the theologian muses; the teacher speculates and the politician ghesses. Webster defines society as: "Companionship or association with one's fellows; usually friendly or intimate intercourse. The social order or system restricting the individual..." Other definitions are given. Yet all those who define society come up with a different answer.

Yet no popularly accepted definition begins to define "society" in terms relevant to the Black Man. For, in America, "society" is never used so consistently or effectively as a weapon against any other group -- ethnic, religious, or racial -- either today or in our country's shameful past. The "weapon of society" is used more often and most often against Black people among the minority group it is used against.

and as a black man I am interested in how society relates to me.

For this phantom is really no more than the sum total of all the customs, beliefs, values and institutions of a given culture, and in America it adds up to, in the

8 Edward Woodsome

John Day

Cross & Scroll

Worchester, Mass

516-678-4455

Dutchess Community

College

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For America works hard to create the illusion of justice and

equality. The time and talents of some of the best minds in white America are spent in perpetuation of this myth of the "affluent society" -- "the just society" -- "the free society."

We are a nation of slogans. Madison Avenue executives are paid millions annually for coining phrases to lull America into a sense of well being. They are paid billions to maintain a society created in the image of white America.

Periodicals and magazines as well as books are dedicated to the sale of the American Dream -- but the tag on that dream may as well read "only whites need apply." -- for society and acceptance by the majority society is something Black People can never hope to achieve, under the present system.

But there is no tag that warns the Black Child "Beware Society" and he is constantly told -- at school, at church and by the public media -- that he has a responsibility to society, a debt to be paid. He is taught that society must be served and that

all threats to society must be eliminated for the greater good.

In spite of these massive efforts to force Black People to "think white", most Black People simply do not see American society as do whites. I imagine that white Americans feel great pride in their ownership of property, power, wealth and international influence. Even poor white Americans can identify with the white power mongers and vicariously enjoy a sense of importance. This is not so for a majority of Black people.

Black Americans can afford no such luxury. Any Black Man who identifies with the American power elite is blessed with an extraordinary imagination -- for Black People are consistently the victims of those gilded few. And although it is the gilded few who control the Black Masses and their white counterparts, it is the white middle class and even the white lower class, who protect this evil system by relishing the advantages guaranteed by whiteness.

It is often the lowest economic sector of the white community which is most vicious in its racism -- for to the poor white, the racist fantasy is psychologically necessary for survival. At least,

they reason, they are better than "the niggers."

The more affluent and sophisticated American s need not spew forth their racism publicly: They can afford to be gracious and liberal -- to dine with "intelligent Negroes", while living off the residue of slavery.

(7)

Every single millionaire -- every single well-to-do white man -- has blood money in his pockets -- profits extorted from Black Men and Women. Every single white man has profited from the slavery of the Black Man and, understandably, he has a guilt complex, a complex which is justified by history.

Inheritance from its original squrce constitutes the original wealth of our present day wealth? It is money that makes money in this society -- a fact that many people forget. The original money or wealth from the slave trade has been re-invested by the slave traders and plantation owners to form the base of the American economy, and economy based on blood.

As a lawyer in the South, I saw many, many times, what was done by the Courts in the name of "society" by the white racists who control the entire Power complex. ~~structure~~. It is unlikely that any major changes have occured during the two years of my absence. The structure was far too well established to have been altered mush in so short a time.

One case which comes vividly to mind is that of ~~Leslie Brown~~ -- a young Black Man who shot a white man in self-defense. That white man had been carrying a loaded rifle and had gone, with clear intent, to use it on ~~Brown~~ Jones

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The white judge mounted the Bench and the court was tense and silent: "~~Leslie Brown --~~, You are sentenced to ~~six life~~ ~~imprisonment~~. You ~~must pay your debt to society.~~"

A loud scream from the back of the courtroom. It was ~~Brown's~~

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Call Mahoney — get Life-re-life expectancy

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told that society is responsible for poverty, ignorance, disease and discrimination. (We are rarely told that the real responsibili ty lies with the white people who control the goods and services, money and racist attitudes which daily create more poverty, more ignorance, more disease and more discrimination.) I call of such a fact society

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In short, when a decision has been made by the economic-political establishment, that decision is transmitted into reality through the instruments of NBC, CBS, ABC, The New York Times and the Luce publications -- for, in America, people believe what they read. In America, people believe in the "free press."

For a certain amount of dissent is tolerated. One paper supports Romney, another Rockefeller, another Johnson. One editor leans to the Republicans, another to the Democrats -- but real dissent, strong disagreement with either the capitalist structure or its racist policies, is stifled, -- real dissenters are arrested and held on miscellaneous charges, from "possessing

arms" to "inciting to riot." Those who would defy the draft are carted off ~~the~~ to jail and even ~~those~~ those who would peacefully march in opposition to a cruel immoral war are barred from ~~Central~~ Park.

And following the ~~Cuban crisis~~ Bay of Pigs fiasco, even President Kennedy implied that if the press would not censor itself, the government would do it for them. Is this freedom of the press? Is self-censorship/ any less degrading than censorship enforced by an oppressive government?

Perhaps the most effective ~~weapon~~ instrument for thought control in America is ~~religion~~ the church. ~~that which most fear to question.~~ Men who speak in the name of the Christian church find scriptures to justify every moral wrong, every evil, in this society. The economic welfare of the church seems uppermost in the concerns of the clergy and the church, is supported by the same men who control the schools and the industry.

Priests and preachers (white and Black) join in defense of this

economic structure, frequently equating capitalistic exploitation with divine will (The meek shall inherit the earth.)

America, they preach, is the Savior of the World, the great civilizor. America, they say, can do no harm, has done no harm, will do no harm. Slavery, although wrong, brought Christianity to the heathen and if the pagan suffered, it was the will of the Lord. Any benefits to white society, apparently, were incidental and not intentional for, white America is charitable. Did they not give their slaves their religion?

But religion, as its part in the system, did its dirty work in making slavery possible, in keeping slaves under control and in supporting the institution. (Jesus the Lamb was the image of Christ most often emphasized in preaching to the slaves. Jeasus the fighter, the militant, was reserved for the white folks.) One must also remember that churches, not only George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, owned slaves. In America, memories are pitifully short and consciences pitifully weak -- and the misery of the Black People remains forgotten.

Those few courageous clergymen who campaign for justice do so in defiance of a formidable tradition of laissez-faire religion. We cannot hope to change America without changing its most hallowed traditions and beliefs, and Black People must force themselves to re-evaluate their devotion to religious institutions dominated by racism.

Black People must consistently battle every aspect of a society designed to perpetuate their misery. For security and happiness of the white man depends upon their misery. Therefore, Black People cannot afford to restrict their vision to any one aspect of this society, believing that if only that one institution or custom or belief were changed, this racist structure would fall. It will not fall until it comes under constant and deliberate attack by all Black Americans and all white Americans of decenty. "Society" will not be livable; it will not be tolerable, until it is completely overhauled - until "America the Beautiful" extends beyond the suburbs to every ghetto and slum -- until the foreign policy

of America allows Black and non-white people self-determination in peace, until the domestic policy of America guarantees citizenship to all inhabitants of its shores.

Saiuety — "Words Don't Mean The Same to Black People"

THE PHILADELPHIA CONFERENCE ☆ LOCAL PUBLIC SERVICE PROGRAMMING ☆ THE UNFINISHED AMERICAN REVOLUTION*
GROUP W
WESTINGHOUSE BROADCASTING COMPANY INC

What is society? The sociologist defines it. The City Planner attempts to define, the psychologist takes a try. The encyclopedias give varied definitions and Websters dictionary defines society as companionship or association with one fellows; usually, friendly or intimate intercourse. The social order or system constituting the individual. Webster gives other definitions make relevant and the student depending upon those one wants to use or misuse the word.

Yet none of the definitions I have heard or read really say much to me as a black man supposedly to be living in the civilized American Society as to the place man's real relationship in societies total concept. Who really knows what Society is and must A definition must have relevance, meaning the temporal Compatible to mans day to day existence. So I decided to go to the streets to get the definition from the people who white people think of as stupid, unlettered, loud, un cultured and vulgar, white racists, thought the definition its self. Webster would say this is not polite society, these are the people who really know what society is all about and not the 5th Ave polite set who use silver at dinner daily. So I shasayed into the Big Apple — when a brother asks what news pop is? and I lay this one on him —

*AN EXAMINATION OF THE PROBLEMS OF URBAN AMERICA

220

THE PHILADELPHIA CONFERENCE ☆ LOCAL PUBLIC SERVICE PROGRAMMING ☆ THE UNFINISHED AMERICAN REVOLUTION*

GROUP W

WESTINGHOUSE BROADCASTING COMPANY INC.

You are supposed to be living in the most civilized society known to man - the American society - I got to write something about it - I want to know what it means to you. "To me!" Society, American society "Its just a crock shit if you ask me!" But why I resisted. "The man who controls everything is a fucking two faced bastard, who speakes with a forked tongue. That's what's wrong with it. You know its like I do." I went across the street to the other corner of 135th St and 7th ave to Small Paradise and raised the same questions the answers were pretty near the same except for local cussing habits. Stopped at Frank's Restaurant on 125th St at a more sophisticated setting among middle Negroes and black people. "What kind of Society you mean — White Society or Black Society - If you mean American Society - Its the Thief - Just like the thief and mudy - Black Slacks aren't under either of the three shells. Another short reply - It's Bull shit! What whitey calls society means he's got every thing and we got nothing, not one damn thing - not even an little bit of Respect - Not Aretha Franklin sings about! That's the game man, is that a new name for Poverty they are using now?

*AN EXAMINATION OF THE PROBLEMS OF URBAN AMERICA

25°

white jury foreman

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GROUP W

WESTINGHOUSE BROADCASTING COMPANY INC

MH

Mind rushed back to Eastern North Carolina where I tried a murder case. Leslie Brown a black man was charged with murder in the first degree for shooting a white man four times who previously threatened to kill him and who had an automatic 22 rifle with him at the time. My client shot him in self defense. The white judge, with the white bailiff, the white sheriff, and white clerk of court next to the white jailer - with dead white slave holders pictures looking down from their deceitful and fraudulent positions of dignity, all conspiring both dead and living to pass judgment on one black man. Said the white judge - "You have been found guilty by your peers of murder in the first degree with a recommendation of mercy. You must pay your debt to society for your crime - You are therefore sentenced to life in prison ...." Justice demands

Scream was heard - his pregnant wife.

God, I asked if you are alive keep me from blowing a fuse - control me this day. I promise to fight this system until I stone cold dead - Why should I give this life to society? For what! Did society ever pay him for what he and his fore parents did for it. Who is the hell is this PHANTADM called society and by means does it have the unjust right to deal unjustly with blackmen who assert themselves as equals. Do White people serve society too! Why must this be so. He owes his wife and child his life but not this rotten, prejudice and legalled system ruled over and controlled by White people - who's clause that entitles

*AN EXAMINATION OF THE PROBLEMS OF URBAN AMERICA

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GROUP W
WESTINGHOUSE BROADCASTING COMPANY INC

by placing the blame on their PHANTOM
Armed Society. Is it a crime to defend one's
self against an armed white foe? It must
be if you're black because Society will get
you notwithstanding the Constitution of
the U.S. Is it a part of society or does society
own it too - what a vicious PHANTOM
these white people have called Society.
What does society owe black people who are
always slaving and paying their debts too.
when will Society return payments with
interest. Why must black people be the only ones
constantly paying their debts to society and
white escaping without paying..

What really is society - It really PHANTOM
is the mythical - religious and sacred - what
makes a society. The answer is very simple.
People make society - white people Society
and make it speak to their needs and
therefore American Society, the most racist
Society ever known to the history of man.
And this statement is made with full
knowledge of the Union of South African
and their practices of Apartheid. But American
Society will disagree with me - not realizing
that our investment in the U of SA if
withdrawn would totally distrupt the economy
of U of SA - American Society is a beauty at
self foolery and rationalization for its
failure to live up to its goals and verbage
expounded so eloquently in the U.S. Consti-
tution. No one like society - white society will

*AN EXAMINATION OF THE PROBLEMS OF URBAN AMERICA

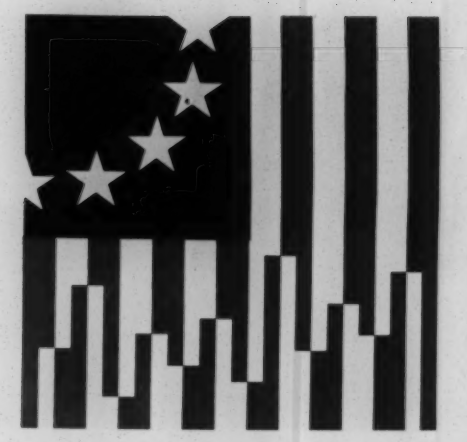
THE PHILADELPHIA CONFERENCE ☆ LOCAL PUBLIC SERVICE PROGRAMMING ☆ THE UNFINISHED AMERICAN REVOLUTION*

GROUP W

WESTINGHOUSE BROADCASTING COMPANY INC

Profess to responsibility for what has not been done for the black man. Each portion of society will blame the other portion. And each white man & ~~met~~ will profess a profound love for we but hardly ever have black people told the truth or dealt with as equals - deceit is the standard operation procedure for white dealing with black people. Help comes to black people when it is to the advantage of the man - to deal with whether it is of advantage to blacks.

You see Black people simply do not look at America society as white people do. I imagine, because, I'm not white that most white people talk a great deal of pride at their ownership, power, wealth and international affluence. Black people on the other hand, find themselves the victims and have deprived of the very things white people have to make them happy. In other words the white man happiness depends upon the black mans sorrow. We white people are most happy we are the most miserable. That is our miserable state that makes for the white man happiness.



6

What is society? Society is what people say it is and from the ideas expressed - it must be the sum total of the relationships between people, confronted with moral, economic, social and psychological values living in American today with a past history of slavery living under a capitalist system, those relationships is a belief in racial superority and the need for the supposedly inferior people to furnish cheap labor and goods for the society, which belief persists today.

*AN EXAMINATION OF THE PROBLEMS OF URBAN AMERICA

Society

Aug 23, 67

Society, American Society, — It's just a crock of shit if you ask me. This is first ~~restaurant I got at when I asked one of the cats~~ at the corner of 135th St and Eighth Ave in the Big Apple NYC. At Frank's the next day — at a more sophisticated setting — What kind of Society" you mean Black Society or White society." A question was the answer to my question. "You talking about the Great Society which makes a for White people ~~and the~~ Blacker Society for Black People — A Segregated Society."

~~High Society or Low society — a mere matter of Black Ethics of the idea of the Society~~

This Phantom called Society who the hell is it? Why! Whoever society

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What is society? The sociologist explains it. The city planner attempts to define it, the psychologist takes a try. The mathematician theorizes; the theologian speculates.

Encyclopedias offer varied definitions and Webster's dictionary defines society as "Companionship or association with one's fellows; usually, friendly or intimate intercourse. The social order or system restricting the individual.... " Other definition s are given.

popular

None of the/definitions begin to define what society means to me, as a Black Man in America.-- or a to any of millions of Black People on this continent. None of the accepted interpretations begin to probe that inner-world which is forcibly inhabited by ~~For most white Americans, society is that mythical something~~ Black Men in America.

American society is (as ~~closely as I can get)~~ best I can define it the sum, total of all the ~~institutions, beliefs, values, morays and institutions~~ beliefs, values, morays, customs and institutions which are regarded

2-SOCIETY

as American. It is that elusive, nameless something which limits my ambitions and shackles my dreams.

Perhaps the best definition -- and most all encompassing definition of society, as it relates to Black Men, was that which I heard in Harlem's bar, The Big Apple: "It's just a crock of shit if you ask me."

That is not an uncommon judgement among the Black Masses of America -- it might be judged to be the popular consensus. More educated and affluent Black People are less likely to be as direct (or as honest) in their evaluation of American society -- but even in Frank's Restaurant, which caters to middle class Negroes, Black Men philosophize that: "What Whitey calls society is that structure that's set up to keep things the way they are. That means that he's got everything and we've got nothing -- and no change of getting any."

When I was practicing law in Eastern North Carolina, I was

was defense counsel in a murder case. I defended Leslie Brown, a Black Man charged with murder in the first degree for shooting a white man. ~~That white man had threatened to kill him and~~ That white man had been carrying an automatic 22 rifle and had openly threatened to kill Leslie Brown.

The day the verdict was rendered, we all stood in the courtroom. The only Black People in the room were defendants or witnesses observers: I was the only Black Man who was in any way participating in the "administration of justice." And I had no power to say ~~wh~~ what would be done.

The bailiff, the sheriff, even the clerk of court and the jailer - all were white. On the walls of the courtroom were pictures of great, white Americans -- almost all were slaveholders.

The white judge read the verdict: "You have been found guilty by your Peers of murder in the first degree, with a recommendation of mercy. <u>You must pay your debt to society</u>. for your crime.

You are therefore sentensed to life in prison. Justice demands. . ."

A scream of agony was heard. It was Brown's pregnant wife.

God, I prayed, if you exist, keep me from losing my mind -- control me. I began to sweat. I vowed to fight this system until I died.

Why should Leslie Brown pay a debt to a society? What could he possibly owe to a society which had oppressed his people for hundreds of years? Society owes Leslie Brown, and his parents, and his pregnant wife, and his unborn child, a debt which would take years to pay. -- but society refuses to even acknowledge that there is such a debt.

What is this Phantom called society, anyway? When did it acquire its power over Leslie Brown?

Do white people own society, too? They must -- for they

are always disavowing any guilt for ~~injustice~~ injustice and racism, and placing ~~the~~ the blame on that ever-present phantom called society.

The American psyche is particularly ~~confused~~ hypocritical, especially ~~paranoid~~ confused, regarding that which we call "society." For when convenient, society is a benevolent phenomenon to which we all owe allegiance. In this context, "society" is invoked, by all from the President of the United States to the local school marm, as that for which we must fight and die if nesessary, to preserve. Now this where the Black man really becomes confused

When convenient, however, "society" becomes an all-encompassing evil -- unassailable by virtue of its hugness and power. We are told that "society" is responsible for poverty, ignorance, disease and discrimination. We are told it is not responsible by ~~that~~ white people who control the goods and services, money and attitudes which create daily poverty, ignorance, disease and discrimination.

We are told that teachers cannot be held accountable for the racism in our school systems; that reporters and editors ~~cannot~~ are not personally responsible for slanted, inaccurate, anti-Black Press Coverage; that the cops can't eliminate the racism in law-enforcement, ~~and~~ that judges can't cure the racism of the judiciary. For the individual is generally believed to be powe rless against society: Society is too all-encompassing, too firmly established to be changed or destroyed by only a few.

Why should a black man expect to have a share of the life span, the dollars a white man has? Why should he have to share the abuse of slavery for this? —

+ + laity + clergymen + control over + records which pervades American religion. Church law

To Green Paper

that monster "society" until I died. I vowed that, even if given the chance, I would never willingly be a part of that ~~monolith that~~ which was extracting this terrible debt from Leslie Brown.

Society has never paid its debt to Leslie Brown or to any of the poor Black Americans who have spent their lives in poverty and suppression -- to the millions of descendants of slaves. The general American concept of society and man's relation to his society is particularly warped and especially cruel when applied to Black People. It would not be unreasonable to demand dues to a society which protected its inhabitants -- which provided them with livelihood, dignity and freedom. To extract dues -- whether in the form of taxes from the poor or lives on distant battlefields -- from society's stepchildren -- can only be viewed as a cynical continuation of feudalism in an industrialized society.

equality. The time and talents of some of the best minds in white America are spent in perpetuating this myth of the affluent society -- the just society -- the free society. Periodicals and magazines as well as books are dedicated to the sale of the American Dream -- but that the tag on that dream may as well read "only whites need apply." But there is no tag that warns the Black Child "Beware Society" and he is constantly told -- at school, at church and by the public media -- that he has a responsibility to society, a debt to be paid. They are taught that society must be served and that all threats to society must be eliminated for the greater good. As a lawyer in the South, I saw many, many times, what was done in the name of "society" by the white racists who control the structure. One case which comes vividly to mind is that of Leslie Brown --

a young Black Man who ~~he~~ shot a white man in self-defense. That man had been carrying a loaded rifle and had gone, with clear intent, to use it on Brown.

I remember standing in the small southern courtroom, surrounded by white people: The bailiff, the sheriff, the judge, even the court clerk, were white. The only Black People there were in some ~~xxx~~ way connected with the defense.

The white judge mounted the _____ and the court was tense and silent: "Leslie Brown -- You are sentenced to a life imprisonment. You must pay your debt to society."

A loud scream from the back of the courtroom. It was Brown's pregnant wife.

I felt myself reel. Sweat beaded on my brown. My stomach churned as I looked helplessly at my client.

As I watched them lead that young man away, I vowed to fight

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Harlem resident: "A crock of shit." ~~It is white people who have the power - also have the power to define society - "It is in their image." Harper~~

Such a judgement may seem harsh, crude -- and a bit unrealistic to the average white American who is ~~busily~~ enjoying the fruits of "the affluent society," or even to his somewhat less fortunate white brother who still has a chance of becoming part of that society. But to Black People -- even many who have reached the Black Middle Class -- it is something of an understatement.

In preparation for this article, I conducted a small, one-man survey of Harlem bars and restaurants. The answers to the questions: "What do you think of American society?" were not surprising to one who had spent his whole life as a Black Man in America. The answers from Black Businessmen in Frank's Restaurant on 125th Street differed ~~surprisingly~~ little from those of men who frequent Small's, the Red Apple/Wells and other popular Harlem bars. Almost all expressed contempt for American society -- contempt and disillusionment.

For America works hard to create the illusion of justice and

SOCIETY - 1

What makes society? What factors combine to create that phantom which is so widely revered and so rarely understood?

What is society?

The sociologist defines it; the theologian muses; the teacher speculates and the politician ghesses. Webster defines society as "Companionship or assoc w/ one's fellows; usually friendly or intimate intercourse. The social order & system of a restricted or individual..." Other definitions vary.

Yet no popularly accepted definition begins to define "society" in terms relevant to the Black Man. For, in America, "society" is never used so consistently or effectively as a weapon against any other group -- ethnic, religious, or racial -- either today or in our country's shameful past.

For this phantom is really no more than the sum total of all the customs, beliefs, values and institutions of a given culture, and in America it adds up to, in the words of one fairly typical

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October 7, 1967

AMERICAN SOCIETY

American Society is what white people in America say it is, for after all they are the decision makers; they alone control the economic wealth, the political power, the power of the press to control the thought processes of all other groups in the country. White America, through its institutions, its moral establishment expresses what white people want to believe about themselves and what they want to believe about Black people. In short, ments and call upon the system forces to make what they say a reality by forcing that impression on minds of thoughtless others - NBC, CBS, ABC, New York Times - etc. are called upon to do their maudlin duties of brain washing the public and to prove what white society is - not to Black people but to whites and to white thinking Negroes.

The second phase of thought control goes into gear the most moral of all institutions, that institution which most people tremble to speak against - not motherhood, but religion. The CHRISTIAN CHURCH, finds scriptures to justify every moral wrong, in this society. Priests, preachers (white and Negro) join in economic system to define society - and incidentally, that pronouncement is always one consistent with the view that AMERICA is the Savior of the World, that it can do no harm, that it has done no harm, that slavery,

after all, was for the good of the slave and that it was the slave who benefitted by being enslaved. . . . that any benefits to the white society were purely incidental and not intentional for, after all, we as a people are charitable - did we not give the slave our religion. But what they fail to remember is that religion, used as a part of the system, did its dirty work in making slavery possible, in keeping slaves under control and in supporting the institution. One must remember that CHURCHES, and not only George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, owned slaves. We have a short memory and American Society has a great capacity for forgetting all of their wrong doings - especially when they are the wrongs that they have committed against Black people.

Every single millionaire in this nation has blood money in his pockets - profits extorted from Black men and women. Every single white man has profited from slavery of the Black man and, understandably, has a guilt complex. It is justified by history. Inheritance from its original source constitutes the original wealth of our present day wealth. It is money that makes money in this society - a fact that many people forget. The original money or wealth from slave trade or ownership of slaves in the past constitutes wealth today.

Draft for Speech

Nov. 19, 1966

SOUL & CAPITALISM

Is Equality possible?

1. Can the Negro obtain equality under the existence of a capitalist society?

    a. This question assumes good faith.

2. Morality of the American society.

    a. Consumption in a capitalist society.

3. Soul - the Negro's main weapon

4. The logic of a movement

    a. Opposing forces

5. Will laws succeed in gaining total equality for the Negro?

6. Can society accept the Negro?

7. Is an integrated society the goal of the Negro?

8. Socialism

9. Values

    a. The role of white leadership

10. Revolution.

11. Self-help

12. Administration of justice

13. Orderly change vs. disorderly change.

In order that the Negro may secure his place in the sun, certain basic changes are necessary.

    a. Methods for making changes.

    b. Role of the soul.

    c. Effect of past methods.

<u>Concept of non-violence is an extreme emotional strain and burden of pretending</u>.

AMERICAN Society of Newspapers Editors
April 20, 67 Address by Floyd B McKissick
National Dir. of CORE

TODAY, THERE ARE ONLY TWO KINDS OF STATEMENTS A BLACK MAN CAN MAKE AND EXPECT THAT THE WHITE PRESS WILL REPORT.

FIRST IS AN ATTACK ON ANOTHER BLACK MAN -- CALLING HIM AN UNCLE TOM OR A FANATIC OR A BLACK NATIONALIST.

THE SECOND IS A STATEMENT THAT SOUNDS RADICAL, VIOLENT, EXTREME -- THE VERBAL EQUIVALENT OF A RIOT -- WATTS PUT INTO WORDS.

THINK BACK OVER THE PAST MONTHS AND ASK YOURSELVES AREN'T THOSE THE ONLY STATEMENTS THE PRESS WILL PUBLISH. AND YOU WILL BEGIN TO REALIZE THAT THE NEGRO IS BEING REWARDED BY THE PUBLIC MEDIA,

ONLY IF HE TURNS ON ANOTHER NEGRO AND USES HIS TONGUE AS A SWITCH BLADE

OR ONLY IF HE SOUNDS OUTLANDISH, EXTREMIST OR PSYCHOTIC.

THE PUNISHMENT FOR SOUNDING RATIONAL AND DEADLY ERNEST IS A TOTAL BLACKOUT. AND I USE THAT WORD ADVISEDLY.

IT IS DIFFICULT TO CONVEY HOW BAD THE SITUATION IS. LET ME GIVE YOU AN EXAMPLE. LAST YEAR, CORE TRIED TO GIVE RESPONSIBLE WARNINGS OF WHERE, FROM ITS SOURCES, THERE WERE TROUBLE SIGNS BREWING. WE LISTED THE NAMES OF COMMUNITIES WHERE THE SEEDS OF CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE WERE CLEARLY PRESENT. THAT ATTEMPT TO COMMUNICATE, TO INFORM, TO WARN, WAS UNIVERSALLY INTERPRETED AS A THREAT -- AS BLACKMAIL. AND IT WAS GENERALLY CONDEMNED -- OR IGNORED.

LATER THAT SAME YEAR, THE ATTORNEY GENERAL LISTED THE SAME CITIES AS THOSE WHERE RIOTS HAD TAKEN PLACE. HE WAS RIGHT.

HE WAS WHITE. WE WERE WRONG. WE WERE BLACK. AND WE LEARNED THAT OUR STATEMENTS WOULD NOT BE HEARD.

THE LOS ANGELES TIMES LAST YEAR WON A PULITZER PRIZE FOR COVERAGE OF THE WATTS RIOTS. BUT IT IS NOTABLE THAT PRIOR TO THOSE RIOTS, IT GAVE NO INKLING TO THE PUBLIC OF THE TROUBLE THAT WAS BREWING -- AND MADE NO ATTEMPT TO ALERT THE COMMUNITY.

THE NEWSPAPERS HAVE TWO POLICIES:

IGNORE IT, IT WILL GO AWAY.

BUT WATCH FOR THE RIOT. THAT WILL BE NEWSWORTHY.

THE NEWSPAPERS TODAY HAVE NO LINES INTO THE GHETTO AND HAVE NO INKLING OF WHAT IS GOING ON THERE -- WHAT THE MOOD OF THE BLACK MAN IS -- HIS HOPES AND HIS PLANS AND DREAMS.

THAT'S JUST ABOUT INEVITABLE.

HOW MANY OF YOU HAVE BLACK MEN IN EXECUTIVE OR MANAGEMENT POSITIONS?

HAVE YOU EVER BEEN IN THE GHETTO YOURSELVES?

HOW MANY BLACK CAMERA MEN DO YOU HAVE?

IS YOUR ONE BLACK REPORTER ASSIGNED ONLY TO THE CIVIL RIGHTS BEAT?

WHEN TROUBLE BREAKS, IS YOUR FIRST THOUGHT: HOW DO I PROTECT THE GOOD NAME OF MY TOWN? HOW DO I GIVE IT A FAVORABLE IMAGE?

DURING THE TV NEWS STRIKE, CORE CANCELLED EVERY PRESS CONFERENCE BECAUSE OF THE STRIKE -- OUT OF DEFERENCE TO THE NEWS-CASTERS. HOW MANY OF YOU WOULD DO THAT FOR CORE?

HOW MANY OF YOU REPORT EVEN WHAT MIDDLE CLASS NEGROES DO? YOUR SOCIAL COLUMN -- YOUR ENGAGEMENT COLUMN, YOUR LOCAL EVENTS COLUMNS. YOU KNOW, WE LIKE NEWS CLIPPINGS TOO. WE'D LIKE TO HAVE SCRAP BOOKS TOO. DID YOU EVER THINK OF THAT? WE'D LIKE TO FEEL THAT WHAT WE DID ON THE LOCAL SCENE WAS IMPORTANT AND NEWSWORTHY. BUT YOU WON'T COVER THAT. YOU WON'T EVEN REPORT ABOUT THE FEW BLACK MEN WHO ARE MIDDLE CLASS -- WHO HAVE MADE IT ON YOUR TERMS. AND YOU WON'T TOUCH THE POOR BLACK MAN. AND THAT'S 90 PER CENT OF US.

LET'S LEVEL WITH EACH OTHER. ONE OF THE REASONS IS FEAR -- PLAIN PHYSICAL FEAR. FEAR OF BLACK PEOPLE. FEAR OF PEOPLE WHO LOOK DIFFERENT. FEAR OF THEIR REJECTION OF YOU. FEAR OF THEIR BITTERNESS AND THEIR HATRED. SO I'M GOING TO MAKE YOU AN OFFER -- PERSONALLY AND ON BEHALF OF CORE. I'M GOING TO SUGGEST THAT IF YOU REALLY WANT

TO, YOU MAKE THAT TRIP PERSONALLY INTO THE GHETTO. AND CORE WILL FIND SOMEONE TO TAKE YOU -- OR A TOP REPORTER ON A GUIDED TOUR INTO YOUR OWN SLUMS -- YOUR OWN GHETTOES -- TO SEE THE BLACK COMMUNITY FROM THE INSIDE. TALK. LISTEN. WATCH. GET IT STRAIGHT AND UNDILUTED. COME AS A GUEST AND A FRIEND. WE WILL FIND A SPONSOR AND A HOST. I'M NOT SAYING THAT IT WILL BE A CORE PERSON EACH TIME. THAT DEPENDS UPON THE COMMUNITY. BUT WE CAN FIND SOMEONE WHO DOES HAVE THE CONTACTS TO TAKE YOU RIGHT TO THE HEART OF ANY GHETTO IN THE UNITED STATES -- INTO A WORLD YOU NEVER SEE EXCEPT WHEN A RIOT ERUPTS AND THE POLICE CHARGE IN WITH YOUR REPORTERS AND PHOTOGRAPHERS CLOSE AT THEIR HEELS.

BUT, BEFORE YOU GO, LET ME GIVE YOU A PREVIEW. SINCE THE TOPIC IS THE REVOLUTION IN THE GHETTO. LET ME TELL YOU SOME OF THE THINGS YOU'RE GOING TO FIND.

YOU'LL FIND PEOPLE SAYING THEY NO LONGER BELIEVE IN THE WHITE MAN'S PROMISES -- THEY DID. THEY REALLY DID. I DID, ONCE UPON A TIME. BUT THEY DON'T TODAY.

THIS IS A BAD YEAR. CONGRESS HAS ALREADY TOLD US THAT IT WON'T PASS ANY CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION.

WE HAVE A BLACK MAN WHO IS HEAVYWEIGHT CHAMPION OF THE WORLD.

BUT THEY WON'T LET HIM FIGHT IN ANY STATE. AND THEY ARE GOING TO DRAFT HIM TO FIGHT A WAR THAT THAT BLACK MAN HAS COME TO HATE PERSONALLY -- WITH A VENGEANCE. BUT WHITE PEOPLE AREN'T GOING TO LET A LITTLE THING LIKE THE CONSTITUTION OR A MAN'S RELIGIOUS BELIEFS TO GET IN THE WAY. A QUAKER CAN DECLINE TO SERVE. A PACIFIST CAN REFUSE TO SERVE. A STUDENT CAN GET DEFERRED. BUT A BLACK MUSLIM CAN'T STAND BY HIS RELIGIOUS BELIEFS. YET THAT MAN IS A SYMBOL TO BLACK BOYS EVERYWHERE OF SUCCESS BY ONE OF THE FEW WAYS THE WHITE MAN ALLOWED -- BOXING.

WE HAVE A BLACK CONGRESSMAN -- A MAN WHO WAS ONE OF THE MOST POWERFUL MEN IN THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS. IT TOOK TWENTY YEARS OF INVESTMENT -- BUYING POWER -- CONGRESSIONAL POWER -- ON THE INSTALL-MENT PLAN -- AND YOU STRIPPED ~~HIM~~ 45 OF THAT. WITHOUT DUE PROCESS. WITHOUT A CHANCE FOR CROSS EXAMINATION. AND YOU TRIED, CONDEMNED AND CONVICTED HIM WITHOUT A THOUGHT TO THE PEOPLE HE REPRESENTS -- WITHOUT A THOUGHT TO THE CONSTITUTION AND ITS REQUIREMENTS -- WITHOUT A THOUGHT TO THE DUE PROCESS ACCORDED THE REPRESENTATIVES FROM MISSISSIPPI -- AND FOR ACTS WHICH ARE NOTHING COMPARED TO THE MISDEEDS, THE VOTE BUYING, THE PAYROLL PADDING, THE CROOKEDNESS THAT RUNS RAMPANT THROUGHOUT CONGRESS. THERE IS NO CODE OF ETHICS, THERE IS NO LAW IN

CONGRESS. THERE IS ONLY LYNCH LAW FOR THE BLACK MAN WHO YOU THINK IS UPPITY.

SO YOU WILL FIND BITTERNESS IN THE GHETTO WHERE YOU WALK. DESPAIR AND CYNICISM -- BUILT ON THE HOPES YOU RAISED AND DASHED -- THE PROMISES YOU MADE AND BROKE.

WHAT ELSE WILL YOU FIND, IN THE GHETTO?

YOU'LL FIND A RECOGNITION -- A BROAD AWARENESS THAT THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT -- THE FIRST PHASE OF IT -- IS OVER -- IS DEAD. WE WON THE BATTLE OF THE ABSTRACTS, THE BATTLE OF MORAL PRINCIPLES, THE BATTLE OF WORDS. WE WON IT IN THE BATTLE FIELDS OF THE SOUTH -- ON THE PICKET LINES, BY SIT-INS AND MARCHES AND PROTESTS. WE WON IT BECAUSE LITIGATION AND THE COURTS AND THE WHITE MAN'S LEGAL SYSTEM PRODUCED NOTHING BUT DELAY. NO RESULTS. ONLY MORE HYPOCRACY.

WHAT ELSE WILL YOU FIND?

FIRST, A NEW SENSE OF DIGNITY, OF IDENTITY -- A CONVICTION THAT WHETHER THE WHITE MAN LIKES IT OR NOT, THE BLACK MAN HAS SOMETHING SPECIAL TO GIVE -- BECAUSE HE IS BLACK. HE HAS SOMETHING UNIQUE TO OFFER BECAUSE HE IS WHAT HE IS: BECAUSE HE HAS SUFFERED: BECAUSE HE MORE THAN ANY ONE ELSE DRAMATIZES THE MORAL CRISIS OF THIS NATION --

AT HOME AND ABROAD IN A WORLD THAT IS THREE QUARTERS COLOURED. WITHOUT THE BLACK CONSCIENCE, THERE IS NO CONSCIENCE FOR AMERICA.

SECOND, YOU WILL FIND AN INCREASED AWARENESS THAT NONE OF OUR MAJOR INSTITUTIONS -- THE SCHOOLS, THE POLICE, THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, THE COURTS, THE HOSPITALS, THE UNIONS -- AND EVEN THE SPECIAL GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS CREATED FOR OUR BENEFIT -- ARE DOING THE JOB, OR CAN DO THE JOB, OR WANT TO DO THE JOB. AND SO WE HAVE TO FIND OTHER WAYS OF GETTING OURSELVES EDUCATED, PROTECTING OURSELVES AGAINST CRIME, CREATING JOBS, ASSERTING OUR RIGHTS -- AND EVEN -- BETTER WAYS OF FINDING OUT THE REAL NEWS, THE REAL TRUTH THAN WHAT WE GET IN THE WHITE PRESS.

NEXT, YOU WILL FIND AN INCREASING AWARENESS AMONG THE NEGRO LEADERSHIP THAT THE MIDDLE CLASS NEGRO -- YOUR GOOD CIVIC LEADER -- HAS NO CONSTITUENCY. HE CANNOT DELIVER THE NEGRO ANY MORE. BECAUSE THE NEGRO IS POOR -- NOT JUST HALF BUT THREE-QUARTERS -- MAY BE 90 PER CENT. AND THE MIDDLE CLASS NEGRO -- THE LEADERS -- ARE FINDING THAT HAVING WON THE MORAL BATTLE, THEY HAVE NO TROOPS ANY MORE. THE WHITES HAVE DESERTED THEM. AND THEY HAVE DESERTED THEIR PEOPLE. SO THEY ARE TURNING BACK TO THEIR PEOPLE -- AND DISCOVERING THE OLD RAW FACTS OF DISCRIMINATION AND POVERTY. THEY DON'T LIKE WHAT THEY SEE.

THEY WOULD RATHER TALK ABOUT OPPORTUNITY AND EMPLOYMENT THAN ABOUT POVERTY AND BEING KICKED WHEN YOU'RE DOWN. BUT THEY ARE DISCOVERING IT. AND YOU ARE GOING TO CALL THEM UNGRATEFUL -- BECAUSE THEY ARE GOING TO HAVE TO TURN THEIR BACK ON YOU. YES, AFTER YOU HAVE TREATED THEM SO WELL AND INVITED THEM TO YOUR TESTIMONIAL DINNERS AND PUT THEM ON YOUR HUMAN RELATIONS COMMITTEE. THEY ARE GOING TO HAVE TO TURN BACK TO THEIR PEOPLE. AND THEIR PEOPLE ARE POOR, HUNGRY, JOBLESS AND BEATEN.

NEXT, IF YOU LOOK, YOU WILL FIND NEW INVENTIONS -- SOCIAL INVENTIONS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY. WATCH -- YOU'LL SEE IT IN NEIGHBORHOOD COOPS SPRINGING UP IN SELF-HELP PROJECTS, IN NEW FREEDOM SCHOOLS, IN CIVILIAN POLICE PATROLS TO PATROL THE POLICE, IN NEIGHBORHOOD COURTS WHICH ENABLE PEOPLE TO GET JUSTICE IN THEIR OWN COMMUNITY.

TO CORE, IT IS SYMBOLIZED BY OUR NEW FREEDOM SCHOOL PROJECT -- NOT THE OLD FREEDOM SCHOOL WE RAN IN THE EARLY 60's BUT A NEW SCHOOL WHICH TEACHES YOUNG PEOPLE HOW TO DEAL WITH A WORLD WHICH NO LONGER RESPONDS TO MORAL APPEALS, WHICH IGNORES PICKET LINES AND MARCHES, WHICH HAS CLOSED ITS EARS AND EYES AND HEART TO THE INJUSTICES THAT,

FOR A WHILE, I THOUGHT AMERICA WAS WILLING TO LOOK AT.

HOW, YOU ASK?

-- BY EDUCATION THAT DOESN'T LEAVE THEM IGNORANT.

-- BY EDUCATION THAT TEACHES THEM HOW TO DEAL WITH BUREAUCRACY.

-- BY EDUCATION ABOUT LEGAL RIGHTS-- THAT'S RIGHT -- LEGAL TRAINING ABOUT WELFARE RIGHTS, RIGHTS OF JUVENILES, RIGHTS AS TENANTS, RIGHTS AS CONSUMERS, RIGHTS AS CITIZENS.

BY TRAINING -- BY ACTUAL INTERNSHIPS IN COMPLAINT CENTERS HELPING PEOPLE TO FILL OUT APPLICATIONS FOR MEDICARE, HELPING THEM FILE COMPLAINTS WITH CODE ENFORCEMENT DIVISION, HELPING THEM PRESS COMPLAINTS AGAINST POLICE OR TEACHERS, OR PRINCIPALS, OR WELFARE CASE WORKERS.

IN ADDITION, YOU ARE GOING TO FIND A NEW SOPHISTICATION AND TOUGHNESS ABOUT WHAT IT TAKES TO MAKE IT IN THIS SOCIETY -- A NEW DETERMINATION AND SHREWDNESS TO GET A SHARE OF THE JOBS, THE HOUSING, THE EDUCATION AND ALL THE OTHER GOODS OF THIS SOCIETY.

FOR CORE, THIS NEW SOPHISTICATION IS SUMMED UP IN OUR TARGET CITY PROGRAM. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO GIVE US SATURATED SERVICES -- FLOOD US WITH NEW BUREAUCRATS, MORE SOCIAL WORKERS, MORE

COMMUNICATORS AND NEIGHBORHOOD WORKERS. WELL, OUR ANSWER TO SATURATED SERVICES IS SATURATED DEMAND. LAST YEAR, WE GOT A LOT OF PLAY IN THE NEWS PAPERS WHEN WE INSISTED THAT THE STRIP JOINTS IN BALTIMORE OPEN UP TO NEGROES. WE GOT NO PUBLICITY AT ALL WHEN WE UNIONIZED THE DEPARTMENT STORE WORKERS, OR GOT EMPLOYERS TO PLEDGE HUNDREDS OF NEW JOBS, OR SET UP COOPS, OR BOYCOTTED CERTAIN CHAIN STORES, OR ORGANIZED WELFARE RECIPIENTS.

FINALLY, YOU ARE GOING TO FIND THAT ORGANIZATIONS LIKE CORE ARE NOT DEAD. ANNOUNCEMENTS OF OUR DEMISE ARE RATHER PREMATURE.

BECAUSE WE NEVER TURNED OUT BACKS ON OUR PEOPLE -- AND THAT'S WHERE THE SUPPORT IS COMING FROM. NOT FROM THE WHITES WHO PROMISED US HELP. NOT FROM THE LIBERALS. BUT FROM OUR OWN PEOPLE IN HALF A DOLLAR AND DOLLAR CONTRIBUTIONS.

THE FACT IS -- IF YOU WOULD CARE TO TAKE A LOOK -- THAT OUR MEMBERSHIP HAS GROWN, OUR DEBT HAS SHRUNK BY HALF, OUR CENTRAL STAFF HAS BEEN CUT, OUR FIELD STAFF HAS STAYED THE SAME, THE NUMBER OF LOCAL CHAPTERS HAS INCREASED.

RIGHT NOW -- ALL YOU SEE, ALL YOU CAN HEAR ARE TWO WORDS: BLACK POWER. YOU WOULD LIKE US TO STAND IN THE STREETS AND CHANT BLACK POWER FOR YOUR AMUSEMENT. BUT IF <u>YOU</u> WANTED THINGS TO CHANGE,

REALLY CHANGE, WHAT WOULD YOU DO? YELL BLACK POWER OR TEND TO YOUR KNITTING. BY AND LARGE, CORE HAS TENDED TO OUR KNITTING.

BY THE WAY, HAVE YOU EXAMINED CORE'S PROGRAM? YOU'D RATHER KNOW US BY BLACK POWER THAN BY OUR PROGRAM.

WE HAVE TRIED TO GIVE THE WHITE MAN THE SHOW HE REWARDS US FOR -- SINCE HE DOES NOT REWARD US FOR TRYING TO ACHIEVE. BUT WE ARE SETTING ABOUT TO REBUILD OUR COMMUNITY FROM THE INSIDE OUT.

I KNOW WHAT THE WHITE MAN HAS PROMISED US. I READ ABOUT THESE RIBICOFF HEARINGS. I'M TOLD ABOUT JOB PROGRAMS THAT DON'T CREATE JOBS.

I KNOW ABOUT THE NATIONAL ADULT LITERACY PROGRAM JIM FARMER TRIED TO LAUNCH BUT WHICH GOT TURNED DOWN. I'VE READ HOW EVEN THE NAACP HAD TO DIP INTO CAPITAL LAST YEAR BECAUSE WHITE SUPPORT HAS DRIED UP.

I READ ABOUT THAT WONDERFUL FOOD PROGRAM THAT WAS SUPPOSED TO HELP POOR PEOPLE. BUT YOU HAVE TO PAY MONEY FOR STAMPS. AND YOU CAN'T GET FOOD COMMODITIES ANY MORE. AND IN THE SOUTH, THAT WONDERFUL PROGRAM MEANS THAT 70 PER CENT OF THE PEOPLE WHO USED TO GET SOME FREE FOOD NOW GET NOTHING. THAT'S RIGHT -- PARTICIPATION

HAS DROPPED BY AS MUCH AS 70 PER CENT.

I READ ALL ABOUT THAT GLORIOUS WAR IN VIET NAM WHERE THE BLACK 10 PER CENT OF THE POPULATION CARRIES 23 PER CENT OF THE CASUALTIES.

AND I CAN ONLY CONCLUDE ONE THING. IT'S ALL SUMMED UP IN THAT LITTLE STORY ABOUT THE LITTLE BLACK GIRL WHO LOOKED IN THE MIRROR AND SAID:

MIRROR MIRROR ON THE WALL, WHO'S THE FAIREST

ONE OF ALL?

AND THE MIRROR ANSWERED BACK:

SNOW WHITE.

AND DON'T YOU FORGET IT, NEITHER.

The Shoreham Hotel
Washington, D.C.
April 20, 67

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

M E M O R A N D U M

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Department Heads

FROM: Minutes of Staff Meeting, May 15, 1967

RE: Decisions Reached

DATE: May 16, 1967

Baltimore:

1. Lincoln and Floyd to attend emergency board meeting Tuesday evening, May 16.

2. Floyd to talk with Walter one hour prior to board meeting and explain recommendations to be made.

3. Following tasks to be performed in the near future:
   a. Relieve Walter Brooks of command.
   b. Establish the procedures governing the operation of the local groups and the national organization in respect to control, authority and finances.
   c. Check on all bills, obligations and subject to careful analysis. Also check expenditures. Get a Certified Public Accountant. Change bank account.

4. Lincoln take over immediately and Tony later.

5. Walter and Herb should be definitely present at skull session.

6. Call Ken Clark about finding a place for Walter Brooks at MARC as a fellow.

Special Purpose fund:

1. Proceed with plans.

2. Document situation with Bonnie Barrow (Ruth)

3. Document our present financial situation and make our specific proposed changes (Don & Jan)
   a. Include legal interpretation of what the Special Purpose Fund is and what the authority of the NAC is.

(cont.)

CONFIDENTIAL MEMO - May 16, 1967

(cont.)

b. Give example of the problem we had because we did not have such a fund (Rabinowitz)
c. Quote the minutes which spell out the NAC's directive
d. Include a critique of how Floyd & Lincoln spend their time.
e. List of present pressing bills — failure to take action upon which will lead to court action.

4. Legal explanation to New York group — May 17 — with Josephson.

$75,000

1. Floyd has no contract of employment, lask of which leads to unstabile situation.

2. Hold the money (don't spend) until certain of political situation)

3. Explain to the NAC forcefully & convincingly why stability is necessary — at skull session. Plan with Ussery, McKissick, Lynch, Perot, Turner, Smith & Farmer, sometime Wed., after Ussery's arrival.

New Staff:

1. Ask Ike and Lou, face to face, about availability for chapter development job.

2. Inform new man only after others have refused. Otherwise, period of employment may be uncertain.

Skull Session:

1. Spend time planning in advance.

2. Must allow time for free discussion. If over organized, in trouble.

3. Add only those names that people insist upon. However, no veto power permitted since authority was give n to National Director

St. Louis RAC Meeting

Letter to go out immediation, prepared by Lynch, advising region that there actions were unconstitutional.

MEMO _ CONFIDENTIAL - May 16, (cont.)

Rabinowitz: MARC:

Ask MARC TO receive funds and allocate to individuals. Lynch work up cost estimates & work with Innis on implementation.

Proposal
Chapter Development
NAC Development

Irma, please type an original and four copies

Minutes of the Staff Meeting

June 5, 1967
CONFIDENTIAL
Subjects Covered and Decisions Reached

OEO

Floyd reported on conference with Shriver and OEO. The hidden agenda of OEO was to get CORE support for the Poverty Program as it now stands (and to ask CORE to oppose the splitting off of the poverty program into other federal agencies).

It was agreed that we should support funding of the poverty program as we have in the past (raising the questions we have raised in the past), stating our reasons for support and our particular concerns.

Action 1 - Send a long detailed memorandum to chapters, asking them to write letters, contact senators and representatives and in general, support the above position. Memo to go out under Floyd's name.

Action 2 - Take advantage of Shriver's offer to assist in getting CORE programs funded. Push in particular John Zippert's proposals from Louisiana. Lincoln to talk to John and get necessary information for Shriver's office this week.

Positon on Riots

Maintain in press statements that it is unfortunate that we have riots. Oour concern is constructive programming, offering an alternative. Tired of predicting where the next riots will occur.

$75,000 Loan

To be spent in general as follows:

Staff - 5 back pay checks - approximately $19,000
Printing - back debts to Hermann and Sawyer
Approximately $30,000 to back debts, creditors
Put aside three months rent, phone, gas and electric

Other suggestions

Purchase some of Baltimore cars @ $500 each
$500 to Wil for Convention
Set aside some for convention travel
Allow for mailing account
Secure public relations man and fund-raising personnel

Action - checks mailed out to staff with accompanying letter from Floyd

Mid-East

CORE torn two ways. Preferablle position - no statement until meeting of the Board.

Action - statement prepared by Dell Powell in cooperation with Bob Gore and Val Coleman to use in case we must. Reviewed later.

Advisory Committee

Agenda items. Our hidden agenda, to get a much greater commitment to support the organization financially (for example, distribute Holiday Card brochures through other organizations).

Action - look through minutes of the last meeting and see if we implemented any of their advice (Assignment given to Marge Rogatz).

Printing

Get as much to West Coast as possible for use in the convention. Action #1- check with Irene Hermann and speed up process so that Wil can get necessary materials before Convention (Ruth)

Action # 2 - send out other material to Wil for use, e.g. most current posters (Ralph)

Taconic Foundation

Report on proposal made by Ruth. Follow-up meeting tentatively scheduled for June 14.

Convention

Communications already sent from New York by Lincoln. Plans for agenda not yet finalized. Mailings, etc. to be done from now on by West Coast. We are to assist in getting speakers, etc. Lincoln appointed as convention liason person.

Action #1 - Send $500 to Wil for expenses (see above)

Action #2 - Intercede to get a representative from Zambia (Lincoln) to speak on Sunday July 2. If fails, Wil suggests trying Bonnie Barrow's brother-in-law.

Action #3 - Follow up with Killens who said he would come but want to have a formal invitation (Floyd)

Action #4 - get up to date chapter list for Wil (from Ralph) to send immediately (Lincoln)

Action #5 - prepare uncertified financial report for convention(Ruth). Try to get audit from Apfel and Englander (McKissick).

Action #6 - send Powell to West Coast early to set up publicity with respect to convention.

Action #7 - Reports for the Convention. Floyd's report - should be well-written, mimeo'd and distributed, ~~etc~~/ covering all pahses of

~~Action/#8/~~
the operation. It should not be emotional. Floyd give a general report and break it down into areas. Place burden on convention- raise funds to support CORE and give genral support to the organization. Supplement with other staff reports.

Action # 8 - Strategy meeting needed weekend of June 16 - away from office.

Action #9 - set time to communicate with Wil (Lincoln talks with other him every day at 5:00 p.m.

University of Wisconsin

Talk with Farmer and review all records of oontract before proceeding. (Not assigned).

Calvin Hicks

Wants to work with CORE, has obvious abilities in program area. Consider when funded through Special Purpose Fund.

Cleveland

Action - Tony to work out structure of Cleveland Target City by June 15 in writing.

Baltimore

Action1- get reports prepared for Lexington, take to convention (Ruth)

Action # 2 - Ask Baltimore chapter people for chronology of the project and financil report (Lincoln).

Action # 3 - send CORE NAC evaluation committee back to Baltimore and ask for report at the convention (Lincoln)

N E W Y O R K S T O C K E X C H A N G E

SUMMARY OF REQUIREMENTS FOR MEMBER PARTNERSHIPS

March 1, 1960

The purpose of this memorandum is to assist persons who may wish to qualify an existing securities partnership, or one to be created, as a member partnership.

If an individual who is not a member of the Exchange, at the present time, wishes to purchase a membership and thereby qualify an existing partnership, or one to be formed, as a member partnership, it is important that he first assure himself that the partnership can meet all of the existing requirements.

(1) Form and Place of Organization - A member partnership shall be a duly organized partnership. It may be formed under the statutes of any state of the United States.

(2) Submission of Partnership Agreements - All proposed partnership articles and changes in such articles should be submitted to the Department of Member Firms in advance of execution. Drafts of partnership articles or of changes in partnership articles proposed to be entered into in connection with the formation of a firm or the admission of a new partner should be submitted at least one week in advance of the date on which the application will be acted upon by the Board of Governors. Drafts of other changes to be made in partnership articles should be submitted in advance of their effective date.

The Exchange requires that a signed photostatic or conformed copy of all partnership articles, including any amendments and supplements thereto, as executed be filed with the Exchange.

(3) Conditions of Approval - The Board of Governors will not approve a partnership as a member firm unless:

(a) every general partner of such a firm is a member or allied member of the Exchange; and

(b) every general partner (unless he is in active government service or his health does not permit) is actively engaged in its business and devotes the major portion of his time thereto.

(c) each limited partner in such partnership is approved by the Board of Governors.

(d) a primary purpose of such partnership is the transaction of business as a broker or dealer in securities; and

(e) such partnership complies with such additional requirements as the Board of Governors may from time to time prescribe.

(4) Fixed Interest - Every partner in a member firm must have a fixed interest in its entire business.

(5) Assignment of Interest - No partner in a member firm shall assign or in any way encumber his interest in such firm without the prior consent of the Exchange.

(6) Partner in Single Partnership - No person shall at the same time be (1) a partner in more than one member firm, whether as a general or as a limited partner or (2) a partner, whether general or limited, in a member firm and the holder of voting or non-voting stock in a member corporation.

(7) Other Connections - Unless otherwise permitted by the Exchange, every member and allied member who is a general partner in a member firm must be actively engaged in the business of his member firm and devote the major portion of his time thereto.

Without prior approval of the Exchange, no member or allied member who is a general partner in a member firm shall become

(1) a partner in any non-member business organization, or

(2) an officer or employee of any non-member business corporation, firm or association, or

(3) an employee of any firm or individual engaged in business; or

(4) associated with any outside securities, financial or kindred business.

(8) Required Agreement by Member - Each member who is a general partner in a member firm shall specifically agree in the firm's partnership articles that he contributes the use of his membership to the firm and that, in so far as may be necessary for the protection of the creditors of the firm, and subject to the Constitution and Rules of the Exchange, the proceeds of the transfer of his membership shall be an asset of the partnership.

(9) Gratuity Payments to Members - Only the persons specified in Article XVI of the Constitution may share in Gratuity benefit payments. Therefore, there may be no oral understanding nor may provisions be embodied in partnership articles, a Will or in any other document which may have the effect of directly or indirectly defeating the purpose of said Articles.

(10) A-B-C Agreements - An A-B-C agreement is a form of arrangement entered into when it is intended that a portion of the risk of flucutations in the value of a membership owned by a member of the Exchange, who is a general partner in a member firm, shall rest with the partners of the firm rather than have the entire risk rest with the member individually. It should be noted that, even though a membership is the subject of an A-B-C agreement, it nevertheless remains a personal franchise vested solely in the member.

Prior to such an agreement, the member firm must execute a satisfactory release of the member, who must agree that upon his disassociation from the firm or the firm from the Exchange, for any reason, the member or his legal representative will either: (a) retain his membership and pay to the member organization the amount necessary to purchase another membership, (b) sell his membership and pay the proceeds over to the member organization, or (c) transfer his membership for a nominal consideration to a person satisfactory to the member organization and to the Exchange.

(11) Capital Interest of Members and Allied Members - The members and allied members (general partners) shall at all times have at least a 40% interest in the capital of the member firm. This may include securities and equities in their individual accounts which by specific agreement have been subordinated to claims of creditors of the partners. All such agreements must be submitted to the Exchange in acceptable form, otherwise they will not be considered good capital under Rule 325.

For the purpose of this provision, the value of New York Stock Exchange membership is considered as firm capital applicable to the general partners if the membership is wholly owned or pro rata in the case of an a-b-c membership where limited partners have an interest in such arrangement.

(12) Interest of General Partners -

1. Percentage interests of general partners must be fixed in advance.

2. As between the partners, other than a sole Exchange member whose membership is not subject to an a-b-c agreement, any general partner may be guaranteed against loss by his other partners.

3. Salaries of general partners must be fixed in advance.

4. A partner's salary shall not bear an unreasonable relationship to his interest in profits and losses.

5. A partner's drawings against his interest in profits may be at the discretion of the firm.

6. Each general partner in a member firm must receive either

(a) a percentage of profits which is not less than the minimum set forth in the following schedule; or

(b) a lesser percentage than that called for in the following schedule, provided that he shall receive by means of his participation in profits or his salary, or both, not less than $8,000 per year, and provided further, however,

(c) that notwithstanding the provisions of (a) or (b) herein being applicable, he may be charged with his proportion of net losses of the firm.

If the working capital of the member firm, exclusive of memberships and other fixed assets, is:	Minimum Percentage is:
Under $ 10,000	15%
$ 10,000 to 50,000	10%
50,000 to 100,000	7 1/2%
100,000 to 500,000	5%
500,000 to 1,000,000	3%
1,000,000 to 2,000,000	2%
2,000,000 to 5,000,000	1%
5,000,000 to 10,000,000	1/2%
10,000,000 to 20,000,000	1/4%
20,000,000 or more	1/8%

7. Member firms may provide by agreement for a so-called "float" of net profits not exceeding 15%, which "float" may remain unallocated until the close of a firm's calendar or fiscal year, at which time distribution thereof may be made to some or all of the general partners in such manner as may be determined at the discretion of the partners.

8. Solely for the purpose of determining the rights of the partners among themselves, partners' participations in the profits and losses in any firm investment account may be fixed in proportions which differ from their participations in other profits and losses of the firm, provided that each general partner has a fixed participation in such firm investment accounts and in the other income of the firm.

Member firms should consult their own counsel if the profit and loss interest in the firm investment account is to be different than that in the other income of the firm since substantial rights of the individual partners may be affected.

(13) Sole Board Exchange Member - An Exchange member who is the sole Exchange member general partner in a member firm, and whose membership is not subject to an "a-b-c" agreement, shall have and maintain a minimum participation in his member firm as follows, regardless of his salary:

If the working capital of the member firm, exclusive of Exchange memberships and other fixed assets, is:	Minimum Percentage is:
Under $ 10,000	30%
$ 10,000 to 50,000	20%
50,000 to 100,000	15%
100,000 to 500,000	10%
500,000 to 1,000,000	6%
1,000,000 to 2,000,000	4%
2,000,000 to 5,000,000	2%
5,000,000 to 10,000,000	1%
10,000,000 to 20,000,000	1/2%
20,000,000 or more	1/4%

(14) Interest of Limited Partners -

1. A limited partner may be paid a reasonable rate of interest on his capital contribution, not in any event to exceed 8% per annum thereon. The same 8% maximum limitation is equally applicable to subordinated lenders of cash.

2. In addition to reasonable interest on his capital contribution, a limited partner may receive a reasonable participation in the profits of the partnership provided his percentage interest is fixed in advance and is not changed more frequently than once in every three months.

3. A limited partner's participation in the profits of his firm should bear some reasonable relationship to his contribution to capital. No limited partner or partners should have more than a 45% interest in the profits of the firm.

4. In addition to interest on his capital contribution, and in lieu of a participation in profits of the partnership, a limited partner may receive a reasonable dollar annual return, provided it is fixed annually in advance.

5. A limited partner may either share in firm losses or be guaranteed against loss.

(15) Death of Sole Exchange Member Partner - To enable a firm to apply for permission to continue as a member firm following the death of its sole Exchange member partner specific provision must be incorporated in the partnership agreement prior to the death. The Exchange should be consulted concerning the suggested language for this provision. In those cases involving the death of a sole Exchange member partner who, at

the time of his death, was not engaged in war service (defined), the maximum period the Exchange will prescribe during which the firm may have the status of a member firm will not exceed sixty days from the date of death of such member.

If the sole board member privilege is to become effective following the death of the sole board member, it will be necessary to provide for the continuation of the subordination agreement after the death of the member, where such membership is covered by a subordination agreement.

(16) Minimum Capital Requirements for Member Partnerships -

Maintenance - No member partnership doing any business with others than members, member firms or member corporations or doing a general business with the public, except a member partnership subject to supervision by State or Federal banking authorities, shall permit, in the ordinary course of business as a broker, its aggregate indebtedness to all other persons to exceed 2000 percentum of its net capital, which net capital shall be not less than $50,000 in the case of a member partnership carrying any accounts for customers and shall be not less than $25,000 in the case of any other member partnership subject to Rule 325, unless a specific temporary exception is made by the Exchange in the case of a particular member partnership due to unusual circumstances.

(17) Financial Questionnaires- Each member firm which carries customers' accounts on its own books or does a principal business with others than members, memberfirms and member corporations, is required to answer three financial questionnaires each year, one of which, is based upon an audit performed by independent public accountants selected by such member firm.

A member firm which introduces customer business to another member firm or member corporation on a disclosed basis and which does not handle cash and securities of its customers, is required to submit answers to two financial questionnaires each year, one of which is based upon an audit performed by independent public accountants.

Member firms which have no dealings with the public are required to answer two financial questionnaires each year, neither of which need be based upon an audit by independent public accountants.

(18) Financial Statements to Customers - A member firm is required to make available to any customer at his request a statement of its financial condition as of the date of its most recent

answer to the financial questionnaire of the Exchange, or as of a date subsequent thereto. The financial statement shall be one which in the opinion of the firm fairly presents its financial condition.

Within 35 days of the date after which a member firm is required to file its annual financial statement to the Exchange, each customer shall be sent either:

1. a financial statement of the firm based upon such audit, or

2. a notice with a return postcard bearing postage indicating that a financial statement based on an audit by an independent public accountant is available for his inspection or will be mailed upon written request.

(19) Subordinated Borrowings - Subordinated borrowings of member firms are the subject of application and approval by the Exchange and disclosure of them in form acceptable to the Exchange must be made in financial statements issued to customers.

(20) Partnership Offices - No office of a member firm, other than a main office, shall be established without the prior consent of the Exchange. Each such office must be in charge of a holder of voting stock or of a manager acceptable to the Exchange.

Each office of a member firm shall be used solely for the business of such firm and except as permitted by the Exchange shall not be occupied jointly with another member or non-member.

Unless otherwise permitted by the Exchange, the main office of a member firm shall remain open for business on every full business day during the trading hours of the New York Stock Exchange.

With the prior approval of the Exchange, a registered representative may operate from his residence. His address and telephone number may be advertised in any normal manner (such as business cards, local newspaper, stationery, etc.) but, in such event, the address will be considered by the Exchange as constituting an "other office".

Each branch office is subject to the payment of an annual fee of $50 to the Exchange.

(21) Fidelity Bonds - Each member firm doing business with the public and having employees shall carry brokers' blanket fidelity bonds in such amounts as the Exchange may require. The Exchange would expect that the coverage will be governed by the advice of the member's insurance adviser.

(22) Registered Representatives - Registered representatives must be experienced and trained and may not be employed without approval of the Exchange. Each application is subject to a fee of ~~$25.~~ 35 Applicants must pass a qualifying exam.

A registered representative is a person engaged in the solicitation or handling of listed or unlisted business in securities, or other similar instruments; or in the trading of listed or unlisted securities, or other similar instruments, for the account of or as a representative of his employer; or in the sale of listed or unlisted securities on a dealer or principal basis for his employer; or engaged in handling of international securities arbitrage operations of his employer; or engaged in the solicitation of subscriptions to investment advisory or to investment management services furnished on a fee basis by his employer, or one to whom has been delegated general supervision over the foreign business of his employer.

(23) Compensation of Registered Employees -

(1) Registered representatives - on a salary or a commission basis.

(2) Branch office managers - on a salary or a commission basis; also, with the prior approval of the Exchange, may receive a percentage of the net profit of the branch office.

(3) A registered representative who is also head of a department of the firm or corporation - may, with the prior approval of the Exchange, receive a percentage of the net profit of his department, and

(4) Bonuses - registered employees may participate with the prior approval of the Exchange, in bonus distribution.

N E W Y O R K S T O C K E X C H A N G E

July 1964

MEMBER CORPORATIONS

The purpose of this memorandum is to assist persons wishing to qualify an existing securities corporation, or one to be created, as a member corporation.

Section I: Preliminaries

If an individual wishes to purchase a membership and thereby qualify an existing corporation, or one to be formed, as a member corporation, it is important that he first assure himself that the corporation can meet all of the existing requirements. It is suggested that this may be accomplished by discussion between the principals involved and the Exchange. Where an existing non-member organization is concerned, a preliminary visit by an Exchange examiner is required.

Section II: Formation and Admission

Once the above fact has been established, the proposed member can arrange with the Secretary of the Exchange to file a written bid for a membership.

A. APPLICANT FOR MEMBERSHIP (2301)

1. Execute an agreement for transfer of a membership, plus such additional documents and agreements as may be required by the Exchange in regard to the financing of the membership. Unless the transfer is for a nominal consideration, a deposit with the Secretary of the Exchange must be made in the form of a certified check for 20% of the agreed purchase price or, in lieu thereof, a written guarantee of a member firm in form supplied by the Exchange.

2. File application giving complete details as to his business history, etc., on form supplied by the Exchange. Application must be countersigned by two sponsors who have been members or allied members for at least a year, have known the applicant well for a period of years, and are familiar with his personal history, seat financing arrangements and business plans.

3. Present letters of recommendation from at least three responsible persons.

4. Arrange with Medical Clinic located in the Exchange for a physical examination.

5. Applicant and his two sponsors are required to appear personally before the Sub-Committee on Admissions.

6. On the day on which the Board of Governors is scheduled to ballot on his application, proposed member must deposit with the Exchange the balance of the purchase price of membership, an initiation fee of $7,500 to the Exchange, an initial contribution to the Gratuity Fund of $15, and the unexpired portion of the transferor's dues for the current quarter.

B. QUALIFYING CORPORATIONS

Applications covering the admission of a member corporation are ordinarily acted upon by the Board of Governors after notice of the applications has been posted on the Bulletin Board of the Exchange for a period of not less than two weeks.

.....Applications, documents, agreements, etc. which must be filed prior to the posting period are as follows:

With Secretary's Office

Outline:
1. Letter signed by Exchange member
2. Individual applications
3. A-B-C Agreement, if required

Details:

1. Letter signed by Exchange member or proposed Exchange member giving name and address of corporation, date of formation, and/or date of proposed admission as member corporation, and names of all present and proposed officers, directors, holders of voting and non-voting stock therein, and debenture holders.

2. Individual applications by each present and proposed member, stockholder, debenture holder, and subordinated lender, in form prescribed by the Exchange (2312.16) (2325.20)

3. Resolution, Release and Agreement between corporation and member (so-called a-b-c agreement) to be executed in the event the corporation advances funds for the purchases of the membership. (2301.34)

With Department of Member Firms (2313-2314)

Outline:
1. Certificate of Incorporation
2. By-Laws
3. List of Stockholders, Officers, Directors
4. Stockholders' Agreement
5. Stock Certificates
6. Debenture Form, if any
7. Agreement by Member
8. Opinion of Counsel
9. Other Documents, if any

Details:

1. Certified copy of existing or draft of proposed Charter or Certificate or Incorporation and all existing or proposed amendments thereto.

Such documents shall contain provisions that the corporation, its stockholders, or both, in a stated order of priority, shall have a prior right to purchase, at a price at which it is proposed to be sold or at a stipulated or determinable price, pursuant to a stated formula, the stock of any stockholder who:

1. Proposes to sell or dispose of any of his stock, or dies,

2. Has been suspended or expelled from the Exchange, or

3. Has violated any agreement made by him with his member corporation or with the Exchange. (Where the State of Incorporation is unwilling to accept a Certificate of Incorporation containing this purchase option, it may be incorporated within a separate agreement signed by each stockholder.)

2. Certified copy of existing or draft of proposed By-Laws.

3. Certified or proposed list of stockholders and debenture holders giving the name, amount of each class of stock or debenture held or to be held and the consideration for which such shares were or will be issued, specifying whether the same represents par or book value or other price formula.

4. Agreement with the Exchange by every stockholder that, so long as the corporation continues as a member corporation, he will not, without the prior written approval of the Exchange, transfer, sell, assign, pledge or other create, or permit to be created, any lien, charge or encumbrance upon his stock in the corporation.

The member corporation and all its stockholders must agree with the Exchange that if any of the voting stock in such corporation should at any time be acquired, held or owned by a person other than a member or allied member in good standing, or any of its non-voting stock should at any time be held by a person not approved by the Exchange, excepting in either case the estate of a deceased stockholder for such period as may be allowed by the Exchange, or if any

stockholder should violate his said agreement, the corporation may be deprived by the Exchange of all the privileges of a member organization.

5. Form of stock certificate. Such certificate shall carry on its face the statements or a full summary thereof, of the restrictions set forth in item 1 and first paragraph of item 4.

6. Form of Debenture. Such debenture must contain full and complete subordination language and must contain the restrictions set forth in first paragraph of item 4.

7. Agreement by every Exchange member who is a holder of voting stock, that he contributes the use of his membership to his member corporation and that insofar as may be necessary for the protection of the creditors of such corporation, and subject to the Constitution and Rules of the Exchange, the proceeds of the transfer of his membership shall be an asset of the corporation.

8. Opinion of counsel in form and substance satisfactory to the Exchange stating that the corporation is duly organized and existing, its stock is validly issued and outstanding, and that the restrictions required by the Exchange on the transfer and issuance of its stock have been made legally effective.

Corporations not organized under the laws of the State of New York shall effectively subject themselves to the following restrictions and the opinion of counsel shall set forth the extent to which the following restrictions have been made legally effective:

> No dividend shall be declared or paid which shall impair the capital of the corporation nor shall any distribution of assets be made to any stockholder unless the value of the assets of the corporation remaining after such payment or distribution is at least equal to the aggregate of its debts and liabilities, including capital.

9. Any and all agreements or other documents made or to be made by the corporation or any of its stockholders

relating to its management or the issue or transfer of the securities of the corporation (other than agreements relating to ordinary securities and commodities transactions).

With Department of Stock List

1. Authorization of officers and other persons to assign registered securities and guarantee signatures of others on securities under Rule 200(a).

(a) Resolutions in form prescribed by Exchange to be adopted by the Board of Directors to authorize persons to act on behalf of the corporation.

(b) Resolutions and specimen signatures in form prescribed by Exchange of those authorized should be filed with the Exchange two weeks in advance of the date corporation becomes a member corporation, so that the Exchange may have signature cards prepared and sent to transfer agents of listed securities at the appropriate time.

(b) Legal opinion of the attorney for the member corporation that the corporation has the power, under its Charter, By-Laws and laws of the State under which it is organized, to confer the authority and power given by the Resolutions.

If a member corporation desires to use a machine imprinted facsimile signature as provided in Rule 200(b), the prescribed form of agreement and resolutions together with information and instructions pertaining thereto should be obtained from the Department of Stock List.

.....Material to be submitted to the Exchange at least prior to the date the member corporation's application is to be considered by the Board of Governors.

With the Department of Member Firms

Outline:
1. Capital Loan Agreement
2. Letter re: Office addresses and personnel
3. Registered Representative Applications
4. Minor Officer Applications
5. Fidelity Insurance Report

Details:

1. Capital loan agreements - Agreements in form prescribed by the Exchange must be filed covering all borrowings where any portion of the proceeds of such borrowings was or will be used in the capitalization of the corporation. (2325.19)

2. A letter setting forth the address of each office (other than the main office) with the name of the voting stockholder or manager who will be in charge thereof, and a list of the names of all persons who will become registered representatives in the various offices of such proposed member corporation. (2342)

In each case it should be indicated whether or not the corporation wishes such office listed in the Directory of the Exchange.

3. Registered Representative Applications - RE-1 applications shall be submitted for all persons, other than holders of voting stock, employed in the capacity of a registered representative as defined in Rule 10.

4. Minor Officer Applications - CO-1 applications shall be submitted for all minor officers who are not stockholders or registered representatives.

5. Fidelity Insurance Report - Report on form prescribed by the Exchange the amount of insurance covering officers and employees carried by the corporation in the form of a brokers' blanket fidelity bond. (2319)

With the Floor Department

Outline: Authorizations, applications, permits to cover various Floor arrangements

Details:

1. Authorization of officers and/or other persons to sign written contracts, which must be exchanged not later than the second business day following "Seller's option" transactions and following all transactions made "when issued" or "when distributed" that are not cleared through the Stock Clearing Corporation. (2137)

2. Authorization of officers to sign orders to the Exchange to close Exchange contracts in listed securities which are not fulfilled according to the terms thereof. (2284)

3. A member corporation wishing to rent telephone booth space on the Floor of the Exchange must arrange for such rental and for permits covering the installation of telephone wires from such booth space to the office of the corporation.

4. A member corporation expecting to have clerks on the Floor of the Exchange must make such arrangements by application.

5. If a member corporation has a holder of voting stock who is a specialist member of the Exchange, such holder of voting stock must file an application listing the stocks in which he is registered as a specialist and the account into which the dealings which he initiates are to be placed. (2103)

6. Where a member corporation arranges with a creditor for financing specialists' transaction on a minimum margin basis which is less than the margin basis for general accounts, it must report the name of the creditor and the terms of the arrangement. An initial report on Form SPC must be filed covering the dollar value of the "long" positions, "short" positions and the net credit or net debit balance is of the first day such credit was extended, and date prior thereto, and each month thereafter. (2104.30 and 2104.40)

Section III: Subsequent to Admission

Upon approval as a member corporation, certain agreements and report will be required to be filed with the Exchange

from time to time, depending upon nature and scope of the corporation's business. Shortly after approval, detailed information concerning these items will be furnished the corporation. An outline of these items follows, with reference to paragraphs of the Exchange Guide where further information may be obtained. Naturally, the Exchange Staff is also ready to assist any member corporation in understanding the rules and regulations.

Agreements and Reports

Audit Agreement (2418)
Financial Questionnaires (2416)
Net Commissions - Form 600 (2440I)
Total Sales Transactions on Exchange - Form 120 (2440F)
SEC Registration Fee - Form 120A (2440H)
Purchase & Sale Transactions Effected as Dealer on Exchange for Own Account - Form 121 (2440G)
Joint Accounts & Options (2423-2424)
Short Position Report - Form MF-2 (2421.10)
Underwriting Report - Form MF-3 (2421.20)
Money Borrowed Report - Form MF-4 (2421.30)
Customers' Debit & Credit Balances - Form MF-5 (2421.40)
Purchases & Sales of "Long Term" Securities by "Foreigners" & Foreign Debit & Credit Balances - Forms #-1/3, 4 (2440E)
Personal Loans & Borrowings (2420)
Wire Connections with Non-Members (2355)
Floor Trading Report - Form 82) 2110.30)
Details of Specialist Dealings - Form 81 (2104A.50)
Authority for Written Contracts - Types I, II, III, IV (2137-2284)

RULES AND POLICIES

1. Form and Place of Organization - A member corporation shall be an incorporated company and it may be incorporated under the laws of any state of the United States.

2. Conditions of Approval - The Board of Governors will not approve a corporation as a member corporation unless:

(a) every director of such corporation is a holder of voting stock in the corporation and at least one of such director is a member of the Exchange; and

(b) every holder of voting stock in such corporation is a member or allied member of the Exchange and is an officer or employee of such corporation who (unless he is in active government service or his health does not permit) actively engages in its business and devotes the major portion of his time thereto, except that such voting stock may be held by the estate of a deceased member or deceased allied member for such period as the Exchange may permit; and

(c) every holder of any other class of stock in such corporation is approved by the Board of Governors, or is the estate of a deceased holder who has been so approved; and

(d) a primary purpose of such corporation is the transaction of business as a broker or dealer in securities; and

(e) such corporation complies with such additional requirements as the Board of Governors may from time to time prescribe.

3. Approval Revocable - The approval of a corporation as a member corporation constitutes only a revocable privilege and confers on the corporation no right or interest of any nature whatsoever to continue as a member corporation.

4. Name of Corporation - Each such name must bear in its title the word "corporation" or "incorporated" spelled out in full or in abbreviated form.

5. Issuance of Transfer of Stock, Bonds, etc. - No stock shall be issued except for cash or such other consideration as may be approved by the Exchange. A member corporation shall not issue or transfer any shares of any class of stock nor shall it issue any bonds, notes or other instruments evidencing funded indebtedness of the corporation without the prior written approval of the Exchange.

6. Classes of Stock - A member corporation may have such classes of stock with such preferences and restrictions as to voting and rights as to assets and dividends as it may see fit, except that no non-voting stock shall be entitled to preferential dividends, whether cumulative or non-cumulative, in excess of 8% per annum on the par value thereof, but such non-voting stock may be entitled, in addition to such maximum preferential dividends, to participate in additional dividends payable out of earnings or earned surplus simultaneously with or after the payment of dividends on the voting stock of such amounts and upon such terms as may be fixed in the Certificate of Incorporation and approved by the Exchange. The Exchange may limit the number of stockholders of any or all classes.

7. Par Value of Stock - All stock of a member corporation shall have a stated par value.

8. Capital Stock and Interest of Members and Allied Members - Not less than 25% of the total capital of a member corporation shall be in the form of capital stock.

Members and allied members of the Exchange shall at all times have at least a 40% interest in that part of net worth of the corporation which is required by Rule 325 - capital requirements. This shall comprise all of the voting stock and may include non-voting common stock, preferred stock, debentures and subordinated borrowings.

9. Other Connections - Unless otherwise permitted by the Exchange every holder of voting stock must be actively engaged in the business of his member corporation and devote the major portion of his time thereto.

Without Exchange approval, no stockholder or subordinated contributor shall be associated with any other securities, financial or kindred business.

10. Minimum Interest in Voting Stock and in Profits - Each allied member must own either (1) a percentage of voting stock and of profits as set forth under A in the following schedule; or (2) a lesser percentage, but not less than that set forth under B, provided he shall receive by means of his salary, dividends, or both, not less than $8,000 per year.

Each Exchange member Director, (other than the sole Exchange member Director, whose membership is not subject to an a-b-c agreement) must own either (1) a percentage of voting stock and of profits as set forth under C in the following schedule, or (2) a lesser percentage, but not less than that set forth under B, provided he shall receive by means of his salary or dividends, or both, not less than $12,000 per year.

The sole Exchange member Director whose membership is not subject to an a-b-c agreement must own and maintain a percentage of voting stock and participation in profits and losses, regardless of his salary, as set forth under C.

If the working capital of the member corporation, exclusive of memberships and other fixed assets, is:		Minimum Percentage is: A.	B	C
Under	10,000*	15%	1%	30%
$ 10,000 to	50,000*	10%	1%	20%
50,000 to	100,000	7½%	1%	15%
100,000 to	500,000	5%	1%	10%
500,000 to	1,000,000	3%	1%	6%
1,000,000 to	2,000,000	2%	1%	4%
2,000,000 to	5,000,000	1%	1/2%	2%
5,000,000 to	10,000,000	1/2%	1/4%	1%
10,000,000 to	20,000,000	1/4%	1/8%	1/2%
20,000,000 or more		1/8%	1/16%	1/4%

*See Item 18 of minimum capital requirements for member corporations.

11. Other Interests - Persons who are neither members nor allied members of the Exchange may not own voting stock and may not own a participating interest in a member corporation

to an extent which would entitle them to participate to an amount in excess of 45% in the direct or indirect distribution of the profits of the member corporation. Where such persons are employed by the corporation, their participation may not exceed 5% in any one case.

12. Directors and Officers - No person shall be elected a director or appointed an officer of a member corporation without the prior approval of the Exchange.

13. Salaries - Salaries of members and allied members must be fixed in advance and shall not bear an unreasonable relationship to their interests in the corporation.

14. Float Provision - A member corporation may employ a so-called "Float" of net profits provision, not exceeding 15%, which "Float" may remain unallocated until the close of a corporation's calendar or fiscal year, at which time distribution thereof may be made to some or all of the voting stockholders in such manner as may be prescribed by the Board of Directors.

15. Profit-Sharing Plans - Additional compensation may be paid to holders of voting stock through the medium of a profit-sharing plan acceptable to the Exchange, provided that the terms of the plan are fixed in advance and are not changed more frequently than once every three months.

16. Notice of Change in Corporation - A member who is a holder of voting stock shall give or cause to be given to the Exchange prompt written notice (1) of the death of any stockholder therein or officer thereof; (2) of the retirement of any officer or director thereof; (3) of a proposed issue, redemption, retirement, purchase, sale or transfer of any share of stock therein; (4) of the happening of any of the event specified in subdivisions (1), (2) and (3) of subparagraph (c) of Section 7 of Article IX of the Constitution with respect to such member corporation, its stock or stockholders; (5) if such corporation ceases to transact business as a broker or dealer in securities; and (6) of any proposed change in or amendment to the Charter, Certificate of Incorporation, By-Laws or other documents or agreements of or relating to such member corporation and its stockholders which the Exchange requires to be submitted to or filed with it.

17. Fidelity Bonds - Each member corporation shall carry brokers' blanket fidelity bonds covering its officers and employees in at least the amounts as required under Rule 319.

18. Minimum Capital Requirements

(a) Initial - The initial net capital of each member corporation shall be at least 120% of the net capital required to be maintained by Rule 325, the capital requirements rule for member corporations;

(b) Maintenance - No member corporation doing any business with others than members, member firms or member corporations or doing a general business with the public, except a member corporation subject to the supervision by State or Federal banking authorities, shall permit in the ordinary course of business as a broker, its aggregate indebtedness to all other persons to exceed 2000 percentum of its net capital, which net capital shall be not less than $50,000 in the case of a member corporation carrying any accounts for customers and shall be not less than $25,000 in the case of any other member corporation subject to Rule 325, unless a specific temporary exception is made by the Exchange in the case of a particular member corporation due to unusual circumstances.

While (a) and (b) set forth the minimum capital requirement as prescribed by Rule 325, nevertheless, Exchange policy requires sufficient excess capital.

19. Financial Statements to Customers - A member corporation is required to make available to any customer at his request a statement of its financial condition as of the date of its most recent answer to the financial questionnaire of the Exchange, or as of a date subsequent thereto. The financial statement shall be one which in the opinion of the corporation fairly presents its financial condition.

Within 35 days of the date after which a member corporation is required to file its annual audited financial statement to the Exchange, each customer shall be sent either -

1. a financial statement of the corporation based upon such audit, or

2. a notice with a return post card bearing postage indicating that a financial statement based on an audit by an independent public accountant is available for his inspection or will be mailed upon written request.

20. Subordinated Borrowings - Subordinated borrowings are the subject of application and approval by the Exchange and disclosure of them in form acceptable to the Exchange must be made in financial statements issued to customers.

21. Corporation Offices - No office, other than a main office, shall be established without the prior consent of the Exchange. Each such office must be in charge of a holder of voting stock or of a manager acceptable to the Exchange.

Each office shall be used solely for the business of such corporation and except as permitted by the Exchange shall not be occupied jointly with another member or non-member.

Unless otherwise permitted by the Exchange, the main office shall remain open for business on every business day during the trading hours on the New York Stock Exchange.

With the prior approval of the Exchange, a registered representative may operate from his residence. His address and telephone number may be advertised in any normal manner (such as business cards, local newspaper, stationery, etc.) but, in such event, the address will be considered by the Exchange as constituting an "other office."

22. Registered Representatives - No member corporation shall permit any person who is not a holder of voting stock therein to perform regularly any of the duties customarily performed by a registered employee (as defined under Rule 10), unless such person has been registered with and is acceptable to the Exchange.

23. Compensation of Registered Employees -

(1) Registered representatives - on a salary or a commission basis,

(2) branch office managers - on a salary or a commission basis; also, with the prior approval of the Exchange, may receive a percentage of the net profit of the branch office,

(3) a registered representative who is also head of a department of the firm or corporation - may, with the prior approval of the Exchange, receive a percentage of the net profit of his department, and

(4) bonuses - registered employees may participate, with the prior approval of the Exchange, in bonus distribution.

SCC-1

STOCK CLEARING CORPORATION FACILITIES

Member corporations desiring to use the facilities of the Stock Clearing Corporation will be required to file with the Corporation the following documents, applications, agreements, etc., depending upon the facilities to be used.:

1. As Clearing Members Maintaining Their Own Clearing Facilities in New York City

(a) Clearing Member's Agreement signed by one or more officers named in Resolution (Form 3102) and the Corporate Acknowledgment executed - This agreement provides that the clearing member

(1) Will clear or settle through Stock Clearing Corporation every contract and transaction as provided by the By-Laws or Rules of the Corporation and such By-Laws and Rules shall be a part of the terms and conditions of every contract and transaction;

(2) Shall be bound by the provisions prescribing the liens which Stock Clearing Corporation shall have on the securities delivered or received through the corporation; and

(3) Will pay the Corporation compensation for services rendered and make a contribution to the Clearing Fund (Minimum $10,000)

(b) Certificate of incumbency of officers to be executed and accompany Resolution . (Form 3102)

(c) Opinion of counsel of the corporation stating that the corporation is authorized to enter into the agreement and that all corporate action necessary to authorize the execution of the agreement has been duly taken, and that the agreement is valid and binding on the corporation in accordance with its terms.

(d) If the Clearing Member Corporation desires to authorize persons other than officers to sign drafts, receipts, orders, etc. Resolution to that effect (Form 3102-A) and accompanying certificate as to authorized persons should be executed.

(e) Power of Attorney - Instrument providing for the appointment of one or more employees of the clearing member to act for and to sign drafts, receipts, orders, etc., on behalf of the clearing member.

(f) Signature Cards - For the purpose of verifying signatures of any documents required by the Corporation, corporate signatures of all authorized officers of a corporation and individual signatures of attorneys must be submitted on cards provided by the Corporation, although facsimili signatures prepared by the clearing member will be accepted.

(g) Passes -

(i) Regular passes - Application forms furnished by Stock Clearing Corporation to permit employees of clearing members access to the Corporation to deliver and receive securities at Central Delivery Department and access to the boxes at the Distributing Department.

(ii) Cards of Identification - Issued on letter from clearing member to permit their employees, as named, access to boxes in the Distributing Department of Stock Clearing Corporation to pick up and distribute comparisons, checks, envelopes, etc.

2. Requirements for Clearing Members Using the Facilities of the Direct Clearing Department

In addition to the requirements as set forth under those for clearing members maintaining their own clearing facilities in New York City, excepting power of attorney and Stock Clearing Corporation passes, the following are required:

(a) Powers of Attorney -

(i) Stock Clearing Corporation Powers of Attorney for four employees of Stock Clearing Corporation to act for and to sign drafts, receipts and orders on behalf of the clearing member.

(ii) Documents (Type B Powers of Attorney - see Rule 200) authorizing four employees of Stock Clearing Corporation so that securities shipped to Stock Clearing Corporation by the clearing member in non-negotiable or non-transferable form may be made negotiable or transferable.

(b) Bank Account -

(i) Provision must be made to open a bank account with New York bank or trust company that is a member of the New York Clearing House Association.

(ii) Provide the bank with powers of attorney to enable three Stock Clearing Corporation employees to draw checks on the account to the order of Stock Clearing Corporation for the purpose of settling any monies due them. Deposits in this account will be of drafts or checks drawn to the order of the clearing member.

3. Requirements for the Settlement of (Floor) Commissions for Non-Clearing Members

The following documents will be required:

(a) Commission Settlement Agreement - This agreement provides that the party will follow the procedure set out in Stock Clearing Corporation Rule 12 in paying or collecting all Floor commissions and will waive any claims against the Corporation except for amounts actually received for his account from other parties to the settlement.

(b) Authorization to Deliver Check to Representatives - To authorize Stock Clearing Corporation to deliver check due the member and to his order either to his individual representative or to a clearing member at Stock Clearing Corporation, otherwise checks will be given to the member only.

4. Requirements for the Payment of Federal and New York State Stock Transfer Taxes by Non-Clearing Members.

Agreement re Payment of Federal and/or New York State Stock Transfer Taxes - This provides that the party agrees to follow the procedure set out in Rule 10 to make a daily report on settlement date at Stock Clearing Corporation of the amount of such taxes due on transactions and transfers and make payment thereof, and to indemnify and hold harmless the Corporation from any liability on taxes not paid by said party.

5. Requirements of Use of Distributing Department Box - Requests for use of Distributing Department Box should be made by letter to Stock Clearing Corporation.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Floyd B. McKissick

FROM: Charles H. Dowd — Hank Schmitt - 752-4600

SUBJECT: Financial requirements for a Two-dollar brokerage firm.

Two seats on the New York Stock Exchange @ 250,000 dollars each. Banks can not lend money directly for the purchase of seats because of New York Stock Exchange requirements. So the financial backing must come from some group or individual with property (stocks, bonds, real estate, etc.) to pledge to a bank. The two owners of the seats will then pledge the seats back to the financial group. The interest charged by the bank for the loan will be paid by the two-dollar brokerage firm. This means that no money is put up by the financial group. It is a gumxantee ± of credit. The only actual cash laid out is for start-up costs--which would be decided upon by the gropp and would be decided upon by the group and the new brokerage firm. Estimate - $1,500 or less.

Committee — Separate Corp.

1. Ruth Turner

2.

Will be back at 5 pm.

IN 3-1700

CHARLES H. DOWD

FRANCIS I. duPONT & CO.
MEMBERS NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE

1 SOUTH MIDDLENECK ROAD
GREAT NECK, N. Y. 11022
TELEPHONE: 516 HUNTER 2-4800

MEMO:

TO: Senator Robert Kennedy

FROM: Charles H. Dowd Jr.

SUBJECT: Integrated Two Dollar brokerage firm

A two dollar broker is a back up broker. He executes an order on the floor of the New York Stock Exchange when the floor partner of the firm that received the original buy or sell order is not available. This usually occurs when said floor partner is executing another buy or sell order. No brokerage firm can execute all the orders their salesman fill and the Exchange guarantees speed in the completion of orders.

It becomes a problem of geography, there are 18 trading posts where 1621 stocks are traded and no man (least of all a millionaire floor partner,) is ubiquitous, e.g. Merrill Lynch has ten floor partners and each one has four two dollar brokers who perform the function described above.

One becomes a two dollar broker to a firm like Merill Lynch through personal contacts. With volume on the New York Stock Exchange of even half the present rate, a new two dollar broker, who has connections, can figure to make $50,000 net for himself the first year.

The problem is getting the connections. I believe I have a fool proof method of getting these connections.

The Negro community contributes literally millions of dollars directly to the support of members of the New York Stock Exchange through pensions funds, labor unions, welfare funds, insurance

companies, banks etc., and there is not even one of their division of the human race on the floor.

My idea is to start a two dollar firm with a negro as an equal partner and I am asking your backing (not monetary). I would be happy to discuss and explain further my plans with you or anybody you wish.

Every right thinking American agrees that it is high time the colored man started to get his s are of the American economy and this is a stepin the right direction. I am talking about putting a colored man in his twenties who is not a ball player or an entertainer- as admirable as those professions are- in the $100,000 bracket.

The WASP's had to start somewhere so

Let us begin.

Home phone: 516- ir Dowd
Adress-119 Weyford Terrace
arden ity, N.Y.

CORE ACTION POSSIBILITIES

VIET NAM - diffusion of effort - Knights of Labor and Gompers
- type of people - where are they on civil rights fig.
- public stigma - anticommunism, anti-creep
- psychological effects of not winning battles

SCHOOLS - massive demonstration at City Hall to remove the Board

POLICE - nothing big - steam gone due to new Review Board
"We have to give it a chance to work"

- certain areas - following the police
- everyone carry a nightstick

DRUGS - emphasize that it is a white-produced problem
- picket Mafia homes

HOUSING - demand punched card records of inspected buildings, weekly reports
- demand reduced rents in cases of violations
- demand an end to housing projects - legal ghettos
- rent strikes to protest public housing management practices

JOBS

NEGRO INTEREST

POLITICAL ACTION - Freedom Schools - Negro History, Job Training, Political Education

- Curriculum set up and taught by licensed Negro teachers

- Talent tithing - professional skills

- Foundation help

REPRESENTATION - Demand reapportionment of the City Council
- Demand an end to the Councilmen-at-Large
- Possibly demand and end to the Board of Estimate
- Demand representation on all policy-making bodies
  - Transit Authority
  - Triboro Bridge & Tunnel
  - Port Authority
  - Long Island Railroad
  - Planning Commission

GENERAL AWARENESS AMONG CORE PERSONNEL

Read other than black newspapers - Council reapportionment in Times

Talk to other than white liberals

CORE IMAGE - get a speakers bureau of highly effective speakers
- all speakers concentrate on the current issue
- all speakers speak bluntly to white audiences
- concentrate on Jewish audiences - relate prejudice to <u>them</u>
  - with them, a majority

Memo

To :

From :

Subject: Membership on the New York Stock Exchange

I am not suggesting a retail stock Brokerage firm — one like Merill Lynch that buys and sells stock for the public. This is a highly costly type of operation and more often than not unprofitable. What I am suggesting is a Two-Dollar brokerage firm.

A two-dollar broker is a back up broker. He executes an order on the floor of the New York Stock Exchange when the floor partner of the firm that received the original buy or sell order is not available. This usually occurs when said partner is executing another buy or sell order. No brokerage firm can execute all the orders their salesmen fill and the Exchange guarantees speed in the completion of orders.

It becomes a problem of geography, there are 18 trading posts while 1621 stocks are traded and no

man (least of all a millionaire floor partner) is ubiquitous. e.g. Merrill Lynch has ten floor partners and each one has four two-dollar brokers who perform the function described above.

One becomes a two-dollar broker to a firm like Merrill Lynch through personal contacts. With volume on the New York Stock Exchange of even half the present rate, a two dollar broker, who has connections, can figure to make $50,000 net to himself the first year.

The ~~not~~ problem is getting the ~~connection~~ connections. I believe I have a fool proof method of getting these connections.

Financial Requirements.

Two seats @ $250,000 each.
Working Capital 100,000
Total 600,000

Method of financing:

Since the seats are not allowed to be collateralized against a bank loan, some other property must be pledged. This would be done by the backer or backers. He would pledge his property- real estate, bonds, stock etc - to the bank. The bank would lend the money to the firm. The firm would then pledge the seats back to the backer. If the security were say bonds the backer would receive his normal interest, if stocks- dividends and if real estate- rents. In other words he doesn't lose any of his income.

The backer could also receive up to 8% (by Exchange rule) on his investment in the firm. This is as a limited partner. If he wished to be a General Partner, he could participate in the

profits and losses of the farm.

Profit Risk Picture.

1st year income estimated $ 200,000

~~Expenses - Interest to bank 36,000~~
~~Interest to~~
~~Interest to banker 48,000~~

Expenses: Interest on bank note @ 6% per year	36,000
Interest to limited partner at 8%	48,000
Office	10,000
Miscellaneous	2,000
	$ 96,000

Profit $ 102,000

The second year income should double with expenses remaining about the same.

NBL

JOIN TODAY !

Where the Action Is !

PROGRESS...PROFITS...NOW..!

Where The ACTION Is!!

For over 60 years the distinguished educators and mature executives who headed the National Business League gave it an inaccurate and unfair image of staid conservatism. While respecting its proud past and clinging to its responsible role as advocate and champion of the deprived small business operator, today, NBL is "Where the Action Is!"

THE ACTION IS IN THE NBL!

PROJECT OUTREACH: training and management assistance program designed to make better, more *profitable* businesses out of the existing small enterprises and to create *New Profitable* establishments while training business-minded youngsters to take on junior management trainee jobs. "Outreach" is a strong hand up for the ambitious and energetic, those of this new generation who recognize the rewards and benefits derived from the nation's business activities.

PROJECT UP-LIFT: an intensive, tutorial, "person to person" growth training program projected for every NBL Chapter and business that can profit from it. This training, guidance and counseling program will provide sustained assistance for the business operator now plodding along earning limited profits under serious handicaps of mis-information, lack of modern expertise and limited exposure to new modes and methods of today's successful business operations. Project Up-lift proposes to up-grade the profit potential of today's deprived small business operator to the point where he can grow on a self-sustained basis and enter the mainstream of American business.

PROJECT MAINSTREAM!

Premier Project of the new, aggressive NBL Program is "MAINSTREAM". It undertakes to guide the nation's small, deprived, minority business operators into the profitable mainstream of business activity. It will accomplish this objective by: (1) organizing Small Business Investment Companies to provide equity capital resources for NBL members; (2) establishing a non-profit Urban Development Foundation to provide professional services and "seed money" for the facilitation of the Physical Re-development of urban centers; (3) establishing a permanent program of intensive guidance and tutoring to guide the growth and development of NBL member businesses; (4) creating and operating a nationwide data processing, accounting and business reporting system that will bring the benefits of automation to the small businesses that comprise the NBL at a cost they can afford to pay and (5) establish "local" or "state" development companies to facilitate the specific physical re-development projects undertaken in NBL Chapter cities.

Of the basic three (3) Project Programs, the first—Project Outreach—is now operational. Project Uplift and Project Mainstream are now in process of advanced planning. These latter two will require massive fund injection. Government, the private majority business community, as well as the total NBL membership, must provide the financial resources for the successful instrumentation of the total program. It is an exciting, fascinating and stimulating new effort to create a new class of business operators within the NBL area of influence.

JOIN TODAY!

JOIN

The NEW Breed of Business Operators

THAT COMPRISE

The National Business League

Where the Action Is!

HEADQUARTERS

National Business League

3418 GEORGIA Avenue, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20010

(202) 726-6200

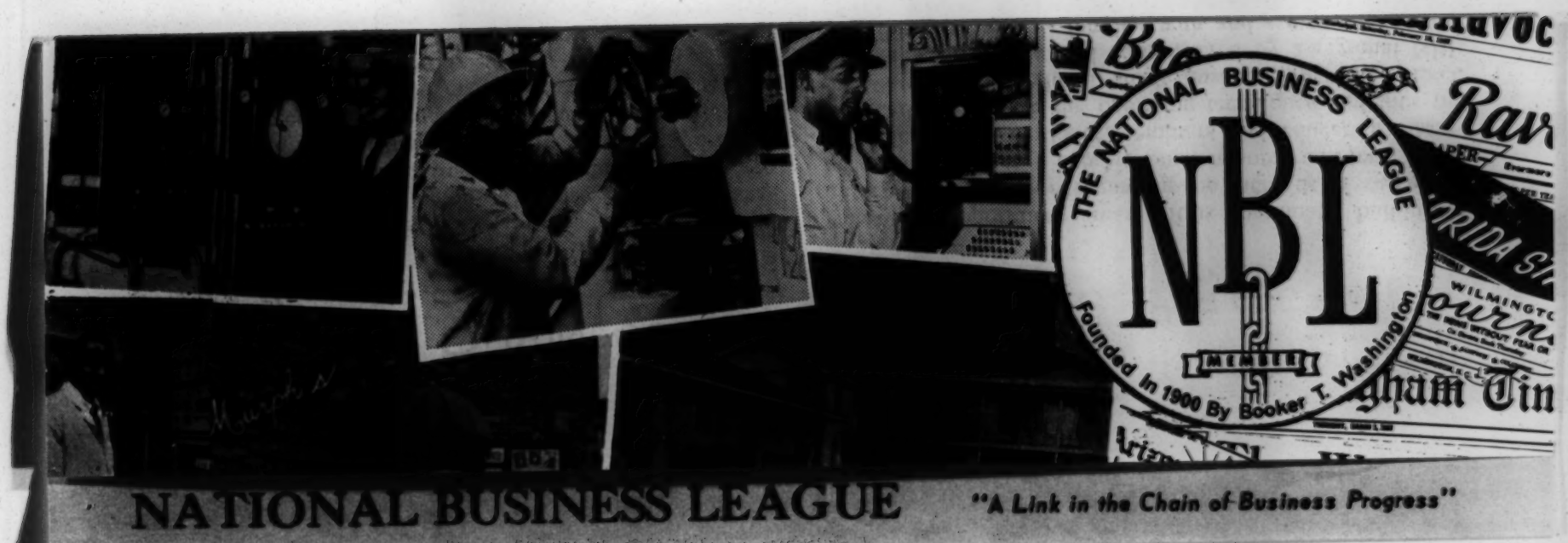
Berkeley G. Burrell, President

F. D. Patterson, Chairman, Board of Directors

Henry M. Miller, Secretary

B. Doyle Mitchell, Treasurer

LOCAL CHAPTER:



NATIONAL BUSINESS LEAGUE *"A Link in the Chain of Business Progress"*

THE NATIONAL BUSINESS LEAGUE

"STRONG LINK IN THE CHAIN OF BUSINESS PROGRESS"

Since its founding in 1900 by the famed Alabama teacher, Booker T. Washington, who also founded Tuskegee Institute, the National Business League has offered to the Negro who is self-employed a source of ideas and information designed to advance his profit-making potential. Today, in a vastly enlarged economic community that has undergone 67 years of vigorous change, the NBL is expanding its efforts on behalf of all of the nation's deprived and disadvantaged small businesses. The National Business League is a national organization with Chapters in urban centers throughout the country. Through its local chapters it offers a program of effective assistance to the self-employed that is designed to promote local economic growth. Following a basic five point program that is outlined in the National Headquarters, each local chapter has the responsibility of developing the National program among indigenous business people organized into a group with common interests, common goals and common aspirations. The Chapter affords the group an opportunity to exchange information and ideas so that each participant is enriched by the association.

The National headquarters office keeps each chapter currently informed of pertinent trends and practices in a variety of opportunity areas. It is continually building a library of information regarding the methods of successful business operation. The National, regional and local chapter offices sponsor clinics, seminars and education classes designed to improve the operating techniques and thus the profits of the individual small business operator. Each chapter is monitored and administered by a regional NBL Vice-President who is familiar with and sympathetic to the problems of the small business operator in his region. Regional Vice-Presidents are the liaison with the National Office. They provide many special services and assist the Presidents of local chapters within their jurisdiction. It is their responsibility to evaluate the profit potential inherent in cooperative buying, joint promotions and other similar types of inter-chapter relations, and to promote and coordinate such activity.

The National Headquarters staff serves as a center for the dissemination of information relative to the ownership and operation of its member businesses. It serves to facilitate economic growth of that membership in every possible way. Your membership in the NBL Chapter in your area entitles you to full use of the resources of the organization.

NATIONAL BUSINESS LEAGUE *"A Link in the Chain of Business Progress"*

NATIONAL BUSINESS LEAGUE

67 Years Of Service

3418 GEORGIA AVENUE, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20010

(202) 726-6200

Local Chapter:

George Ensley
840 Southern Pkwy
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516 - 486 - 7646
Dept meeting Sept. 13 1967
8:15 PM

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

The L.I. Assn. of Negro Business & Professional Men

BOX 280 FULTON ST. STATION HEMPSTEAD, N.Y. 11550

(516) IV 6-7000 - (516) IV 1-3960

NAME _____ PHONE _____

ADDRESS _____ TOWN _____

BUSINESS OR PROFESSION _____

SIGNATURE _____

ON REVERSE SIDE, GIVE BRIEF STATEMENT ON YOUR REASON FOR WISHING TO JOIN THIS ORGANIZATION.

"Every business operator should be an active member of his local NBL Chapter." This historic premise of the National Business League entitles every applicant to ask: "What's In It For Me?" In many instances the question cannot be readily answered in understandable specific terms of an individual business. Aside from the fact that NBL membership costs are a charge that every businessman or woman should willingly pay for his participation in an organized effort to improve his return on his investment in the business, the NBL offers numerous specific rewards:

NATIONAL BUSINESS LEAGUE

PROGRESS...

PROFITS...

NOW..!

ITS ILLUSTRIOUS HISTORY.....

Founded in 1900 by Booker T. Washington, the National Business League has pursued these goals under the leadership of some of the nation's most distinguished and successful leaders.

ITS VIGOROUS PRESENT.....

The present program encompasses three basic objectives:

(1) **"Project Outreach"** a pilot program in twelve cities to provide training and technical assistance for the diasdvantaged business community.

(2) **"Project Up-Lift"** a specialized practical business "tutorial" training program designed to produce expanded operational capability in existing small business establishments.

(3) **"Project Mainstream"** an administrative program aimed at organizing and up-grading the nation's small businesses to the point of take-off where they will be integrated into the mainstream of the American economy.

ITS PROMISING FUTURE.....

The successful execution of the present NBL program assures a bright and promising future for **your own business organization.** You are cordially invited to join our crusade.

Your Local Chapter

Among the specific rewards for membership in the National Business League are:

- A powerful organized voice that will speak with authority to influence public decisions at the local, state and federal level.
- A strong voice in the nation's capitol that speaks directly to the federal government to clearly state the problems and aspirations of the small business operator.
- The common bond of friendship and support of thousands of other similar small businesses across the nation.
- A continual flow of information on the latest methods and most modern techniques of business operations.
- Expert counsel and guidance in solving individual business problems, including management and production areas.
- Current information regarding trends in the area of business activities in which the member is engaged.
- Assistance in procurement of financial support—both equity capital resources, and loan funds;
- Guidance in the proper expansion and improvement of the individual business.
- Guidance, counsel and assistance in dealing with public and private resource institutions; e.g. "How to get a bank loan", "SBA financial assistance", etc.
- Participation in a modern central accounting and bookkeeping system designed to lower the cost of such services and to make them more useful to the business operator;
- A professional advocate to plead the cause of the disadvantaged person who is in business for himself.
- Membership in an organization dedicated to the growth, development and enrichment of the self-employed.

THE NATIONAL BUSINESS LEAGUE

HEADQUARTERS
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Economic Surveys and Systems
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Dear Sir:

INFLATION, WASTE, CRIME
& WAR THROUGH TAXATION

The factors of wealth production are land, labor and capital. The economic method of distributing wealth is through earning it into circulation. When, for the sake of expediency, the merit system of compensation is disregarded, then the sense of value and justice based on equity in balance with equality of investment is destroyed. Consequently, as a result of maldistribution, the urge for quick acquisition of wealth is through violent robbery and by more sophisticated methods of thievery or stealth. Thus, a state of chaos, waste, crime and war is created; whereby, the salvation of living is overcome through the damnation of dying.

The deficits resulting from waste, crime and war must be absorbed through confiscatory taxation to support the political spoils system of bribery, corruption and tyranny required for maintaining the plutocratic stealth system. Since 1940 the inflationary method of wasting and stealing has increased prices over five hundred percent and, thereby, reducing the purchasing power or value of earnings fifty percent.

In 1967, non-essential and non-wealth productive, inflationary malpractices consuming half of the GNP as indicated in billions of dollars are:

1. Speculation in land and other natural resources	$65 B
2. Wasted or idling material, labor and capital	65 B
3. Exploitation of wage labor through arbitrary controls	65 B
4. Fiat credit and debt interest usury	65 B
5. Usurpation and subsidization of non-essential functions	65 B
6. Conscription of life and property for other than self-defense	65 B
The annual cost of waste, crime and war is	$390 B

The cost of essential public and private wealth reproduction is:

1. Capitalization investment in land and other resources	$130 B
2. Monetization of material and labor for reproduction	130 B
3. Realization of goods, commodities and services	130 B
(including reserve and surplus or seed capital required for reinvestment)	$390 B

While the average hourly production cost is $5., the consuming power of the wealth producers' is only $2.50 per hour, because $2.50 is wasted or consumed by the non-producers of wealth in excess of 50% of the population normally unemployable.

Presently, the average standard of living could be improved two-fold and the value of earnings doubled through the elimination of wasteful inflationary malpractices that are now in vogue.

Particulars on how to develop, promote and establish a balanced economic system designed to provide social and individual sovereignty through justice, will be furnished on request.

Sincerely yours,

G. Szmak, Ec.D. Industrial Economist

To
Artists, Scientists, Engineers, Economists, Officials and Publicists

THE ECONOMIC FRONTIERS

by G. Szmak, Ec.D.
Industrial Economist

Constitutionally, mankind is endowed spiritually, mentally and physically with the power to do right and wrong or good and evil. It is left to society, as individuals, to decide the course of action they wish to pursue. As negative and positive forces do exist, it becomes necessary that they be coordinated effectively and deployed creatively and constructively for the common good. This is where knowledge of economic balance becomes imperative.

Some individuals through training, practice and experience know instinctively and intuitively the difference between right and wrong, while others exercise their initiative in doing good or evil at will. Socially, however, the majority of people essentially depend on codes, rules and regulations. When these edicts are economically or justly formulated for the good of all or universal welfare, there is peace, progress, prosperity, law and order. When the rules are formulated politically or discriminately to serve special interests, then war, stagnation, poverty, confusion and chaos result.

In the past the laws of self-preservation and survival of the fittest have been left almost entirely to individual discrimination, discretion and determination. The good of all has been a secondary or remote consideration. Therefore, little or no progress has been made in formulating and instituting codes, rules and regulations that would suffice to insure the economic welfare of all. Knowledge of economic coordination is still lacking in this respect.

The mistake perpetuated usually is that social good and evil, or right and wrong, differ from individual virtues and vices. Exploitation, usurpation, confiscation and conscription on behalf of society is considered tolerable no matter how evil, criminal or wasteful it is, when practiced by individuals. Therefore, social discrimination, monopoly, usury and tyranny are not supposed to be wrong or evil politically when disguised as being in the interest of social welfare. Social freedom, right and property are made to supersede individual freedom, right and property until these privileges have dwindled or

vanished entirely. Consequently, individual sovereignty, or liberty and independence, have diminished accordingly, through adverse interpretation and abuse of social rights.

Having again arrived at the crossroads through evolution and involution in cultural, industrial and commercial progress, after maneuvers of extreme right and left, it becomes necessary to choose between politics and economics as the means of salvation and survival. Surely, the prevailing chaos, destruction and waste cannot be prevented or overcome with more doses of deceptive political remedies administered by good intentioned quacks or scoundrels. The right choice between contraction and destruction, or economic expansion and constructive growth on a world-wide basis, should not be too difficult to decide. Only economic action can provide the social and individual sovereignty that is essential for improving the general welfare.

There are four economic frontiers that need exploring and expanding to stimulate progress and insure the stabilization of prosperity, so that poverty and war may be prevented. They are introduction to and institution of:

1. Sharing wealth produced cooperatively, through a dividend compensation system.
2. Currency based on production share monetary units, circulated through the use of checks and tickets issued by the people individually.
3. Social revenue derived from the use and rental of social property, such as land and other natural resources, to provide income for public expenditures.
4. Social and individual sovereignty, warranted by world-wide communication, transportation and commerce, universally.

and the elimination or abolishment of:

1. Monopoly of material, labor and capital resources under the master-servant system of abundance for the few and scarcity for the many.
2. Flat-credit money based on debts through the circulation and use of bills and coins issued arbitrarily by bankers and trusts.

3. Confiscation of personal property through taxation of labor and capital incomes and inheritances from any source.
4. Tyranny based on provincial discrimination which obstructs world-wide peace, progress and prosperity.

Every other factor and form of action to promote the social and individual economic welfare can be, or is, incorporated in the four fundamental institutional needs of a good society.

The basic economic issues are:

1. Stabilization of opportunity and continuous employment of labor. Cooperative production can stabilize employment opportunity and provide 15 to 25 million additional jobs in the U.S.A. alone.

2. Currency stabilization and continuous full employment of capital. Production share currency checks and tickets will stabilize the value and promote the circulation of wealth, thereby reducing crime and waste of material, labor and capital resources by at least 75%.

3. Equitable sharing of social revenue and individual compensation through dividends, according to equality of investment. A scientific social revenue and individual dividend compensation system will eliminate the need for taxation and borrowing; thus aid in preventing crime and war.

4. Full capacity business, trade and commerce sufficient to maintain continuous peace, progress and prosperity. Abundance will reduce discrimination and result in creating the harmony essential for the establishment of a world-wide cooperative commonwealth.

To eliminate wars it is necessary to abolish confiscatory taxation, the cause and means of financing strife, crime and waste. To eliminate poverty it is necessary to abolish fiat-credit usury, the cause and means of prolonging scarcity, even when there is an abundance of wealth. To eliminate unemployment it is necessary to abolish wage-slavery, the cause and means of financing the periodic idling of labor and capital. To eliminate discrimination it is necessary to abolish monopolies and subsidies, which are the cause and means of perpetuating hatreds and tyranny of all kinds.

Without discrimination, monopolies, subsidies, fiat-credit usury, unemployment, taxation, wars and with less crime in general, the cost of living can be reduced by 75%. Thereby, the average standard of living can be improved by 300%. The benefits that are attainable through the establishment of economic order appear to be fantastic. In reality, however, it is the lack of economic knowledge and apathy toward economic practices that is unbelievable and shocking.

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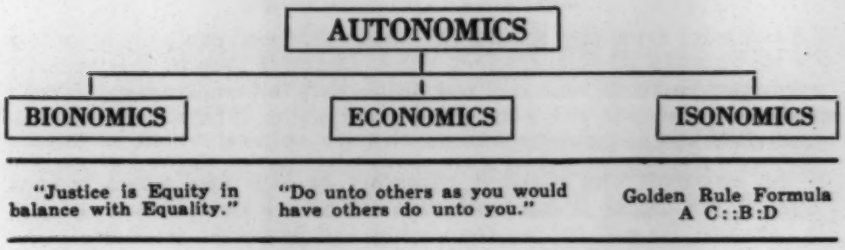

THE FOUR BLIND SPOTS

By G. Szmak, Ec.D.

THE RELIGION of reality is based on the philosophy of one being functional, productive and useful to society as well as oneself. Quoting Robert James McCracken, D.D., "Get to know two things about a man—how he earns his money and how he spends it—and you have the clue to his character, for you have a searchlight that shows up the inmost recesses of his soul. You know all you need to know about his standards, his motives, his driving desires, his real religion."

¶ What a person does to earn his living and also to improve the standard of living for others is not only a test of his character but also an indication of his economic value to society and to himself. Why some work at all is due largely to their inability or lack of inheritance to survive without work. What most people do depends on their character, training and experience. However, to achieve a high degree of proficiency and value a person must understand what is useful and essential to well being, also what is not. These facts cannot be determined if the "blind spots" obstructing his vision are allowed to remain.

¶ Each person should study and analyze whether he or she is engaged in an occupation that is really essential to the welfare of everyone. If the useless work now being done were eliminated the average standard of living could be improved at least three-fold, provided everybody did his rightful share of the world's work. When a worker is paid for doing needless work or for idling, there is that much less material, labor and capital available for products which should have been made or services rendered.

¶ What happens in the future to eliminate chaos, stagnation, poverty and war depends on what each person will do to clear away the "blind spots" obstructing his vision towards establishing economic order. The four basic obstacles to the general welfare are:

1. Monopoly of materials, labor and capital.
2. Fiat credit usury and false accounting.
3. Confiscatory taxation and spoils.
4. Conscription of life and usurpation of power.

SHARING vs MONOPOLY

MANY WILL agree that sharing the wealth produced equitably according to equality *through dividend compensation* is sounder economically than wages. However, relatively few will venture self-employment, through which it is possible to gain a full share of the profits, if they must share the responsibilities and liabilities.

¶ An employee who is *taking advantage of high fixed wages through incompetence, loafing or low production* will not see the folly and crime of his behavior. He will not see the wisdom and justice of *producing larger profits on a cooperative basis,* whereby it is possible to share higher dividends mutually.

¶ An employer who is *exploiting labor through short-circuited wages* will not want to institute the dividend compensation method. He will not see the wisdom and justice of *sharing profits or of stabilized employment and pay-rates.* He does not realize the folly and crime caused by lack of fair play which *destroys the worker's incentive for greater productivity.* Yet he will pay *higher and higher wages without receiving a corresponding increase in productivity* and thus create inflation.

CURRENCY vs CREDIT

SOME also understand that money issued and circulated *which is not backed by production is fiat credit,* therefore it depreciates the value of currency. However, relatively few have the courage to insist on *limiting trade and commerce to currency transactions,* thus abolishing fiat credit money whereby prices are inflated or deflated through false monetary accounting.

¶ An investor or lender profiting by fixed interest charges *whether the capital is working or idling* will not see the wisdom and justice of *cooperative investment on a flexible dividend or sharing basis* that would assure the success of a venture. Nor does he realize the folly and crime of *taking heavy fixed charges that may destroy* an enterprising debtor. Likewise, the borrower of capital also often fails to see the wisdom and justice of *offering the lender profit-sharing dividends* on loans which help him to succeed.

¶ Those making a living by issuing, circulating, handling and manipulating fiat token money will not see the wisdom and justice of using *currency checks and tickets solely as a medium of accounting* for the exchange and transfer of wealth. They do not realize the risk and danger to themselves and others, nor the extent of crime committed because of fiat token bills and coins in circulation. The wasteful handling of fiat credit token money *outmoded by the currency checking system* is warrant enough to condemn its use in civilized countries. Abolishing fiat credit token bills and coins would conserve billions in wealth and reduce crime, including robbery, murder and kidnapping. There could not be bank failures. Business bankruptcies could be reduced through valid monetary accounting.

¶ Under inflation those receiving an increased number of dollars are gullible in believing that they are getting more compensation. They do not realize the folly of inflation, nor appreciate the wisdom of stabilizing prices. Money lenders likewise reason that larger loans mean more interest to them, failing to see that the risk is also greater should there be a drop in the market. Borrowers alike fail to realize the difficulties to be encountered in repayment of loans under deflated conditions. Default often results in the total loss of property or investment.

REVENUE vs TAXATION

MILLIONS AGREE that *taxing labor and capital to pay for public expenditures that directly benefit the landholders is criminal, morally and economically.* However, relatively few have the courage and conviction necessary to abolish taxation. They do not understand that there is no need for taxing labor and capital when the income from land and other natural resources is used to pay for the facilities provided and social services rendered by public agencies.

¶ When one lives on taxes he will not see the wisdom and justice of keeping public expenditures to the minimum by holding projects and services to absolute essentials. Nor does he realize the folly and crime of creating *inflation which eventually destroys the purchasing power* of both labor and capital. Presently, the income from taxes and rents is *more than the combined income from labor and capital* investment. The market consequently shrinks proportionately. Private landholders and rent collectors who pass land and property taxes on to labor and capital, like the public tax collector, do not want or care to understand that they are responsible for inflation and are ultimately creating a depression. When this happens the political solution is either war or the wasteful expense of preparing for war. Thus crime and misery are perpetuated because of greed.

¶ If one lives on rent he will not see the wisdom and justice of paying land revenue, *which is not really a tax but a charge,* for public improvements and social services provided by the state which makes his property or facilities rentable. Public tax and private rent collectors are prone to unload expenses so as to keep their own incomes at a high level. They provide as little value or service in exchange as possible, while labor and capital must deliver tangible values in ratio to their charges.

¶ When one's income is derived from the domestic market, he will not see the wisdom and justice of abolishing tariff regulations and fees. Nor do some realize the folly and crime of *spending billions politically to stimulate good-will while simultaneously restricting the economic expansion* of foreign trade and commerce.

SOVEREIGNTY vs TYRANNY

MORE AND MORE people are beginning to realize that *sovereignty of the individual is what really counts,* not sovereignty of any state. A state is an environment or place, therefore, cannot possess sovereignty. When sovereignty is granted to a state politically in the name of the people, it is usually usurped by some individual.

¶ There will never be order, peace, progress and prosperity for the majority until mankind is free from social and individual tyranny—bigotry, discrimination, monopoly and usurpation. Fortunately, more and more people have the wisdom and courage to say that *political boundaries and fences destroy the people's sovereignty* and create slave camps that should not exist.

¶ The main output of these slave camps is the manufacture of war weapons and the deadly poisons of hatred. While those trapped therein are toiling and sweating out the high cost of living and taxes to pay exploiters for the material and labor resources wasted, the commissars or taskmasters in charge are toying with and testing bigger and better bombs and missiles for the next massacre. These slave war camps will be obliterated when people learn the meaning of sovereignty and have the courage to demand and practice peaceful ways of living.

ECONOMICS vs POLITICS

THE ONLY CHOICE ahead is between continued political chaos, stagnation, poverty, crime and war; or economic order, progress, prosperity, justice and peace. If man is to enjoy his rightful heritage of individual sovereignty, contentment and happiness, all four of the "blind spots" must be eradicated. Difficult as this may be, the spots causing misunderstanding and misfortune will have to be abolished promptly before the greatest folly of all—atomic suicide—is committed through conscription of more life and property. No one has a right to usurp the power of life or death over another. Conscription and taxation are just as criminal as the killing and stealing they perpetuate.

¶ The degenerative philosophy of ***something for nothing or trying to live without work*** can be overcome only by teaching the economic psychology that ***justice is equity in balance with equality***. No other formula or force will remove the negative tendencies of the human race except positive conviction that the "Golden Rule" can be made to function mathematically without failure or discrimination. Economic balance is not only feasible but is an absolute requisite of good living. To avert the impending disaster, economics must supersede politics, as the science of coordination governing the distribution of wealth.

¶ Justice is the only true and right way to peace. Sharing is the only true and right way to progress. Currency Revenue is the only true and right way to prosperity. Sovereignty is the only true and right way to contentment and happiness. Where there is no vision the people perish.

EQUITY – EQUALITY – BALANCE – JUSTICE
PEACE – PROGRESS – PROSPERITY
LAW – ORDER
HAPPINESS

UNCLE SAM'S DOCTORS

by G. Szmak, Ec. D., Industrial Economist

UNCLE SAM represents the people of the United States — you and me — US. The place is America 1965 years after the birth of Christ. It is hard to believe that nothing has been learned from his teachings to improve the welfare of mankind generally. The basic reason why war, stagnation, poverty and misery persists is lack of mathematical psychology applied to human relations in the determination of justice. The moral philosophers have for ages agreed to the wisdom of the Golden Rule as a code of living; "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you". The weakness of their philosophy has been that it was not supported mathematically by the proportional equation A is to C as B is to D. This proportional equation formula was referred to by Robert Recorde in 1540 as the Golden Rule of Reciprocity.

¶ Equity and equality values are not computable unless the economic factors involved are translated into a mathematical formula. Mathematics is the scientific means of computing the value of any matter. Therefore, the Golden Rule philosophy could not materialize unless mathematics are applied to determine if the equity or compensation is in balance with equality investment. Justice is thus definitely computable. Mathematically, when group income is 3 and personal investment is 1, divided by group expenditure 3, the personal dividend is 1. The Golden Rule philosophy can now be realized through the application of mathematics. No problem is soluble without the use of figures or numbers, whether it deals with production, consumption or distribution of wealth, or any other matter.

¶ Uncle Sam has been gradually dying of political cancer since 1912 when the republican form of government, wherein social and individual rights are equal, was abandoned and the war of all out democracy started. This has led us and other nations step-by-step into a communistic hell through promises of a socialistic paradise. A democratic society where the social government shall provide the ways and means of living without the individual effort of earning it is contrary to moral teachings that "thou shall earn thy bread". It is not possible economically to compensate anyone who does not earn it, without stealing from another. Thus, economic values based on humility, honesty and industry are destroyed and the incentive and initiative to produce wealth ceases. Socialism and communism can exist only under a system of gangsterism in which Peter is robbed to corrupt Paul.

¶ Uncle Sam's troubles began 53 years ago when the stealthy Dr. Landholder conceived the slick idea of shifting the cost of maintaining the state onto labor, that does not hold or possess large acreages of land in disuse and idleness for speculation. This leaves the landholder free to gain a larger profit on his holdings or sales. Not realizing that this scheme would handicap, pauperize and communize the labor members of his family, Uncle Sam consented to a collection of 2% taxes on labor income above a $3000 cost of living exemption. This tax is now over 25% with only a $600 exemption, while the cost of living has been inflated 333% through wasteful expenditures. To keep the nation's economic machine in operation requires an average income of $10,000

per worker, without taxes, to balance consumption with production. Therefore, it is chicanery to collect taxes on earnings, below the average, from wealth producers to provide doles and subsidies for non-producers and idlers, even if the objective were to prevent excessive income through capital gains and profits.

¶ In order to become indispensable Dr. Landholder, Dr. Wager, Dr. Creditor, Dr. Insurer and Dr. Taxer, working in collaboration, have seen to it that they have full control of Uncle Sam's medication, nourishment and diet so that the patient would be receptive to periodic injections and doses of higher land prices, higher wages, more credit, more insurance and still more taxes. Instead of adjusting the tax exemption to the inflated cost of living, they increased the tax and reduced the exemption. They have, thereby, transferred the tax assessment from net to gross income, while the land and capital holders and investors are still paying taxes on net income. The doctors did not tell Uncle Sam that the taxes collected would reduce the purchasing power of labor and thus decrease its opportunity for employment. Furthermore, land being a capital consumer should not be permitted to use labor earnings essential to its existence for developing the landholder's material resources into more physical wealth without due capital investment. Labor income is not surplus or capital wealth and, therefore, taxing labor is confiscation of earnings or property. No wonder Uncle Sam is sick, when the circulation of his wealth is impeded, restricted, obstructed and disbalanced through maldistribution and confiscation.

¶ These five doctors are now in continuous attendance at Uncle Sam's bedside. The basic causes of his illness are land monopoly, short-circuited wages, credit usury, needless insurance and confiscatory taxes. Consequently, Uncle Sam's resources of health and wealth are so greatly short-circuited that he finds it impossible to balance income with outgo. Adding to Uncle Sam's discomfort, Dr. Wager advises him that higher wages will increase his earnings so that he will not need to go into debt. However, the foxy Dr. Wager fails to tell him that higher wages without increased production will also raise the price of goods, commodities and services. Therefore, Uncle Sam's agony is further aggravated.

¶ Dr. Creditor tells him there is nothing wrong with borrowing from his children — it's in the family. However, the sly doctor fails to point out that only 20 million of his family have sufficient capital or surplus wealth to lend, and that the other 175 million members of his family are obliged to pay back the principal plus interest, which they can ill afford. Therefore, Uncle Sam's efficacy is less and his deficits become greater. To top off his grave condition there is also the possibility of Uncle Sam's death. Therefore, the shrewd Dr. Insurer insists that he be heavily protected against all liabilities so that his surviving family of landholders, wagers, creditors, insurers and taxers be reimbursed against financial loss in the event of his death. Of course, the doctors did not advise him that credit and insurance would not be necessary if his natural resources were not stolen through a series of sophisticated schemes of thievery that keep him in poverty and ill health. Consequently, Uncle Sam is further saddled with extra heavy insurance premiums to pay.

¶ At this point, the cunning Dr. Taxer suggests another boost in taxes to pay the maintenance of the state, higher wages, interest and insurance

charges, brought on by the same needless expenditures. This in turn brings on the need for even higher wages, more credit, more insurance and the need for still more taxes. Dr. Creditor has watered down Uncle Sam's currency blood supply through Drs. Landholder, Wager, Insurer and Taxer to 33% virility. This is why he is suffering from cancer. Taxation is the surest means of transferring the burden of expense from the landlord and capitalist to labor for maintaining the state. Therefore, the workers must produce wealth for the landlord and capitalist and also pay for the products of their own labor, plus interest on credit and insurance premiums for risks taken by capital investors. Thus, the income tax system provides plutocrats with the means of taking over government through financial default at the expense of labor. This is how and why multi-millionaires control the land and nations through socialization and communization.

¶ The non-productive doctors, promulgating false doctrines, are costing Uncle Sam 333 billion dollars annually and further retarding the one trillion dollar potential GNP by another 333 billion dollars annually. They have short-circuited Uncle Sam's blood supply 111 billions annually. If this amount now wasted were used in the reproduction of wealth instead of stealth, the GNP would increase to a trillion dollars and provide jobs for 100 million people. This would keep the rich and poor hoodlums off the streets and reduce crime at least 75%. Idle hands, rich or poor, subscribe to capitalism, communism, gangsterism and crime in order to exploit the middle class that produces the wealth. Plutocrats want to share the wealth produced by others, without earning it, through confiscation by pretending to be democratic and socialistic, thereby creating a communistic form of government fully controlled by plutocrats. Their scheme is working fine except that they are unable to balance income with outgo. They are, therefore, obliged to mortgage the lives of future generations through a vicious credit system financed and supported through confiscatory taxation, guaranteeing the continuance of usury, plutocracy and tyranny.

¶ Congress and all public officials are responsible to the people for the activities of these doctors, as well as for Uncle Sam's health and wealth and that of his entire family. Uncle Sam will have to do something drastic about the members of Congress and other officials sponsoring these doctors, who create rather than prevent the cause of his ailment or cure the sickness. Perhaps the best and quickest way to get rid of the doctors is to impeach the members of Congress and other officials who subscribe to the spend-and-spend, elect-and-elect, waste-and-waste, tax-and-tax political philosophy. Do you want a healthy Uncle Sam with a trillion dollar GNP and 100 million employed, or one with less than 667 billion GNP and 33 million unemployed, at the risk of more waste, crime, depression and war?

¶ The short-circuits of stealth must be closed or abolished through economic competition, cooperation and coordination by providing a natural land social revenue from rent instead of taxes; labor and capital dividends instead of fixed wages and interest. This will establish an autonomous social and individual sovereignty instead of tyranny. The issues are clear. Do you, Uncle Sam's children, want to keep these expensive 'quack doctors' in charge or are you ready to discharge them

before the undertaking partners of Capitalism & Communism, Inc., bury him? The solution to Uncle Sam's health, happiness and wealth is disposing of these doctors on his back by gradually abolishing land monopoly, fixed wages and interest rates, compulsory insurance and confiscatory taxes, that create tyrannical power.

¶ Land monopoly prices, inflated wages, credit interest, insurance premiums and taxes do not increase wealth. They actually destroy or consume wealth unless the accruing capital is reinvested and working productively in balance with an equal amount of material and labor. There are now two extra dollars of idle capital invested and drawing interest or dividends to every one dollar of productively combined material and labor, actively working. No sensible management would pay to hold two extra units of material or labor on hand when only one is needed. There is need of more productive labor power with less capital investment. Some enterprises are now over-capitalized, under-materialized and laborized because they are short-circuited by idle capital drawing fixed interest due to labor unemployment forced through wealth maldistribution under restrictive and discriminatory laws.

¶ The false prosperity that about 25% of the U.S. population has been enjoying in recent years is on credit, at the expense of future generations. Confiscatory taxes have made it possible to divert 333 billion dollars from useful production into useless non-productive waste of land, labor and capital. If this 333 billion dollars were invested in the production of useful goods, commodities and services, it would create 33 million additional jobs and boost the GNP to one trillion dollars without increasing the national debt. Furthermore, it would enable Uncle Sam to pay off his current debt in ten years at the rate of 33 billion dollars annually and also improve the average standard of living by 50%. This debt could also be reduced 35 to 40 billion dollars annually, without taxation, through elimination of government-owned, managed and operated experimental, non-profit ventures that compete with and belong in the hands of private enterprise.

¶ There is 333% inflation in the U.S.A. which is the highest of any country. There is also the highest rate of land, labor and capital unemployment and the largest public and private debt of any industrial nation. Inflation results from waste or non-productive use of land, labor and capital. Waste is crime of the worst kind, because it provides the nourishment for all other forms of crime. Be wise and get rid of the doctors before they get rid of US, if you want to be healthier and wealthier with enduring peace, progress, prosperity and happiness under balanced economic conditions.

¶ The cure for crime is justice. The solution for poverty is the prevention of wealth maldistribution. When wealth is not misappropriated, it is not necessary to corrupt anyone by paying bribes, doles and subsidies at the expense of the tax payers. To prevent poverty, stop land monopoly, wage monopoly, credit monopoly and insurance monopoly, then there will be no need for confiscatory taxation to pay for the deficits created through waste and crime induced by false doctrines.

100 MILLION JOBS-TRILLION GNP

by G. Szmak, Ec.D., Industrial Economist

IDLE RESOURCES. Currently there are about 33 million employables in the United States who are not working. Some of them are insufficiently trained to find work, while others are too rich and need not or do not want work. However, whether rich or poor they are living on the backs of or being supported by the employed workers who produce the wealth. Unemployed resources do not reproduce wealth, contrary to the false and erroneous assumption, presumption or belief that idle land, idle labor and idle capital increase wealth.

ECONOMIC DISBALANCE. When the ratio of land, labor and capital in use or employed is not in equal proportion, wealth production drops to the lowest level of their respective active industrial participation. Currently only 33% of the available capital is effective in the development of land and labor resources. Capital investment is 200% higher than necessary and drawing interest or dividends, although not actively working. No sensible management would pay to carry three times as much material and labor than is currently necessary to operate a business.

ECONOMY IS SHORT-CIRCUITED. Only 67% of the industrial capacity of the United States is in operation. One-third of the total material, labor and capital is idling. This indicates a labor unemployment gap of approximately 33 million in 1965, between the employed workers and the potential employables. There is direct relationship between the employment of land, labor and capital. Labor unemployment indicates the degree of wealth short-circuited through maldistribution that prevents sufficient consumption to maintain full employment in the reproduction of wealth.

MALDISTRIBUTION OF COMPENSATION. There cannot be full employment of land, labor and capital unless the wealth produced is distributed equitably to the producers for consumption. If the wealth produced is short-circuited by either landholder, labor or capital, there will be wealth lacking for reproduction. If the farmer does not hold a reserve of seed or capital for recultivation, there cannot be reproduction of a new crop. The lack of seed capital may be due to maldistribution of compensation, inflation of prices or deflation of values, and confiscatory taxation.

CONSTRUCTIVE CAPITAL INVESTMENT ESSENTIAL. When surplus wealth or capital is not usefully reinvested, there will also be a surplus of land and labor left idling. Idle capital, like idle labor, seeks employment. When it is not employed constructively and profitably, it will engage in non-essential, wasteful, destructive activities or migrate and create a domestic depression. When it seeks employment through monopoly and subsidy malpractices, depression results. When it engages in foreign employment and relocation, there is entanglement and war. With the increase of idle land, labor and capital, there is always a corresponding increase in crime. This indicates the dangers inherent in the non-employment of land, labor and capital.

FULL EMPLOYMENT is achieved when one-half of the population is working at reproducing and increasing the wealth of a nation, state or community. When non-producers exceed producers then stagnation, poverty and crime increase. There is no justification for anyone of age not being self-

supporting regardless of financial status. Full employment requires approximately eight hours of work daily, 250 days or 2,000 hours annually, during one-half lifetime of an individual, to repay his debt to society. This provides and allows for support of 50% who are too young, old, sick and handicapped.

CAUSES OF UNEMPLOYMENT

1. The basic cause of unemployment is disbalance between income of the landholder, labor and capital. There must be equality of income to create maximum employment.
2. Loss of market. Some foreign competition can produce goods, commodities and services more efficiently of higher quality or at lower prices. Relocation and investment in outside plants also reduces the earnings of local labor, thereby putting their jobs in jeopardy.
3. Individuals holding more than one job because they are not fully or diligently employed. Additional workers could perform more expediently, efficiently and economically. Consequently they would increase the consumption of goods, commodities and services.
4. Subsidization of unemployed labor and loafers through monopoly malpractices and maldistribution of compensation. The chronic jobless created through unemployment insurance and paying for unworked time are examples.
5. Lack of sufficient compensation or reward that would enable the workers to consume their full share to the extent of their productive capacity.
6. Wasteful spending of material, labor and capital resources for non-essential goods, commodities and services, which do not contribute to the reproduction of wealth or the creation of health and happiness.
7. Over-compensation of some who do not consume or reinvest in proportion to their income. This only adds to the accumulation of idle wealth.
8. Compensating unoccupied and unengaged land, labor and capital; whereby the value of active resources is depreciated and prices are inflated.
9. Arbitrary fixing of wages, fees and prices; dictating the type and hours of employment and otherwise obstructing freedom of enterprise. Thus, the choice of opportunity, use of initiative and incentive to produce wealth is reduced. The employment market is retarded where the incentive of an equitable reward on a merit basis does not exist, because wage fixing is price fixing.
10. The closed shop union monopoly. Compulsory union membership is unconstitutional because it discriminates against a segment of the population, in violation of the right to work and be self-supporting. Compulsion is never economical, if it were force would not be necessary.

FALLACIES OBSTRUCTING EMPLOYMENT

1. That the aptly named unemployment insurance can substitute for employment. This compensating insurance must be paid for by those who are employed, plus cost of administration and loss of production while labor is idle. It does not add to employment opportunity through increase of wealth. Actually, it has been reduced by the unemployed consumer, therefore the reproduction and redistribution of wealth is lessened.
2. That automation destroys employment opportunity. It increases employment opportunity through rapid automatic reproduction of wealth, thereby freeing more manpower for the expansion of new enterprises. The benefits of automation have been misappropriated, misused and wasted on non-essentials, which have inflated rather than reduced the cost of living. Its benefits have been absorbed by excessive profits, credit, insurance, feather-bedding, subsidies and taxes.
3. That workers should be paid minimum wages and those over 65 should be scrapped. Under the employer-employee wage system only those between the ages of 25 and 65 can be used in high-pressure industrial enterprises. The workers must produce large profits under highly competitive production and distribution costs, regardless of the human waste and wreckage created.

4. That decreasing the hours of work to spread employment can increase the production of wealth and improve the standard of living. While more units of labor may thus be employed, it does not follow that there is an increase in wealth production.
5. That workers must be retrained for new skills at public expense. This merely provides another way for handout or dole of public funds. Whenever industrial enterprises have been in need of workers with special skills, talents and faculties, they have always been able to train the manpower best suited to their particular requirements. When demand, supply and market are in balance providing opportunity for sound investment, industry will continue to train the requisite labor without public subsidy.

HOW TO CREATE FULL EMPLOYMENT. Land, labor and capital will be fully employed when distribution of wealth equals production of wealth, so as to maintain an equal level of consumption. Demand directly follows distribution of sufficient income or purchasing power rather than the provision of more goods, commodities and services. Full employment depends on a balance of income between land, labor and capital, so that the volume of consumption, production and distribution may also be in balance. Seasonal unemployment does not seriously affect the market if the consumer purchasing power and supply are equalized.

COOPERATIVE SELF-EMPLOYMENT. There are 15 to 25 million workers under age 25 and over 65 who could be self-supporting if land and capital were made available to them. Cooperative self-employment for these workers would provide 10 to 15 million jobs and sprout roots for the expansion and growth of new enterprises. It is more economical to have people work at lower rates, earning their keep, than having them supported at the expense of those who are employed. There are many experienced managers available among those over 65 who would enjoy extending their working years in useful self-employment. They are also competent for training the younger generation in the development, management and government knowledge essential to business expansion. This would lessen the need for publicly subsidizing the young and old, and add to their health and wealth by providing them with an opportunity to be productively useful.

COOPERATIVE PRODUCTION OF WEALTH. Consumer, producer and distributor cooperatives provide the most equitable, efficient and economic means of wealth consumption, production and distribution. Therefore, they create the maximum demand, supply and market through scientifically balanced consumption, production and distribution of goods, commodities and services. In cooperative enterprises equity is on par with equality of investment. Whereas, in "hit and run" enterprises, where no scientific coordinating formula exists to keep equity and equality in balance, the objective is to draw the maximum equity with a minimum of investment or effort.

ECONOMIC AUTOMATION. Cooperatives automatically distribute 100 per cent of their income to the members. Therefore, there cannot be a short-circuit or deficiency between the amount of capital flowing from production to consumption through maldistribution. Cooperatives automatically provide an opportunity for participating and sharing in the material, labor and capital investment, balanced to yield maximum dividend to members. Consequently, cooperative enterprises stabilize employment at the highest level of production rather than confining it to the lowest level of consumption due to arbitrary maldistribution of compensation.

RAISING STANDARD OF LIVING. The average standard of living can be improved only by increasing the quantity and quality of production. This will lower prices through a higher rate of employment and consumption. Under unbalanced conditions, the highest level of prosperity is limited to the lowest level of consumption, production and distribution of wealth. A higher level of spending does not necessarily produce a higher standard of living or prosperity; especially when stimulated through credit financing of useless, non-essential goods, commodities and services, at inflated prices and deflated values. Furthermore, the standard of living depends not only on how much is produced but also what is produced; not on surpluses but rather on equitable distribution of wealth produced for useful consumption. The standard of living and full employment cannot be measured by exceeding domestic production records, but rather by reaching beyond the production record of foreign competition as well, inasmuch as business is no longer limited to domestic markets.

HOW TO STABILIZE PROSPERITY. Employment in advanced industrial nations of the world presently ranges from 45 to 50 per cent of the population. In the United States only about 33 per cent of the population is employed, allowing for military personnel and those working less than a 40-hour week. This deficiency of employment indicates a serious lack of balance in the production, distribution and consumption of wealth. In 1965 there will be 95 to 100 million employables available. With 25 to 33 million additional workers, the GNP can be greatly increased. This increase in the GNP can reduce consumption costs and raise the average standard of living 50 per cent. Capitalizing the land and other resources at 333 billion dollars, through a natural land revenue system, and monetizing labor on a merit basis at 333 billion would provide 100 million jobs at an average annual income of $10,000. each, and realize a trillion dollar GNP.

PRACTICAL SOLUTION TO UNEMPLOYMENT. It is obvious that if 50% of the population is employable during war periods for purposes of destruction and mass murder, that full employment should be more readily attainable for maintaining peace, progress and prosperity. All that is necessary is letting the free enterprise system function without interference. Stop all arbitrary controls such as minimum wages and hours, closed shop labor monopoly, and paying for useless and non-essential idle land, labor and capital. If there is a greater crime than paying for not working, it is paying for doing that which is unessential; thereby needlessly wasting material, labor and capital.

FREEDOM OF ENTERPRISE is essential to full employment, a higher standard of living and stabilization of prosperity. The solution to foreign competition and hot or cold wars is balancing the rate of consumption with the rate of production through a just distribution of compensation in the reproduction of wealth. Increase the rate of compensation so that consuming power will equal producing power. Any political, financial or industrial system that warrants or necessitates a dole to people because they are not provided an opportunity to be self-reliant and self-supporting is an absolute failure and should be promptly discarded or abolished.

AUTONOMICS

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Release No. 41
Nov. 5, 1953

G. C. Szmak, Economist
101 Park Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

Reprint
Oct. 1, 1956

Cooperative Production System

Dividend Compensation Method

It is written that "The wages of sin is death." Now it has come to pass that the sins committed under wage compensation bring death to initiative, industry, progress and prosperity. Much waste and crime result from wage malpractices. The artificially generated labor shortages brought on by the demand for war production and preparation for war have created monopolies that encourage, incite and foster wage increases and sit-down strikes never before experienced by business and industrial enterprises. The outcome is higher wages with higher living costs and waste of manpower. Ultimately no one is benefited except the labor racketeers and exploiters of wage labor.

¶ That "The laborer is worthy of his hire" is no longer true under the wage method of compensation. The just demand of a fair day's work for a fair day's pay, or vice versa, is impracticable under artificially created labor shortages or scarcity. Most people are unaware of the causes and reasons for the degeneration of the wage compensation method. Such defects as under and over payment are common everyday occurrences. However, it took labor shortages to show up the even more dangerous aspects of the wage compensation method. Now "loafing and coddling" supersede all other malpractices and defects. They are means for stealing the public's purse.

¶ To overcome these problems of labor management, it has been necessary to establish and institute incentives to restore honesty and promote productivity, thereby naturally and normally increasing prosperity. Building up and increasing the workers' interest through better or improved working conditions, profit sharing and a generally more equitable distribution of compensation to capital, labor and management according to their respective equality of investment has met with considerable success wherever economic systems and methods have been tried. Through institution of the cooperative production system dividend compensation method, the wage problem can be fully solved. This system as developed and instituted by this Foundation has many

The proportional distribution method of sharing income and expenses, under variable business conditions, is coordinated to place consumption, production and distribution on par at all times. Consequently, there need not be labor lay-offs due to depression, and the chances of scarcity and poverty are decreased.

8. Improved industrial relations between capital, labor and management naturally result from a more equitable distribution of the wealth produced, based on equality or amount invested by co-workers. The barrier between employer and employee is removed entirely since they are jointly co-workers, co-investors and co-partners in the enterprise. Weekly or monthly conferences may be held to discuss ratings and means of improving production management. In a small organization transcribed minutes have been found unnecessary, as the matters discussed are immediately acted upon by either acceptance or rejection. The record of receipts and expenditures is prepared by and open to examination and audit of co-workers and co-investors.

9. The simplified accounting employed reduces operating costs and increases co-workers' profit dividends. Payroll accounting is decreased from weekly to monthly periods. This saves 50–75% on cost of preparing payrolls. Further savings of 25–50% are possible through the voucher method of accounting that replaces tedious, expensive and outmoded bookkeeping. The entire accounting procedure is streamlined to meet the requirements of today's progress. The "Cooperative Dividend System Accounting Method and Forms" are illustrated in Release No. 42.

10. Profit sharing dividends are the most effective means of reducing waste and closing the gap between cost of production and price of consumption. The profits accruing from the difference between production costs and selling price are distributed equitably as dividends, thereby increasing incomes to balance consuming with producing power. Thus, the producers of wealth are enabled to buy back their own production. Equalizing purchasing power eliminates the slumps in domestic and foreign markets. Thereby the objections and obstructions to foreign trade, the causes of war in many instances, are abolished.

¶ Prosperity without war is not only desirable, but feasible, when the short-circuits created through wages, interest and taxes are abolished. Each community can achieve its own prosperity when its material and labor resources are not wasted or used for criminally destructive purposes.

G. SZMAK, Ec.D. INDUSTRIAL ECONOMIST
Economic Surveys and Systems
101 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 5-7317

November 1, 1962

Dear Sir: **The Who, What and Why of Cooperatives**

An analysis of replies received from a number of cooperative enterprises indicates that:

1. Many so-called cooperatives are *accumulative capital corporations.*

2. A cooperative is a *self-supporting, voluntary, non-profit association, union, or society* of consumers, producers and distributors, organized for the purpose of *stabilizing employment opportunity and improving economic welfare.*

3. A cooperative is basically *a sharing institution organized of economic necessity to overcome monopoly and subsidy malpractices,* which short-circuit the flow of wealth.

4. In a 100% cooperative enterprise *the members are self-employed, non-employer and non-employe entrepreneurs,* who participate as *co-workers, co-operators, co-partners, co-managers, co-investors and co-owners of the facilities and utilities essential to the management and operation of their businesses, professions, trades and occupations.*

5. In a 100% cooperative *the members share the expenditures, work-duties, responsibilities, liabilities and losses or gains, as their contribution or investment of material, labor and capital.*

6. *An incorporated cooperative,* constituted of capital investors and employes, only partially managed and operated by the self-employed participants, *is not a full cooperative to the*

BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONAL DISTINCTIONS

	Basic Operational Factors	Individual or Sole Proprietorship	Limited or Joint Partnership	Unincorporated or Associated Cooperatives	Capital or Stock Corporations
1	Objective	Security	Security	Opportunity	Security
2	Motive	Profit	Profit	Econ. Welfare	Profit
3	Purpose	Speculation	Speculation	Stabilization	Speculation
4	Aim	Competition	Competition	Cooperation	Competition
5	Constitution	Entrepreneur Owner	Entrepreneur Partners	Entrepreneur Co-Partners	Investors & Employees
6	Institution	Monopoly	Monopoly	Sharing	Monopoly
7	Government	Monocratic	Autocratic	Autonomic	Plutocratic
8	Management	By Owner	By Partners	By Co-Workers	By Stockholders
9	Investment	By Owner	By Partners	By Associates	By Stockholders
10	Employment	Employer & Employees	Employer & Employees	Self Employed Participants	Corporation Employees
11	Work-Hours	Unlimited & Negotiated	Unlimited & Negotiated	Flexible & Unlimited	Regulated & Negotiated
12	Compensation	Wages, Salaries & Dividend	Wages, Salaries & Dividends	Dividends only	Wages, Salaries & Dividends
13	Accounting	Owner	Partnership	Co-Investor	Management
14	Auditing	Owner	Partners	Membership	Stockholders
15	A & A Tenure	Daily, Weekly, Monthly & Annual	Daily, Weekly, Monthly & Annual	Monthly or Periodically	Daily, Weekly Monthly & Annual
16	Income	Reserved & Accumulated	Reserved & Accumulated	Dispersed 100% Inc'l Reserve	Reserved & Accumulated
17	Entity	Individual	Individuals	Indiv. Member	Incorporated
18	Responsibility	Owner's	Partnership	Proportional Ownership	Limited Corporate
19	Enterprise	Profit & Loss	Profit & Loss	Non-Profit	Profit & Loss
20	Perpetuity	Limited	Limited	Continuous	Continuous

extent that it consists of employers and employes. Anyone compensated through fixed wages or salaries is an employe, not an entrepreneur or business enterpriser.

7. In a 100% consumers', producers' and distributors' cooperative, *the employer-employe relationship cannot exist, which allows exploitation permissable under the master-servant status.*

8. In a 100% cooperative enterprise *the compensation is limited to dividend sharing of losses or gains in ratio to investment.*

9. *The income of a full cooperative is dispersed 100%, including the operating reserve, periodically, to the active participants.*

10. *The members of an un-incorporated cooperative are individual entities who assume proportional responsibility and liability for group action, autonomously.*

Herewith, in duplicate, is an analytical schedule of organizational distinctions, with characteristic operational factors of each type of business enterprise. Please review and return one copy with your suggestion for modification. Your reply is awaited.

I am cooperatively yours,

G. Szmak, Economist

ECONOMIC ORDER REFERENDUM

G. Szmak, Industrial Economist
420 Lexington Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10017

Date _____

Dear Sir:

I believe that justice is fundamental to law and order. Also, that the institution of economic practices will reduce waste and crime; thereby promote, secure and maintain lasting peace, progress and prosperity essential for insuring life and property.

I favor the introduction and expansion of:

1. Sharing wealth produced cooperatively, through a dividend compensation system; instead of arbitrary fixed wages . . ( )
2. Currency based on production share monetary units, circulated through the use of checks and tickets issued by the people individually; instead of by fiat credit-debt agencies . . . . . ( )
3. Social revenue derived from the use and rental of social property, such as land and other natural resources, to provide income for public expenditures; instead of through taxation . . . . . ( )
4. Social and individual sovereignty, warranted by world-wide communication, transportation and commerce; instead of provincial tyranny . . . . . ( )

I am interested in Economic Literature and Lectures . . . . . ( )

I would like to attend local Economic Welfare Conferences . ( )

.....
Name *Title*

.....
Occupation *Age*

.....
Firm

.....
Profession or Business

.....
Address

.....
City *State* *Code*

Taken from Tape Recorder March 22, 1966

The Negroes fate to a great part depends upon the condition of his mind. His mind has been so effected by this abnormal structure in the society in which he presently lives, so that he cannot rationally think, even as other ethnic groups in American society. We have not been taught to think as other ethnic groups have thought, for they come equally to this country without haveing been in slavery. They come first as Irish, Dutch, Chinese, Greeks, Japanese, etc. and these identities they have always maintained even though they become Americanized. The Negroes mind is going to have to start at the point where many of the other ethnic groups originally found themselves. We will look around us today and see our other groups working in this American society, for example, look at the Irish, they still have their Shamrock, they still have their loyalty, first to the mother country. Look at the Germans, look at the Chinese, Japanese, French people, to each who is his own and his own doth he respect first.

It therefore becomes imperative and it is necessary for the Negro to really have his freedom, to have the first stroke come from the creative mind of the Negro himself, and he must first be black (afro-american is really the true name)must first start from this very day saying each morning he gets out of bed:

1) I am black, I am an afro-american first, this comes before my political affiliation, this comes before my being an American this comes before my religious affiliation, this comes before my economic dependence, this comes before all things, except my family. In gathering this realization, and by repearing this, this realization can help him free himself. You see, it is not being un-American to say that I am Afro-American or that I place my color before my country, for no ~~xxxxx~~ other ethnic group is condemned for doing the same thing. The only thing you are saying

which other ethnic groups are not saying is that you are colored, because you cannot help the fact that you are colored, not only that America was intended to be a country for white people, to exclude the Negro. Then too, it is because we are black that we are in the very situation/that we presently find ourselves in.

2) The next thing that a Negro, or Afro-American must say to himself to free his mind is that I realize because I am an Afro-American that I am not desired in this country when I am criticized, denied every participation in the political arena of this country, the economic arena of this country and in all aspects of American life, except on the very peripheries of destruction, and that because of this fact I do not have the time to hate anyone but I must become self centered on being black, and being self concerned is foremost in my mind. Now you see, the doctrine of being self concerned is always being used by our adversary. You notice that the Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Holiness, Jehovah's Witnesses, all of the religious sects, political, democrats and republicans, can all get together anytime they want to, and make a decision which is anti-black whether it be a legislative council, a judicial council, or whether it be a decision in a board meeting of a bank, and all of these forces have combined against us from time to time and are constantly combining against us today, therefore we must be self centered first, because they have been self centered in denying us the rights we seek as citizens. For if I am not self centered, I cannot develop any personal respect for myself and if I have no personal respect for myself, neither can I convey the idea that I am respected and neither will my adversary respect me, for attempting to be like him. For in attempting to be like him I clearly show that I have no respect for myself.

3) I am a man, I am as good as any man, and if I do not set an example of being black and being a man rather than being a lackey to some other man of some other color, I cannot develop that respect for my children to look up to me and to respect me. I cannot make others in my race respect me until I am a man, until I can stand up and state my position, that I shall be self centered,

self concerned, and black, and a man. There are no standards in American society for the Negro to guide himself by except by those standards imposed upon us by the white people. It is now time to stop at this time in history and set down the standards that we prescribe for ourselves or we will be forever following the standards imposed upon us by someone else and it is the imposition of the standards which could determine whether we are free or not, for if we accept the standards of others we never will be free. A part of free dom itself is establishing our own standards by which we shall be guided and from this day on we must do this.

You see, right now, we pledge allegiance to the man's flag, and to his country, because these are the things that he has set up ~~fxrxxx~~ in his mind as first, which do not include us, and so right now our concept of love as he teaches us is to love the country first, which is him first and not ourselves. What we have got to do is to start loving ourselves first. This is the real kind of love that we need. We do not even recognice by the society we are in, that that society has taught us to love a man first and ourselves second. You see, the man's thought pattern is first to his ethnic identity. When kids are born Jewish, Greek, Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, they are speaking their language, secondly, they go to themselves and thirdly, they go to their country, America. This is what we have got to develop. The tragedy of the whole situation is that we are black and we cannot get away from it, we cannot subtract it no matter what we do or what we try to do. No matter how loyal an American you are you are still Black and you suffer from it. If you go into an integrated community, you are still black; if you ask for a job and you get that job, you are still treated like a black man on that job; if you go into an integrated church, you are still in it as a black man. So, it is no longer feasible, and a fair explanation to think that by mere integration that you are going to remove the blackness and become total or in part what we have previously thought was possible, in this society because they will never let you forget it. I am black, and in one way or another,

sooner or later, it dawns upon you in a very humiliating and embarrassing way, that you have limitations because you got born.....

This brings us around to this question of integration; this integration kick we are on and have been on. Now we have got to get off that integration kick. We have got to demand total equality as every other ethnic group has in this country, because in the last analysis no one wants to integrate with us, integration is a two-way street, but so far it has always been a one-way strees as far as we were concerned. For instance, if the Negro wants a house that is not available to him, he moved out of the white neighborhood, because there he was stoned, bombed, burned out. He was not wanted over there. They do not want you today; and Harlem was all white at one time but the reason it is all black now is that all the white people moved out. Nobody wants to integrate with you. You have the right but in actuality nobody really wants to integrate with you. In Cleveland, they move out to the ....., in Chicago, they move out to the suburbs, in Detroit, they move out to Dearborn, in New York they move to Westchester County, St.Albans, Queens, or any place else, but they get out of Manhattan. Another fact is that when we move in to start the process of integration other Negroes follow us and once again the movement starts again. Maybe we just ought to say that we are not going to move any more, we are going to case our buckets down exactly where we are. No, ladies and gentlemen, we can no longer deal in fantasies. We can no longer tell our children to accept fantasies of integration, to fight for the right to be embarrassed and humiliated. We must tell our children what is right, we must give them the right answers we must tell them the truth about the society in which they live, in order to prepare them not to suffer as we have suffered so that they would never become dependent upon the man a s we are dependent upon him, for our very existence. Not only that, the man controls many of our souls. This freedom that we seek must come; it will not come by day dreaming of some of the weak fantasies that we have dreamed of in the past. We must tell them that they are not loved

we must tell them that they have to be self centered to be proud that they are black and from this point we can move forward. We have got to teach a faith of courageous thinking, of courageous living so that they will grow up unafraid and so that we ourselves will not be guilty of holding our people in bondage by tieing them to the dependence of the white man for another generation.

BALTIMORE CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS
BOARD OF SCHOOL COMMISSIONERS

THREE EAST TWENTY-FIFTH STREET
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21218

APR 19 1966

ELI FRANK, JR.
PRESIDENT
1509 FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21202

April 18, 1966

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. McKissick:

We have read with great interest the announced plans of the Congress of Racial Equality to establish Baltimore as "the target city" for 1966. While we do not know the circumstances which led to this decision on the part of CORE, we welcome the assistance of your organization in our effort to deal with the problems confronting the Baltimore City Public Schools.

The Board of School Commissioners stands ready to meet with representatives of the national and local organization of the Congress of Racial Equality. If you feel such a meeting would be an appropriate first step, we hope you will write us indicating when a conference might be conveniently arranged.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Eli Frank, Jr.

rpc
cc: BALTIMORE CHAPTER, CORE:
Mr. James Griffin, President
Rev. Robert S. Clark, Education Chairman

April 19, 1966

Mr. Mike Meise
WBAL
3800 Hooper Street
Baltimore 11, Maryland

Dear Mr. Meise:

This is to confirm our conversation of Tuesday, April 19th regarding the appearance of Mr. Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate Director of CORE on your program, Thursday evening, April 21st at 8 p.m.

Sincerely yours,

DS/rwb.
Enc.

Don Smith
Director,
Public Relations

bcc: Lincoln Lynch

CORE
2316 W. North Ave.
Baltimore 16, Md.

NEWSRELEASE - April 21, 1966

Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) today announced new projects to implement the decision of CORE to make Baltimore its target city. In addition CORE's support of existing community projects was emphasized.

The press conference was held in St. Peter Claver's Rectory in conjunction with James Griffin, Chairman of the local Chapter of CORE, Walter Carter, Special Projects Chairman, Vivián Jones, President of the Maryland Freedom Union, William Hankins, Vice Chirman of th Federation of Civil Rights Organizations, and Father Philip Berrigan of St. Peters Claver.

The selection of Baltimore as CORE's target city was made after research teams had brought to light glaring discrimination in Housing, Education, Employment and police mal practice. Moreover, Baltimore organizations, the local CORE chapter and community residents invited CORE to make a full scale attack on discrimination in this city.

The work of the Maryland Freedom Union, a commmunity organization, developed by CORE Task Workers and community people, will be immediately expanded to organize people in all areas not covered by the minimum wage law as well as the marginal workers and unemployed.

Existing voter registration projects will be supported. Community people will be hired and trained to work in this area.

Housing will receive major emphasis. A three-pronged attack is under way. Projects to achieve open occupancy, new concepts of urban renewal that will provide living space for low income groups and ~~and In addition~~ extensive community people will be developed to provide necessary pressures to bring about significant change.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Floyd McKissick, National Director

FROM: Lincoln O. Lynch, Associate National Director

SUBJECT: Baltimore

DATE: May 9, 1966

After conversations with yourself, the Director of Public Relations, the Director of Organization, I proceeded to Baltimore on Saturday, May 6, 1966. I arrived in Baltimore at approximately 4:30 and was met by Mr. Howard Quander, who briefed me on the situation then in existence. Stated very briefly, the story is this: A Mr. Samuel Gorn, of the Horizon Apartments had brought an injunction against Baltimore CORE, three of its officers and against the Ku Klux Klan, asking the judge to rule that these organizations should not be allowed to picket in front of his establishment. The case had been heard on Friday, and the judge had ruled that while CORE and the Klan could picket, severe restrictions had been placed on CORE. This was considered by the organization to be onorous and unconstitutional.

The question therefore was: Should CORE continue to picket and defy the injunction, thereby incurring the contempt of the court or should we knuckle under to this decision thereby losing our own stature in the community?

My own position, as expressed to the National Director and to the Director of Organization, was that we could ill afford to abide by the restraints issued by the court without seriously prejudicing our position within the community, hence, I felt that we had no recourse but to defy this order.

The Executive Board of the local chapter had scheduled a meeting for that evening. This meeting began somewhere around 6:00 and appears to have been attended by the majority of the board plus the attorney for the local chapter, Mr. Fred Weisgal. The matter of the injunction was discussed fully for some three hours. The implications of either course of action, that is; of defying the court order or of obeying the court order, was gone into extensively. In these discussions, my role was that of attempting to elicit information for the guide of the local chapter, on both sides of the question, without appearing to dictate or put forward any particular course of action.

On a vote to defy the order on Sunday, there was one for and all other votes were against. On a vote to defy the order at

(cont.)

some future date, the majority carried. In fact, to the best of my recollection, this vote was unanimous. On a further vote to allow the lawyers and the courts time to find the legal solutions which would remove all restrictions placed on CORE, prior to open defiance of the court order, the majority carried.

It was then agreed that the position of CORE would be that legal remedies would be used in an effort to persuade the court to remove all of its restrictions. If these failed, then the position of CORE would be that the order of the court would be confronted. It was further agreed, at this meeting, that the Sunday demonstrations would take the form of a march past the Horizon House to the steps of the court house, where a rally would be held.

The necessary machinery was put in motion, by the local staff for this event. At a subsequent meeting of clergymen and others, the Chapter Chairman and myself put forward the decision taken by the chapter and requested ratification from the religious groups. There was some discussion, after which the necessary ratification and agreement as to the course of action outlined was arrived at.

There was a small press conference, at which the position of CORE and of the other groups was expressed to the news media.

After spending some time at the North Gay Street office and observing the steps being put into motion for the proposed march on Sunday, the Director of Public Relations and I retired to the home of Mr. Ed Chance, a former Chapter Chairman, where informal discussion took place on the matter before us in the presence of Mr. Quander.

At approximately 2:00 in the morning, I received a call from the Director of Organization requesting that we meet with him further to discuss the subject, stating that he was on his way over. I gladly agreed to this.

He shortly arrived with Mr. Griffin, the Chapter Chairman, shortly to be followed by Mr. Walter Carter, an officer of the local chapter and members of the staff.

A somewhat heated and acrimonious discussion followed as to the course of action voted on by the local chapter. I will not go into the details of this discussion, which at many times transgressed the grounds of normal debate and went far into the field of personal accusation. Suffice to say,

(more)

TO: Floyd McKissick
FROM: Lincoln Lynch

DATE: May 9, 1966
SUBJECT: Baltimore

I made my own position clear that, One: I had no authority to override the position taken through the local chapter and even if this authority existed, I was not disposed to exercise it. Upon this expression, the Director of Organization expressed his intention to resign on his return to New York on Monday, May 8, 1966.

We retired sometime after 4:00 in the morning, at which time it was made clear by the staff that it was their unanimous feeling that a confrontation with this order should take place today, Sunday. I again declined to override the position taken by the local chapter. It is my understanding that a telephone poll was taken of chapter executives and they reconfirmed the position previously taken.

The march went off as scheduled. We met in a Seventh Day Adventist Church opposite the Horizon House and subsequently, some two hundred people marched some ten or twelve blocks to the court house after which a rally was held.

In my estimation, both the church meeting, the march and the rally went extremely well and, in effect, if the judge is adamant on his interpretation of his ruling, Baltimore CORE, National CORE and the officers who took part are guilty of contempt in that the order was defied.

There were subsequent discussions with the Director of Organization and the local staff in which there ware no change in positions. The Director of Organization maintained his determination to resign and the staff, maintained their position of disappointment at a nonconfrontation. They expressed doubt as to whether the necessary mobilization for fubure confrontation could, in fact, be done by them.

I waited to have some consultations with the Chapter Chairman after the rally but had to leave prior to this being accomplished. It is my intention to do this by telephone.

Mr. James O. Williams, of Philadelphia CORE and a member of the National Action Council, was present at wmost of the discussions.

In this report, I have attempted to avoid any editorializing or any subjective comment on the occurances of the past weekend. I am prepared to discuss these matters with the National Director in person in the presence of the Director of Organization, at their mutual convenience.

Lincoln Lynch

CC: Herb Callendar, Director of Organization
Don Smith, Director of Public Relations

Persons arrested in Baltimore demonstrations
May 14-15, 1966

Lincoln O. Lynch
Associate National Director of CORE

James O. Williams
N.E. Regional Rep. N.A.C.
PO 5-5825

Michael Flug
Task Force Worker
age 22
formerly Columbia CORE
322 N. Schroeder Street
233-8776

Willard Dixon
1806 Smallwood
age 22
Baltimore CORE
Dissent (Morgan State College)
NO 9-8472

Jack Schneider
VISTER Volunteer with C.A.A.
817 Broadway
342-8261
age 22
Frederic A, Nass
Baltimore CORE
Housing Committee
Neighborhoods, Inc.
1219 Roundhill Road
243-0859

Allen B. Greene
Baltimore CORE
S.D.S.
1317 N. Calvert

Wayne Heinbach
Student, John Hopkins Univ.
S.D.S.
922 Shelly Road
VA 3-1526

James E. Eastmond
Federal Employees Civic
Association
Baltimore CORE
2816 Forrest Glenn Road
488-1157

Vivian Jones
Pres. MFU
322 N. Schroeder St.
233-6229

CORE
832 Gay St.
Baltimore, Md.

May 18, 1966
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
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The article about CORE's Target City project which appeared in the May 18th News-American is both distored and of questionable intent because the paper devoted such an extraordinary amount of space to an article based on speculation without so much as speaking with CORE about its sending the letters in question.

The paper's un-bylined article could well be considered an attempt by the newspaper's editors to discredit CORE's program for ending the ghetto which has already too long emprisoned the Negroes and poor of Baltimore.

The letters to some of Baltimore's largest corporations went out after personal meetings and telephone discussions were held with those who eventually received letters. CORE's Target City project was designed to avoid violence and CORE has long been noted for its ability to resist even violence directed at it by others.

CORE requested of Baltimore's leading corporations, funds with which to continue the momentum of its Target City war on poverty and discrimination in jobs and housing and education. The additional funds were made necessary only after the Target City project was attacked by the Ku Klux Klan and harassing court injunctions, as well as to meet the expenses of establishing the base operation for the staff required to continue the Target City project's momemtum because of its grateful acceptance by the community.

Meetings and phone conversations with Baltimore's business leaders led CORE to conclude that the business community was solidly in favor of CORE's Target City endeavor.

------more--------

CORE RELEASE 5/18/66 CONTINUED

We regret that some now feel threatened by a request that they participate with funds in a community project aimed at improving the life of Negroes and poor within their community. These persons might well examine in their own mind the question: How can Target City bring a decent standard of living to Baltimore if those able to help financially feel they are being black=mailed when a well-intentioned letter is sent to them?

CORE never asked for $1000 from any corporation, and a "boycott" has never been discussed, implied or even considered. Both of these misleading terms seem to have come from the News-American imaginative editorial writers.

The letter in question follows:

Dear Sirs:

As discussed in our conversation of May 6th, National CORE has designated Baltimore as "Target City" for its on-going drive for [illegible] equality. The projected program (as outlined in the prospectus) was funded with a "step up" budget, but some events such as community reaction to our program, confrontation with the Ku Klux Klan and threats of injunction, have forced a more rapid outlay of funds. Our National organization has been unable to increase the funding of this project due to its own tight budget.

With the momentum already gained by the activity of the Baltimore program, any lag would, at this time, increase the possibility of violence in the community in which we have been working.

It is requested that your organization help us to keep up with the needs of the community by assisting us in reaching the five thousand dollars ($5,000.00) emergency fund for which we are now striving.

We appreciate your cooperation and the warm way in which you received us.

Yours for FREEDOM,

WALTER S. BROOKS, project director

---- 30--------

CORE TARGET CITY
Project Office
832 North Gay St.
Baltimore, Md. 21205
B

May 22, 1966
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Textest of speech given by Mr. Lincole Lynch, Associate National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality at a Mass Rally on 22 May, at the Prince Hall Masonic Temple in Baltimore, Maryland.

Baltimore, the Nation and the world is locked in a conflict of color. A conflict which increases in seriousness daily, and has the same dire potential for the comfortable Baltimore City and County hostesses as it has for her infinitely less sophisticated counterpart who inhabit the slums of East and West Baltimore.

From the very moment the first black slave set foot upon these shores more than 400 years ago, American has been moving inexorably towards the destruction of its own self professed morality. For the ordinary black man of the Urban ghetto and the Rural Farm, and we count them in the millions, nothing which has happened in these 400 years has given him any reason to hope that there is any truth in the words of his white rulers, that truly the white man "speaks with forked tongue", that in fact the term perfidious can now with full justification be applied to the vast majority of white American.

Today 400 years later the entire Nation, all around us is exploding with a force which touches the lives of families thousands of miles from ground zero. From New York in the East to Los Angeles in the West, the pent up emotions of many generations, the almost heredity indignities of more years than we care to count, have erupted with shattering impact on the social structure of the United States. To parphrase the late Malcolm X "the chickens of a hundred years are now coming home to roost". The continued attempts to dehumanise the Negro, to demean him in his own eyes and in the eyes of the rest of the population, to show him up as a man without a past, without a future, without origins, a man who is sometimes described as colored, Negro, darkie, non-white, black, brown, nigger, and a host of other names too numerous to mention, ALWAYS what he is NOT, NEVER what he really is, a true son of Africa indeed an Afro-American. The very term strikes feat and foreboding in the minds of black and white alike.

The Afro-American cries out for jobs, for decent housing, for quality education for his children, and the white power structure from the President on down, answers, "look man Thurgood Marshall is the Solicitor General, Roy Wilkins nephew is Director of the Community Relations service, there is even one of you on the Federal Reserve Board". What do you people want anywat? The Negro cries out aloud for Freedom, for Humanity, and for

Dignity and white America in one voice answers WAIT.

The Negro poor; misused, abused, confused, misled, calls plaintively for HELP,and while the President leads them confidently down the primrose path of his rose garden to the muted strains of 'come reason with me' as the proper backslapping music, the loud gaffaws of the bigots and the wry smile of big business, give him the vote of confidence he needs, the nowshopworn 'great consensus' he so dearly cherishes, for they know as in the past so will it be in the future, that all our wars and our defence schemes will continue to be financed out of the emaciated hides and pitiless miseries of the poor, and not from those best able to pay or who profit from war. They and their miseries just WAIT.

WAIT until we have made the world safe for Democracy. Wait until we have fought the war to end all wars. Wait until we have caged the Russian Bear. Wait until we have knocked the bearded Cuban. Wait until we have tamed the Chinese tiger. Wait until Santo Domingo is safe. And now wait until we have brought Democracy to Vietnam. How can our President, our national leaders, our Senators and our Congressmen ask the black people to WAIT, while 18% of the casualties in Vietnam are our black sons fighting for a democracy they cannot enjoy at home? How can Congress vote funds, one billion dollars per month, for an undemocratic war in Vietnam, and vote against democratic Home Rule in our Nation's capital? Is democracy in Vietnam more desirable than democracy in Washington D.C.? We say to our President, to our government, stop this senseless, useless slaughter, this needless, wanton waste of our resources, bring our sons home, fight the raal war against poverty, against hunger, against disease, the war against racism and inequality in our own land.

There are those who say the Civil Rights struggle is dead, that the black population of Baltimore are too apathetic and complacent to take any steps in the fight for their own Freedom. Let them repeat that now. Let them tell it to this audience today. Let them tell it to the young men and women of the Maryland Freedom Union who have battled great odds to rid themselves of the pernicious system of working slavery, let them tell ir to the hundreds of black people who have fearlessly faced the hooded horror of those guttersnipes of the Ku Klux Klan and the monsters of the FAM. Let them tell it to the 12 year old black boy who spoke out fearlessly at one of our street meetings last night, let them tell it to our CORE workers from our Project Director Walter Brooks on down who have given up luxury, security and a sure pay check to work for an idea

and an ideal. Let them tell it to the marines.

Some people tell us 'proceed with caution", others 'calm negotiation is the answer,' still others ' I agree with your goals, but I abhor your methods' and a host of those meaningless platitudes to which we are rapidly becoming impervious. OUR answer: "FULL SPEED AHEAD, FOR FREEDOM CANNOT WAIT" The Negro in the United States like the Jew in the Warsaw ghetto, has for too long allowed himself to be led passively to the gas chambers of psychological debasement, and he has learnt like the Jew that the only way to regain his manhood and to reclaim his humanity is to fight back! And this he is nowdoing with a determination and purposefullness which says, 'before I be a slave I'll be buried in my grave, and go home to my lord and be Free.'

If I could only describe for the bigots and the racists the depth of the frustration, the real mood of anger and bitterness, if I could describe for our white friends and associates the abject sense of desperation of the black American in every part of our Nation, but I can't, and so they tell us take your battles to the Courts and get off the streets, and no amount of labelling pink, red or otherwise will confound or confuse us in this struggle for Freedom. For this is a total struggle to change the basic structure of American society, not just a fight to partake of the fruits of a torren system. This is a struggle to tear down the old institutions and offices which have shackled black and white alike in the twin chains of poverty and second class citizenship. This is a struggle to find basically new departures from which we can begin to rebuild America in the image of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. And even now there are those here in Baltimore and elsewhere who say 'go slow, count ten before you exercise your Constitutional rights and test the provisions of Civil Rights laws. 'Yes count ten, Cling Collier of Philadelphia, Mississippi, and before you are through your skull broken by the KKK will be healed and you will be able to campaign in your Congressional District like any other American candidate. Count ten Mrs. Deadwyler of Los Angeles, and before you reach that magic number your dead hisband, murdered at the hands of a racist police department will again be taking you and your unborn child to the hospital, count ten you underemployed, unemployed, once forgotten slum dwellers of Baltimore and if you can reach that number, when you are there decent homes, a year round job at a living wage, and a life worth living will be waiting for you and your children. Count ten times ten thousand tens black America and what have you got? Another set of broken promises? Another set of empty dreams? Another set

of martyred bodies and murdered minds stretching from the eastermost tip of New York to the westernmost tip of California and deep into the swamplands and earth dams of the South? This is no time for counting, this is the time for action. Where is the spontaneous constructive uprising of black people sick and tired of being oppressed and excluded from the American society North and South? Where is the sympathetic joining together of those of good hearts and indomitable will who would rather be right than safe from the criticism of their friends and neighbors? Where is the riteous indignation of an America justifiablyarroused by the wrongs and systematic murders of more than 100 years? Has our Nation lost its conscience? And will evil indeed prevail in the Land? And will wretchedness prevail here in Baltimore?

Racial discrimination and segregation in Jobs, in Housing, in Education, in Public Accomodation and other areas will continue to exist in Baltimore and elsewhere in the United States to the extent that Negroes from all walks of life, rich or poor, and all fields of endeavour, lowly or exalted, stand aloof from the struggle. I would especially commend to you the words of the poet Byron, "from birth til death enslaved, in word in deed unmanned, hereditary bondsman! know ye not, who would be free himself must strike the blow?

We can continue to strike the blow in Baltimore now.

I urge that from this day forward and begining NOW, a massive and sustained assault on the bastions of degradation and debasement of Negroes which now exist in this not so fair city. If lawsuits are indicated, we must be prepared to mount and to finance them. If legislation is called for, we must be prepared to write, to telegraph, to see, to badger our elected officials. And also to register and vote. If picketings or boyaott or sitins or any other form of action are the order of the day, we must be prepared to give of our time and our effort and our numbers, so that by the time another year goes by we can all look back with pride that here in this little corner of America the bonfire of human dignity will be burning bright, and, we, determined that by our vigilance and personal involvement, this beacon shall never again go out.

TILL HELL FREESES OVER!

CORE
"TARGET CITY"
PROJECT

BALTIMORE

GEORGE MORRIS GELSTON
THE ADJUTANT GENERAL

STATE OF MARYLAND
MILITARY DEPARTMENT
FIFTH REGIMENT ARMORY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21201

26 September 1966

Mr. Floyd McKissick
National Director, CORE
200 West 135th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Shortly following my assumption of the office of Police Commissioner of Baltimore, the Congress of Racial Equality announced that Baltimore would be the Target City for 1966. This announcement caused considerable consternation in the City as it was expected that the advent of CORE would result in rioting and violence.

I stated publicly, at that time, that in my opinion CORE was a responsible organization which would work with the Police, and that I did not anticipate any danger because of CORE's activities.

I was correct in my belief; throughout the summer the staff of Target City worked with me closely, keeping me informed of their plans and cooperating fully in attempting to resolve problems peacably and without danger to the City. As a matter of fact, members of the Department were openly at CORE headquarters and participated at times in planning.

Your staff members and I jointly collaborated in attempting to obtain Federal funds for a very worthwhile job-training program, which I think will become effective in the near future. This plan, and others, such as the Freedom School and area rehabilitation programs are of value to the City and will aid in settling long-standing problems.

I am grateful for the prompt and diligent efforts made by the local staff in calming tension areas the night of the near-riot in the Patterson Park area following a rally by extremists.

In short, while there were times at demonstrations wherein outbreaks could have occurred, CORE's staff was cooperative with the Police; even arrests were made without arousing any rancor or real conflict between the demonstrators and the Police.

Mr. Floyd McKissick 26 September 1966

I wish the organization success in its espousing of the peaceful methods of education and training to resolve the problems of the disadvantaged.

Sincerely,

GEORGE M. GELSTON
Major General
The Adjutant General

GEORGE MORRIS GELSTON
THE ADJUTANT GENERAL

STATE OF MARYLAND
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Sincerely,

GEORGE M. GELSTON
Major General
The Adjutant General

Theodore R. McKeldin
Mayor

SEP 29 1966

September 28, 1966

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. McKissick:

Now that the summer has passed, I think it is appropriate for me to communicate with you for the purpose of expressing my appreciation for the contributions which CORE made to the cause of equal rights, and the sense of responsibility your organization displayed in carrying on its program in Baltimore this summer.

As I indicated to you on the occasions when I had an opportunity to talk with you, I was quite surprised and somewhat piqued at your alleged description of Baltimore as the "worst city in the country in terms of race relations", although I was, and am, painfully aware that Baltimore has many strides to make before we will have come close to the goal of equal opportunity for all of our citizens. Yet, I feel that your characterization of Baltimore as the "worst city" - aside from being incorrect - also reflected negatively upon the activity and the results achieved through the years, by the N.A.A.C.P., the Urban League, local CORE and numerous other organizations. Nevertheless, I honestly believe that National CORE's selection of Baltimore as its "target city" had an overall beneficial effect in that it dramatized our shortcomings, and prodded a significant portion of our population to come to grips with, and attempt to resolve, the problems which continue to exist in the field of race relations.

You perhaps know that, at the beginning of the summer, I called together over 200 citizens, representing a real cross-section of this community in every respect, and asked them to address themselves to the problems at hand in this field. That "task force", operating in six areas, has been hard at work ever since; and, we are now beginning to see many positive results of its activity. I am frank to admit that without CORE's being present, it would have been

difficult to achieve such a dramatic response and such dedicated activity. Then, too, your own direct action program helped us immeasurably in achieving integration in certain areas of public accommodations as well as with a number of apartment house developments.

I would also ask you to extend my thanks and appreciation to your Target City Staff for the splendid and effective role they played in helping to avert a violent reaction during the period when our City was invaded by elements bent upon spreading hate. The reports which I have received indicate that your people performed yeoman service, in the streets, at a time when the slightest inflamatory comment or suggestion could have resulted in a calamity of major proportions. In view of this, I can't help but recall that a large number of our citizens felt that CORE's coming to Baltimore would create the spark which would result in disorder. In retrospect, we see that this not only was a false assumption; but, that in fact, it was your staff which helped avert a major incident.

Again, my congratulations to your organization and to the Target City Staff.

Yours sincerely,

Thos. D'Alesandro

Mayor

bd

October 18, 1966

Mr. James M. Griffin
Chairman, Baltimore C.O.R.E.
2316 N. North Avenue
Baltimore 16, Maryland

Dear Jim:

Your very prompt report of October 11th is deeply appreciated. The discussion which you outlined on the role of Target City in Baltimore is useful and necessary if we are to avoid pitfalls in future Target City projects. I think the frank discussion of the shortcomings in the operation of Target City and also the local chapter can only strengthen both.

The question of difficulty in communication was always one in which the Baltimore project staff addressed themselves and I can understand,how, in the heat of quick moving events, the necessary notification to interested individuals might be overlooked. We did discusssat length the most appropriate time for meetings and I am sure that in the future such meetings will be set at times most convenient to chapter members and workers.

With respect to Target City not having any goal or structure, I will point out here that the concept of Target City is a new one with very few precedents to guide us and as I outlined to the press and local people at the start of project the goal was to work very closely with all local groups to effect change. The structure for achievement of this was a matter to be agreed upon by public staff and the heads of local groups. I fully recognize the difficulties encountered in venturing out to somewhat unchartered waters.

The question of "follow-up" has always been a weak point in our organization and I agree with you very strongly that steps must be taken to guarantee this very necessary step.

continued

Mr. James M. Griffin October 18, 1966

The fact that I expressed certain reservations to you is some indication that I was not completely satisfied with the position of the local chapter vis-a-vis the Target City. I am quite sure it was not the intention of this office or the Target City staff to overwhelm the local chapter but a certain amount of imbalance in exposure was, perhaps, unavoidable in the day-to-day running of the project.

I have asked Walter to submit a report similar to yours to this office out of which an overall evaluation will be drawn up and forwarded to both yourself and Walter.

I need hardly say that I personally, very deeply, appreciate the full cooperation which you have given to the local staff and this office. Without this cooperation, even the slight gains we have made, certainly would have been prejudiced by dissension. Please extend the commendation of the National Director and myself to your Executive Board and membership for the very constructive cooperation they have given, for the frank and useful criticisms that have been put forward and for the suggestions which will help us in the future.

My long and close association with Baltimore CORE and the work that they have done in the field of human rights, is something I prize very dearly. I know it will continue.

Very truly yours,

LL:tp

Lincoln Lynch
Associate National
Director

OCT 17 1966

10/14/66

FROM: GEORGE M. GELSTON
Major General
The Adjutant General
State of Maryland

Target City

JAMES O. EASTLAND, MISS., CHAIRMAN
JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, ARK.
SAM J. ERVIN, JR., N.C.
THOMAS J. DODD, CONN.
PHILIP A. HART, MICH.
EDWARD V. LONG, MO.
EDWARD M. KENNEDY, MASS.
BIRCH BAYH, IND.
QUENTIN N. BURDICK, N. DAK.
JOSEPH D. TYDINGS, MD.
GEORGE A. SMATHERS, FLA.
EVERETT MCKINLEY DIRKSEN, ILL.
ROMAN L. HRUSKA, NEBR.
HIRAM L. FONG, HAWAII
HUGH SCOTT, PA.
JACOB K. JAVITS, N.Y.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

October 5, 1966

Major General George M. Gelston
Fifth Regiment Armory
Baltimore, Maryland

Dear General Gelston:

The enclosed interim response will give you some idea of developments thus far.

You may be sure that I will promptly make available to you any further news that I receive on this.

Sincerely,

Joseph D. Tydings

JDT:rkb

Enclosure

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

SEP 26 1966

Honorable Joseph D. Tydings
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Tydings:

Thank you for your letter regarding a proposal being developed by the Congress of Racial Equality for the training of out-of-school youth between the ages of 17 and 21.

The proposal is now in the discussion stage between officials of the Congress of Racial Equality and the Department of Labor. When the proposal is submitted, you can be assured that it will be given every consideration.

We appreciate your interest in our efforts to provide training programs for the out-of-school unemployed youth.

Sincerely,

W. Willard Wirtz
Secretary of Labor

Briefing On Baltimore

Education:

1. Average pupil-teacher ratio for Negro schools is 1.39;
2. Average pupil-teacher ratio in white schools is 1.25.
3. Average years of college training for Negro teachers is 4.25 years;
4. Average for white teachers is 6.33 years. The curriculum for Negro and white schools are on different levels,
5. Only 35% of the Negro students being involved in academic programs.

Welfare:

Intensive organization of welfare recipients and people eligible to receive welfare is necessary.

TO: Herbert Callender, Director of Organization, CORE

FROM: Walter S. Brooks, Baltimore Project Director

RE: Financial breakdown and immediate needs

CC: Floyd B. McKissick, Lincoln Lyndh, Clara Coleman

FINANCIAL BREAKDOWN

CASH RECEIVED

National CORE	$200.00
Baltimore CORE	70.00
Total	$270.00

$10.00 rent down payment made in cash, making amount deposited in bank $260.00.

CASH SPENT

Rent	(cash)	$10000
	(check)	25.00
Carpenter		45.00
Locks & keys		10.00
Total		$90.00

AMOUNT OWED

Plumber	$185.00
*Baltimore CORE	147.60
Carpenter	120.00
Painter & Floor	290.00
Clean up	50.00
Total	$792.60

(*) From Baltimore CORE:

Carpenter	$50.00
Water Bill	27.00
Cash Loan	70.00
Total	$147.00

IMMEDIATE NEEDS

Used furnishings to accomodate eleven (11) people (total staff).

4 Bunk beds (compl)	$120.00
4 Chairs (bd/rm)	20.00
4 Rugs (bd/rm)	20.00
6 Dressers	90.00
12 Window shades	10.00
3 Single beds	75.00
1 Medicine cabinet	2.00
1 Linen closet	11.00
1 Table set (kitchen)	30.00
1 Refrigerator	40.00
1 Storage cabinet	11.00
1 Gas range	30.00
Total	$459.00

-Total Amount Owed	$792.60
-Total Immediate Needs	459.00
-Contingency Expenses	248.40
	$1,500.00

Three hundred and sixty dollars ($360.00) of the money

Baltimore

we spend will be applied to our rent. This is because we made the necessary repairs to make the building habitable, and, according to the lease signed, this is the owner's expense. Providing we do not run into any additional expenses, we will pay the landlord sixty dollars ($60.00) throughout the entire lease period.

The four hundred and fity-nine dollars ($459.00) to be spent on furnishings is on a complete package deal. This will save us money because we are buying in quantity; besides this, it gets the entire building outfitted.

Our planning and thinking is to house all essential staff at the central headquarters which will be the nerve center for the entire Baltimore project. If we are to establish this necessary base of operations in the community, it is imperative that we receive fifteen hundred dollars ($1,500.00) at once, to cover initial costs. After the initial cost is met, the outlay will go according to the submitted budget.

1966-1967

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE
TARGET CITY PROJECT

A CRITIQUE OF THE HISTORY, DEVELOPMENT AND DIRECTION

CORE TARGET CITY PROJECT

832 NORTH GAY STREET

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21205

CONFIDENTIAL

The establishment in Baltimore, Maryland in April 1966, the Target City Project planned by National CORE as part of the movement's "New Direction" was and still is imperative.

The decline in the impact of the movement, the disintegration of local chapters and groups and the immobilization of the National Organization, I believe, is because the movement has <u>not</u> been based on the effective and durable organization of large numbers of people and programs; which are clearly just and worthy of all out struggle.

With the victories in public accomodation and voting, the movement both North and South, lost most of its driving force; in fact the very reason for our existence. This was because of our inability to move into the new phase of the struggle.

THE TARGET CITY PROJECT

The Congress Of Racial Equality in officially opening its first Target City Project represented a significant change in the direction of CORE. It had been realized that demonstrations and discrimination could not in themselves eliminate such problems as inferior schools, substandard housing, high unemployment rates, inadequate city services, and the pervasive pathology of ghetto life which destroys families and individuals. To deal effectively with these problems would require well-thought out programs and the political and economic power that could turn these programs into reality. More than that, real change anticipated the transformation of the ghetto and the city itself into a human community in which dignity, respect for the individual, responsibility for

the well-being of the total community, and democratic principles become living day to day guides for life and not empty slogans.

THE TARGET CITY PROJECT: GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

In setting up the Target City Project, CORE saw three goals as primary to the early phase of the project. The first was a change in the "social consciousness" of the people in Baltimore. This involved increasing the awareness of the urgency of the problems facing the city and generating more than token commitments from existing community leadership to do something about them. For the Negro community, the problem was one of providing the conditions which make self-confidence and pride in the effort of one's roup possible. Our objective was overcomong fear and apathy in the community. For the white community our problem was forcing a realization that the problems of the Negro community must be given priority on the public agenda.

A second goal was beginning the development of an organization base within the Negro community that could provide the vechicle for political and economic power. A need was seen for the development of such organizations as Labor Unions to deal with the problems of unorganized and underpaid Negroes (particularly in the retail trades), training projects to change the poor self concepts of Negro youth and provide them job skills, co-operatives to provide a base for economic self help and development, and political organization to educate and register voters. The creation of new institutions such as a "Leadership

Training Institute" which could provide both the Negro community and the city with men and women possessing the vision and professional skills relevant to the problems of a large urban city like Baltimore was also seen as a priority.

Finally, there was the third goal of developing and maintaining the Target City Project itself. There was a recognized need for staff to be trained, programs developed, and new resourses created on a continous and sustained basis. The specific objective would be the creation of a tightly organized, paid professional staff working full time on the problems of developing effective political and economic resources within the Negro community.

Considering the obstacles that faced the project, particularly the well known financial difficulties of thd National Organization, important strides have been made toward each of these three goals. The publicity surrounding the establishment of the project, the early demonstrations during the summer, the National Convention of CORE in Baltimore, the intensive work in support of the Bard Plan on political redistricting, the summer Freedom School, the cooperation with various organizations all have galvanized both the Negro community and responsible people in the White community toward an awareness of problems and a greatly increased motivation to solve them. Within the Negro community there now exists a readiness to support community endeavors, to take pride in the accomplishments of the community which has not existed in such intensity before.

In terms of the organization of the Negro community a number

of important steps have already been taken. The Maryland Freedom Union was established to organize unrepresented Negroes. Despite the difficulties caused by lack of experience in union organization, it has grown to nearly 200 members, most of whom work in retail trades. A training project was funded by the U.S. Department of Labor which will involve the training of nearly 100 ghetto youths in the basics of small business administration and gas station operation. Most important here is the radical change in self-concept which is taking place in many of these youths. A majority of them have prison records, and they see now, for the first time in their lives the possibility of a place for themselves. Politically CORE has engaged in voter education and registration work. Plans are underway to develop a political organization in the Second Councilmatic and Legislative District, where the project's offices are located, that will make a substantial impact on the outcome of the 1967 and 1968 elections.

Within the total Negro community the Project has become established as a central leadership group. Within the East Baltimore area it is no exaggeration to say that it has become the heart and hub of the community. The maintenance and continual development of the Project and its staff remain, however, a serious problem. From the start the project has had to rely on funds that could be accumulated in the Baltimore community. A good deal of energy has been spent in merely trying to keep the Project going on a day to day basis, paying office bills and seeing that the staff is paid once in awhile and has a place to live. As of yet,

regular channels of fund raising have not been developed and this has resulted in a precarious situation to our beginning efforts in Baltimore. This precariousness was inevitable with the switch from dramatic direct action to long range work and development. Change required that funds be raised as investments in concrete programs or as contributions to the potential of the -roject, and not as a direct "fight against injustice".

TARGET CITY PROJECT: PROBLEMS AND QUESTIONS

While the Project, has posed a new direction it has also presented many questions and some problems within and for the National Organization many of which have been articulated many times.

In our position paper "The State of the Organization", we pose many problems, the organization faces.

Financial:

1. The distribution of available money?
2. The priorities that determine how funds will be allocated?
3. The source of funds themselves?
4. How should these monies be controlled?

Organizational:

1. Chapters floundering or dying?
2. Membership down?
3. Programs confused or nonexisting?
4. Leadership despairing and organization withering away at various rates of decay?

The above questions and problems are just a few, but yet they in themselves appear overwhelming. From the same paper we pre-

sented some possible solutions that yet are to be examined and possibly dealt with.

In a report to the NAC, RAC, National Office and local Board of Directors we also presented the same problems in connection with the National Organization. The organizational priorities and values, especially in relationship to the Project and with the National Office giving it, at maximum, a secondary priority. Financially, The Project is in debt and the entire staff is poverty striken (most have gone) and the situation worsening at an accelerating rate. Promises to provide financial assistance have been reneged on, placing an impossible burden on project staff to develop effective program and fund-raise simultaneously. There was a growing doubt regarding both (A) The validity of previous commitments and (B) Human values being overidden by other considerations and finally the aggravation of all these difficulties coupled with the unnecessary imposition of the National Office on my Directorship and a unfound fear of a so-called political coup.

Conflicts within an organization and the challenge of entrenched leadership are a recurring factor of organizational life and must be expected but yet understood so as to avoid serious consquences and especially the avoidence of a win-lose psychology where instead of progress there is regress. Here the need for effective leadership was mandatory to steer a course of effectiveness and also keep the organizational goals and objectives uppermost. But when hostility and autocratic dictatorial leadership subsequently mutilated my Directorship in the framework of the above points it

forced me to submit my resignation effective on the opening day of this Convention.

Not wishing to make this report too lengthy, I will bring this report to a close with some random thoughts and recommendations.

TARGET CITY PROJECT: SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS:

While there is lots of talk about Black Power nowadays the simple fact remains that without power we will never gain the Freedom and Justice we seek. We have learned well that we can get charity by begging. But only those who have the wisdom and courage to develop such power and use it intelligently will gain the Freedom and Justice of which we so glibly speak.

It seems to me that the Baltimore Project was beginning to do this only to be extinguish by lack of foresight and understanding of the dynamics of where the movement must go. The struggle which is stirring the Black People all over this country should be forcing us to begin dealing with some of the crucial questions the Black Communities now face, and the real life and death struggle in its fight against poverty, bigotry, fear and crimes of aggression. Fortunately more Black people outside our organization are beginning to think in terms of action, struggle and organizing techniques in obtaining our goal of Black Power, so I beseech you Brothers and Sisters do not fail in making the necessary decisions and changes to once more make CORE the primary vehicle for the salvation of Black People in this country.

Recommendations:

Programatically:

1. Develop a concrete, overall sense of a long range program of where we want to be six(6) months, one (1) year, or five (5) years from now.

The organization suffers both Nationally and Locally from a lack of planning. There has been a failure to establish priorities, or to develop a conception of tha future-- what we specifically want it to look like-- and the role that the National Organization and its actions play in this.

Financially:

1. Securing large sums of money from private foundations and Federal Government agencies.

Several of these have indicated a willingness to provide large sums for specific CORE programs and projects. A real possibility exists that by taking advantage of these opportunities many field and local projects and some of our operating expenses could be financed entirely by these sources and allow all funds coming into the National Office through usual channels to pay for overall operating costs and to go towards paying off the National debt.

Organizationally:

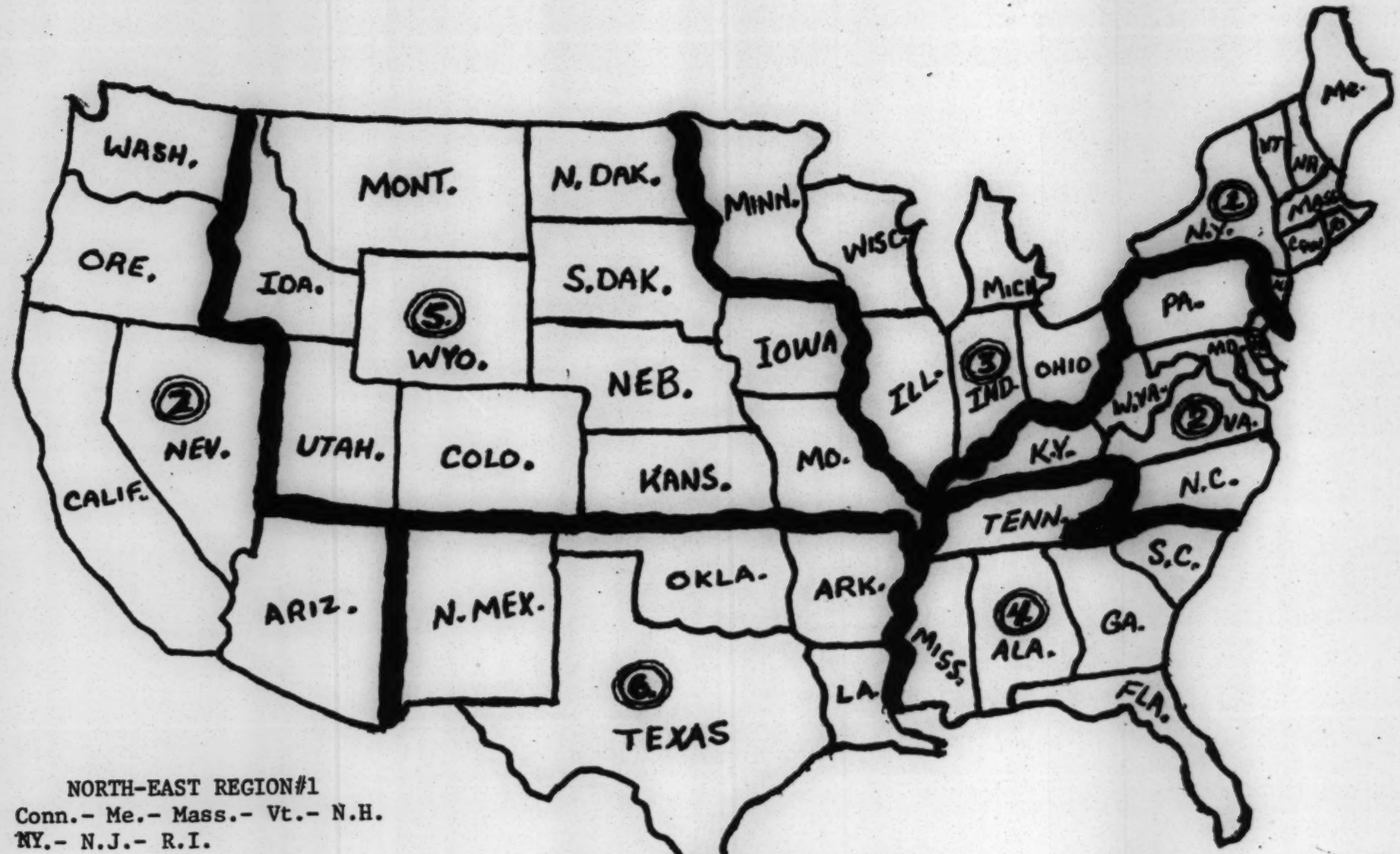
1. A restructuring of the organization into regions as outline an the attached map.

1. Northeast Region 2. Middle Atlantic Region 3. Great Lakes Region 4. Southeast Region 5. North Central Region 6. Southwest Region 7. Western Region

This should be further broken down within the Regions by districts and District Supervisors assigned to and responsible for such areas especially in organizational development

2. Specific guidelines to deal with the Target Cities, that should eventually exist in each Region and from which, each Region can receive technical assistance.
3. Begin organizing and developing a Freedom Union (Labor) in each and every Region.
4. Complete the necessary structuring of the Target Cities Projects and other funded projects, so as to provide free will, choice and independence of the National and local organizations.
5. Eliminate all defunct and paper chapters and then have each District Supervisor be responsible for strengthening the remaining chapters and developing and building new ones and also any local community groups capable of becomong a part of the National Organization.
6. Field Secretaries remain responsible to each Region and work in close co-operation with Regional Chairman who are responsible for each of the Regions.
7. Most important eliminate the concept that the National Office is the total organization and have it become the technical, co-ordinating and implementation arm of the National Body.

There are many plans and methods that can be devised to accomplish the goal of restructuring. I would hope that if this Convention does not have the time to accomplish this, they would instruct and empower the National Action Council (NAC) to make such changes on an interim basis to be finally approved by this body in its next session if such changes are acceptable.



NORTH-EAST REGION#1
Conn.- Me.- Mass.- Vt.- N.H.
NY.- N.J.- R.I.

MID-ATLANTIC REGION #2
Del.- D.C.- Ky.- Md.- N.C.- Pa.
Va.- W. Va.

GREAT LAKES REGION #3
Ill.- Ind.- Mich.- Minn.- Ohio
Wisc.

SOUTH-EAST REGION #4
Ala.- Fla.- Ga.- Miss.- S.C. Tenn.

NORTH CENTRAL REGION #5
Col.- Idaho- Iowa- Kan.- Mo. Mont.-
Neb.- N.D.- S.D.- Utah- Wyo.

SOUTH-EAST REGION#6
Ark.- La.- New Mex.- Okla.- Tex.

WESTERN REGION # 7
Alaska- Ariz.- Calif.- Hawii
Nev.- Ore.- Wash.

CORE's Target City Project 1966-- "A Beginning"

What has CORE's Target City Project really accomplished in the time it has been operating in Baltimore? How does its solid accomplishments stack up against the goals of organizing the ghetto community to fight for a better shake socially, economically and politically? What has CORE's Target City Project done to translate "Black Power" into reality? How has CORE's actions affected the man in the street, the groups and organizations in the inner-city?

CORE's Target City Project has been the catalyst and the prod for many changes in Baltimore. CORE has provided the thrust for the organization of several all-black special interest groups which will form the nucleus of a Negro grass roots led political power block here.

The most important of these by far in terms of size and effect has been the Maryland Freedom Union which has won notable successes in its attempts to organize retail store workers in the Pennsylvania Ave. and Gay St. business district.

The M.F.U., led by local people but advised and "coordinated" by CORE staff has negotiated one contract calling for wage increases of 50 cents an hour at Silverman's Dept. Stores. It won recognition from Tommy Tucker Variety Stores, after three days and seven arrests. Other victories include organizing Gibson's Men's Shop on Pennsylvania Ave. These agreements involve more than 50 workers, but more important, they represent the first time the civil rights movement has successfully organized the unorganized in an urban area anywhere in the country. And the tremendous amount of grass roots community support is graphically shown in boycotts of the three stores that were 95% effective. The AFL-CIO is starting to move into the small business retail establishment it has ignored before as a result of M.F.U. activities.

Another group is the Highway Department Committee for Job Equality which includes 100 Negro City Bureau of Highways workers who have met with at least partial success in forcing improvements in working conditions at the Falls Road Depot, and are planning further action to adjust other grievances.

The Baltimore Welfare Recipients Protective Committee hit the headlines after having an "eat-in" at City Hall recently at which a dinner of Welfare Department donable foods was offered to the Mayor. This organization with the aid of the Target City project sent five welfare mothers to a national welfare conference in Chicago August 6-8, and are working to correct the bureaucratic confusion which systematically intimidates and oppresses recipients.

Some other CORE-associated groups are FIGHT (For Integrated Housing Teamwork), a committee of tenants at the Dolfield Apartments working for better maintenance without rent boosts, and INCITE (Interested Citizens for Equality), Cherry Hill Project residents opposing a new incinerator which may be built in their area. The incinerator will have no effective smoke control and will be located in the heart of a Negro residential area.

All these organizations have one thing in common; they are made up of Negro citizens who asked CORE for help in forming an effective pressure group.

One of the most important long range achievements of the Project has been the formation of a Freedom School, funded by the American Federation of Teachers through a local Teachers Union, and operated jointly by CORE and the Baltimore Teachers Union with volunteers from both groups acting as teachers. The school not only teaches courses that lead to high school CED certificates, but also teaches limited job skills and political education. The school also forms junior and senior high school students into discussion groups and probes deeply into subjects ranging from the history of the Ku Klux Klan to United States policy in Viet Nam. From this school and branches set up in areas, young militant leaders can emerge to form an important element in the "Black Power" drive.

Political action and voter registration, key black power elements, are the current focus of activities. CORE has joined with U-VOTE, a well financed voter registration drive in the second, fourth and sixth Legislative Districts. It also secured 5,000 signatures to petition to prevent the redistricting of Negro election district. The redistricting plan would gerrymander the election districts and result in the effective blockage of the emergence of a solid black block vote.

CORE has acted as a "goad" to traditionally conservative groups and worked effectively with many of them. To strengthen the concept of coalition, attempts will be made to unite special interest block clubs, neighborhood associations and church groups into some kind of umbrella groups which could force action on many fronts.

CORE has directly confronted the Ku Klux Klan in housing demonstrations at Horizon House earlier this year. Other direct action demonstrations included the

integration of "The Block," a string of night clubs and bars, and a swim-in at a private swimming club in Baltimore.

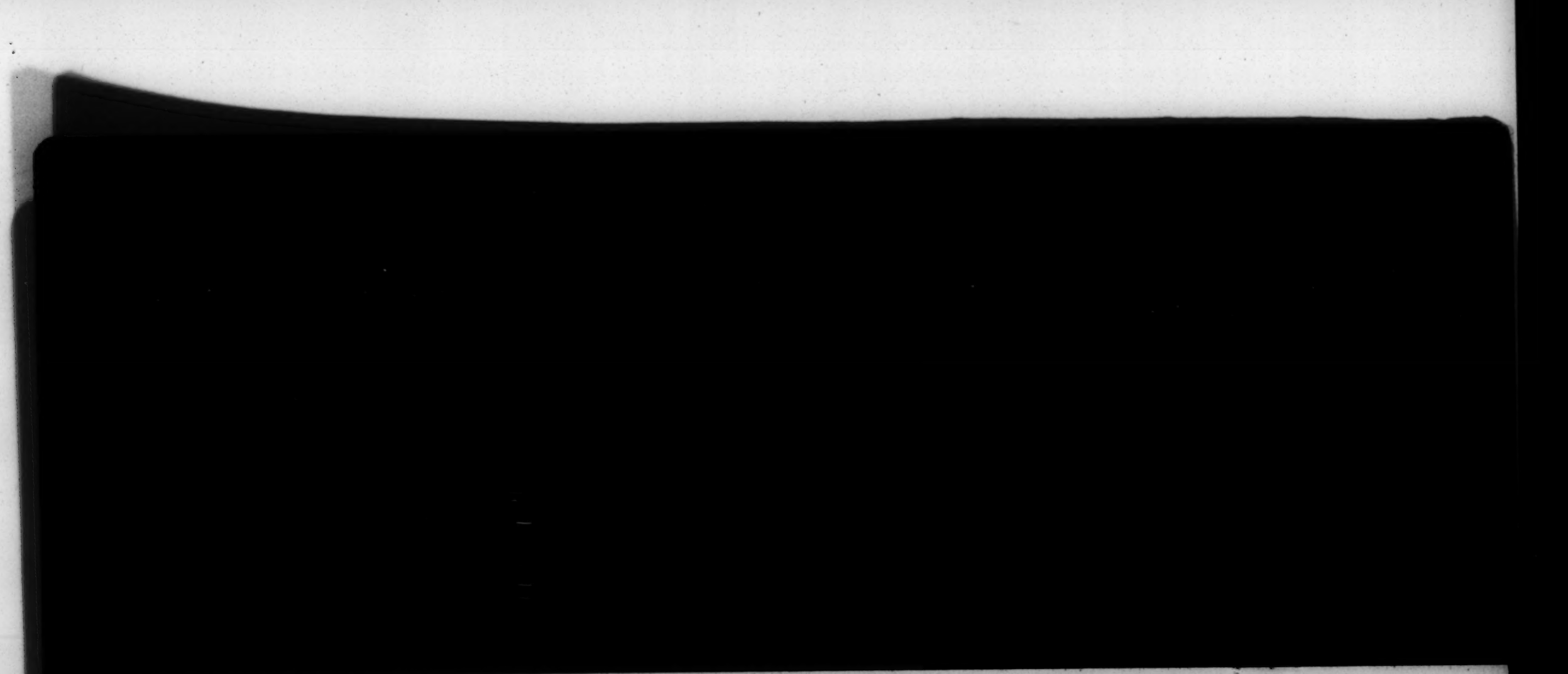
Viciously racist rallies were held by the National States Rights Party recently in Baltimore. A crowd of white teen-agers, whipped up by arch-segregationist Connie Lynch, invaded Negro neighborhoods. CORE maintained 24 hour "dialogue patrols," cruising through the inner-city, protecting Negro women and children and keeping the general situation under control. CORE took the initiative in calling together 32 white and Black organizations, to mobilize responsible citizenry to work directly in the streets to prevent panic and bloodshed. That no large scale riots took place is an indication of the effectiveness and intensity of CORE's work.

Phase I of the Target City Project program which consisted of creating "intense Community Awareness" has brought us into the second phase, "Massive community involvement." Like everything of value, the second phase of our program will be expensive. With our fund raising campaign which runs continuously, we are able to maintain a limited level of operation. However, the project remains perilously close to bankruptcy and at least $24,000 is needed immediately. The major concentrations of activity in fund raising, as in all other areas, is directly in the ghetto itself. But until the fund raising base is developed, we need support. It is hoped that eventually most of the money raised will come from the black people in the ghetto, for if black people underwrite the cost of constructive programs themselves, they will see to it that they run these programs.

The money will finance all of CORE's activities-- including the operation of the Maryland Freedom Union and the subsistence pay of Task Force workers as well as staff.

Eventually demonstration employment and training projects may be set up, funded by OEO through the local poverty program.

These are the tangible achievements. But the real victories lie in the increased self-pride of black men, women and children in Baltimore. Rats and roaches still infest slum housing, the schools are still segregated, there are only two elected officials who are Negro, but Negro youngsters are helping adults to register for the first time, landlords are making repairs for the first time, and the unorganized are learning how to mobilize. Black people are fighting back, standing up for their rights and making black power an economic and a political reality.



SOUL

a national organization with affiliated local chapters working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

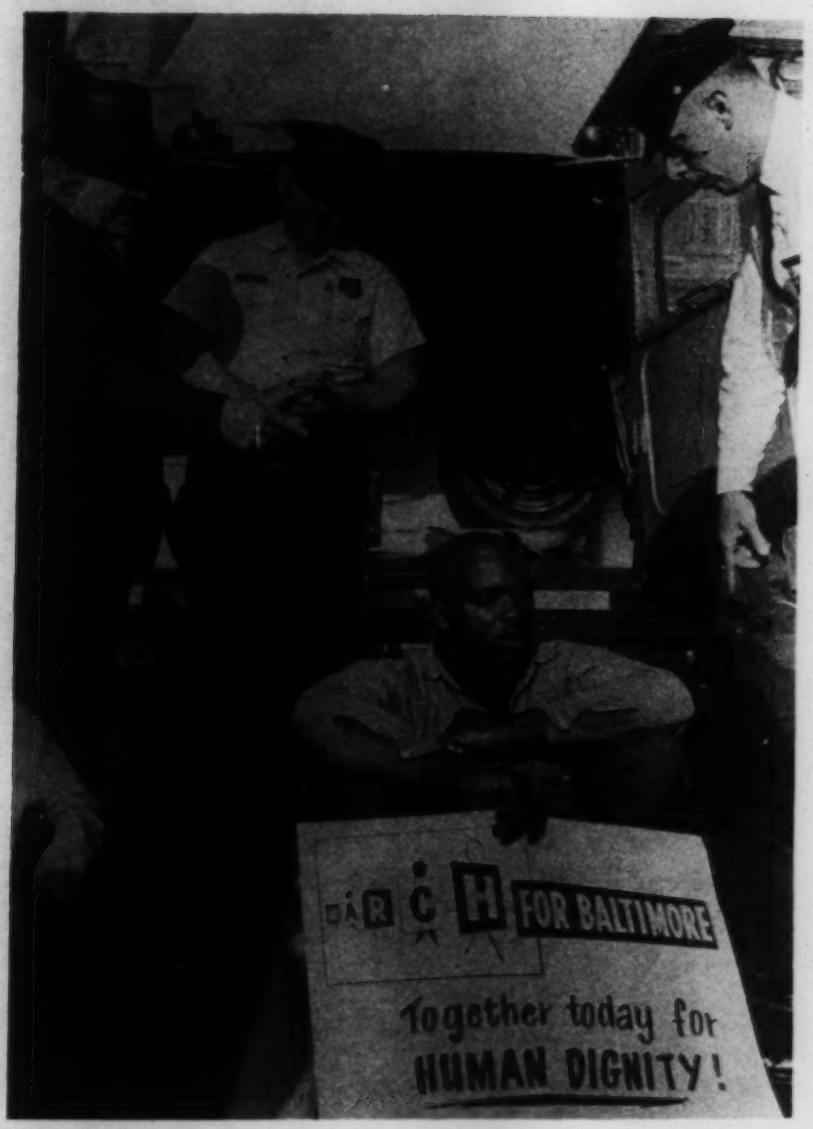
Target City CORE Project

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

BOOK

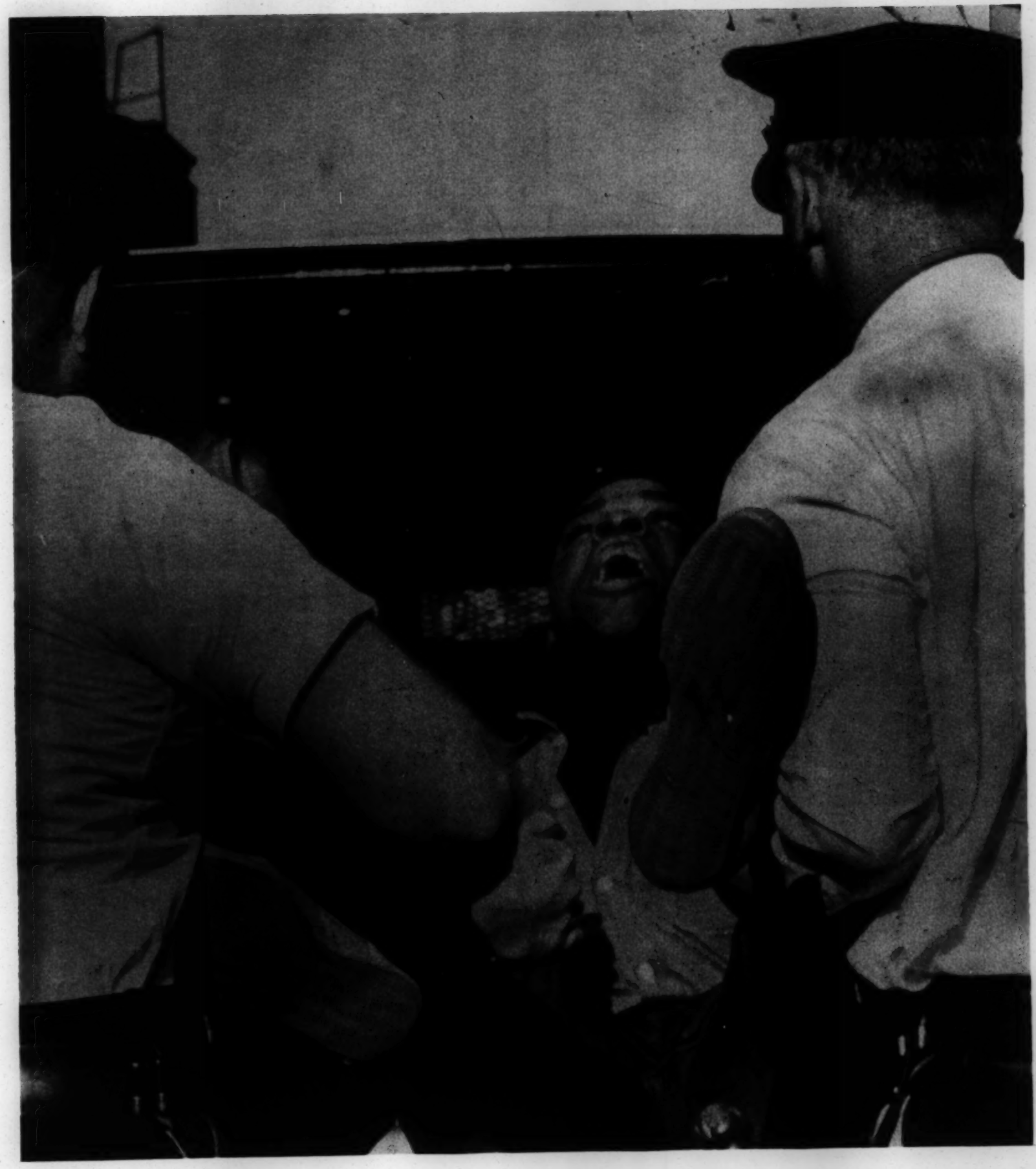
A DEMONSTRATION BY

TARGET



CITY

CORE

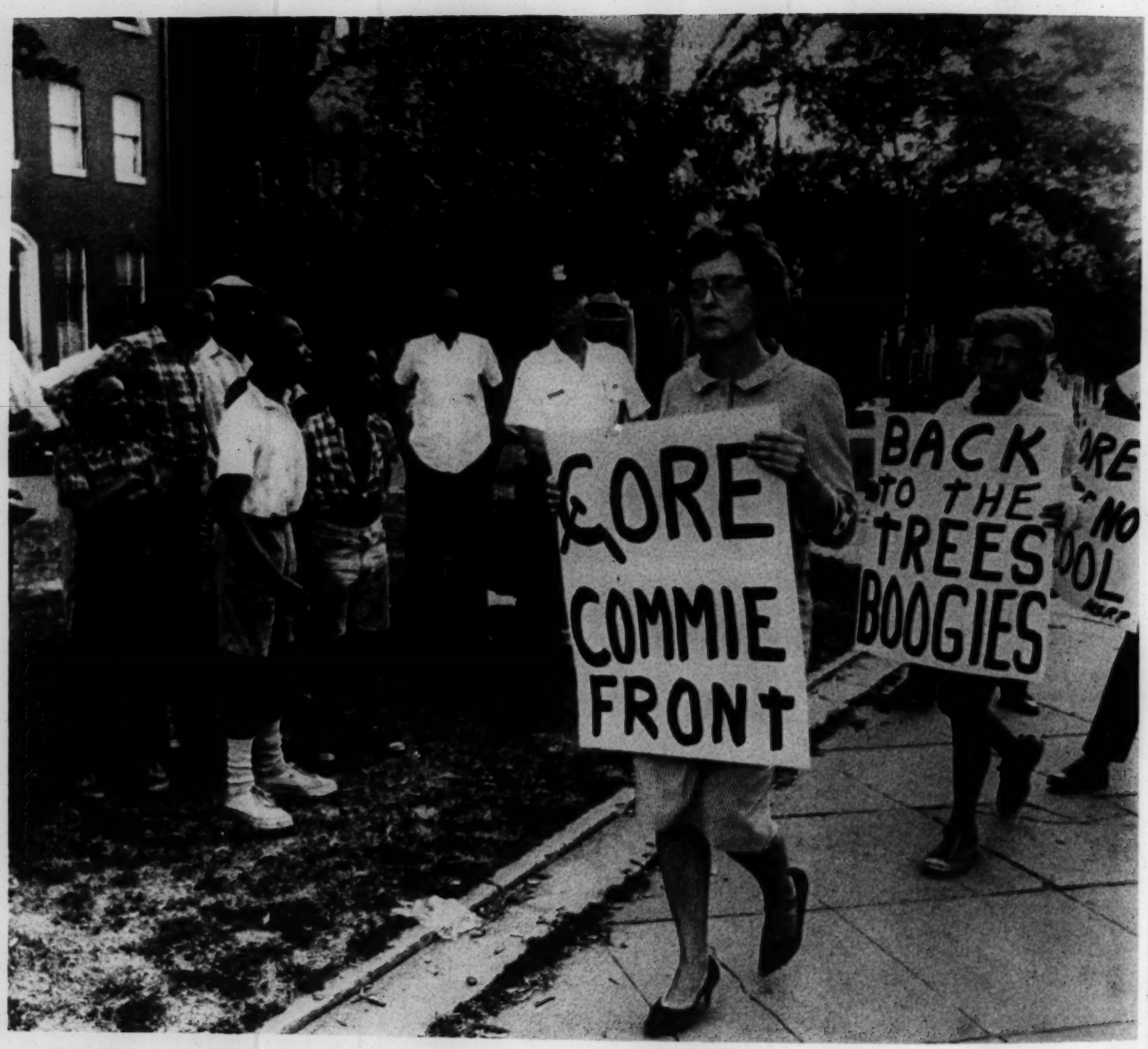


This is genocide.

Quiet race murder

Describe it brother, lay it out.....

Some of the opposition wolves, others foxes...



Which the more dangerous?

Out back of a nursing home where our folks wait to die, eating by Welfare with fingers since the Manager spends utensil money on chlorine for his pool..... nurses at 35¢ an hour

TO: BALTIMORE CORE EXECUTIVE BOARD

FROM: WALTER S. BROOKS, BALTIMORE PROJECT DIRECTOR

RE: BALTIMORE PROJECT ANALYSES AND PROSPECTUS

CC: HERB CALLENDER, DIRECTOR OF ORGANIZATION

AFTER TWO (2) WEEKS OF INVESTIGATION, MAKING CONTACTS, AND SETTING UP A BASE OF OPERATIONS, THE INVOLVED STAFF HAS COME TO THE FOLLOWING CONCLUSION AND PROPOSE THE FOLLOWING PROCEDURES:

OBJECTIVE

TO ORGANIZE THE STRATA OF BALTIMORE CITY (ESPECIALLY THE NEGRO COMMUNITY) FOR INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE BASIC SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS.

The demonstrators came upon a man.

The freedom walkers had to watch the back to keep a few workers from scabbing on the new union.

Some people prefer slavery.

So the demonstrators walked up and down the alley.

Like ruins the backs of the houses were, ruins in brick-all teetery-like someone finding a place centuries later...

even though laundry hung and jounced up and down there-many different colors.

The demonstrators heard glass breaking and saw the man.

The glass broke regularly as if it were being eaten.

RECOGNITION AGREEMENT

First Clause:

Tommy Tucker Stores, Inc. hereby agrees to recognize the Maryland Freedom Union as the sole and exclusive bargaining agent for the following categories of employment at its [redacted] store located at 1713 Penn. Ave: sales clerk, office clerical, stock clerk, marking clerk, and stock manager. This agreement exempts from coverage in the bargaining unit all supervisory personnel, unless specifically named in the

And there was the man, squat and powerful but pulling a little red wagon.

He had on army fatigues. He had on a POW cap from Korea or Vietnam - of brown and green - like manure or gold....a cap with fur and the flaps turned up.

The man was looking for bottles. He would find one, drain it, then smash it up against the big stone in the wood basket that sat in the wagon. Then he would cart the glass off and sell it.

TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
July 15, 1966 Vol. 88, No. 3

GREG HARRIS

CARMICHAEL
Is moderation stagnation . . .

JULIAN WASSER

WILKINS
. . . or a matter of responsibility?

THE NATION

CIVIL RIGHTS

At the Breaking Point

The struggle that has been building between moderate and radical elements in the U.S. civil rights movement last week broke bitterly into the open. Standing at a crossroads where one signpost beckons with the ringing and controversial slogan "Black power!" (TIME, July 1), the movement dramatically aired its deep division in national meetings of its two biggest organizations. In Los Angeles, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the largest, the oldest and the strongest civil rights group, met to renew its dedication to moderation and responsibility. In Baltimore gathered the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the biggest among a new grouping of black-power organizations that equate moderation with stagnation and demand far more militancy. In the wide gulf between them lurked the threat that the movement may be violently wrenched apart.

What transpired at both meetings so shook the Negro civil rights movement that Dr. Martin Luther King, the best known and most popular of the rights leaders, felt obliged to warn that the movement is "very, very close" to a permanent split over the issue of black power, urged civil rights leaders to patch up their differences before it is too late.

McKISSICK
Now is the moment of truth . . .

As for the leaders of the militants, they clearly saw the crisis as an opportunity to try to seize the leadership of the movement from the moderates. Said Floyd McKissick, the leader of CORE: "The civil rights movement in 1966 has reached the moment of truth, and Negro leaders are not telling it to you like it is."

"Stop Messing with Me." Suspecting that CORE would take the black-power route at its convention, the Big Three of moderate civil rights organizations—the N.A.A.C.P., the National Urban League and King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference—boycotted the sessions. Their fears were confirmed. For the first time in CORE's history, the Black Muslims and other extreme Negro nationalists were not only permitted to share the platform but were favorably mentioned by the convention's leaders. The hall rang with chants of "Black power! Black power! Black power!" Said one shocked Roman Catholic nun, who was among the relatively few whites present: "This is the Congress for Racial Superiority."

Though the meeting was CORE's, the keynote speaker (maneuvered into place by CORE members who are even more militant than McKissick) was Stokely Carmichael, 25, the head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee ("SNICK") and the loudest articulator of the black-power philosophy. Dropping his jacket and loosening his tie to "be like my people," Carmichael launched an attack on just about everyone. "This is not a movement being run by Lyndon Johnson!" he cried. "This is not a movement being run by the liberal white establishment or by Uncle Toms. What you have been doing all the time is letting them define how we are going to fight. The extremists in this country are not us. They are the ones who forced the Negroes to live in the conditions they are now in." Not to be outdone, McKissick later declared that black power "means taking over the government down there [the South] where Negroes constitute the majority," called for Negro economic boycotts and all-Negro financial institutions. "The Negro is saying today that it's going to be your funeral and my trial if you don't stop messing with me."

That was not all. The convention shouted through a resolution dismissing integration as a "failure" and urging that "black power replace assimilation and moral suasion as the dominant philosophy, theme and method of the movement"—in other words, that Negroes isolate themselves and seize power wherever they can. In a confidential memorandum distributed only to selected delegates, CORE also attacked American foreign policy, particularly the war in Viet Nam: "To support a war such as this, filled with conscious racism, is to support the racism on which it feeds. To support a war such as this is to support the use of black taxpayers' money to destroy and subjugate other colored folks."

Father of Hatred. The N.A.A.C.P., which usually manages to accomplish a good deal at its parleys, spent most of its 57th annual convention responding to the black-power advocates, a defensive stance that many N.A.A.C.P. members deplored. Openly bestowing his blessing on the N.A.A.C.P., President Johnson took the occasion to say in a Texas press conference: "We are not interested in black power and we're not interested in white power, but we are interested in American democratic power with a small *d*." Addressing the Los Angeles meeting, Vice President Hubert Humphrey added: "There is no room in America for calls for racism, whether they come from a throat that is white or one that is black."

For his part, N.A.A.C.P. Executive Director Roy Wilkins declared in his

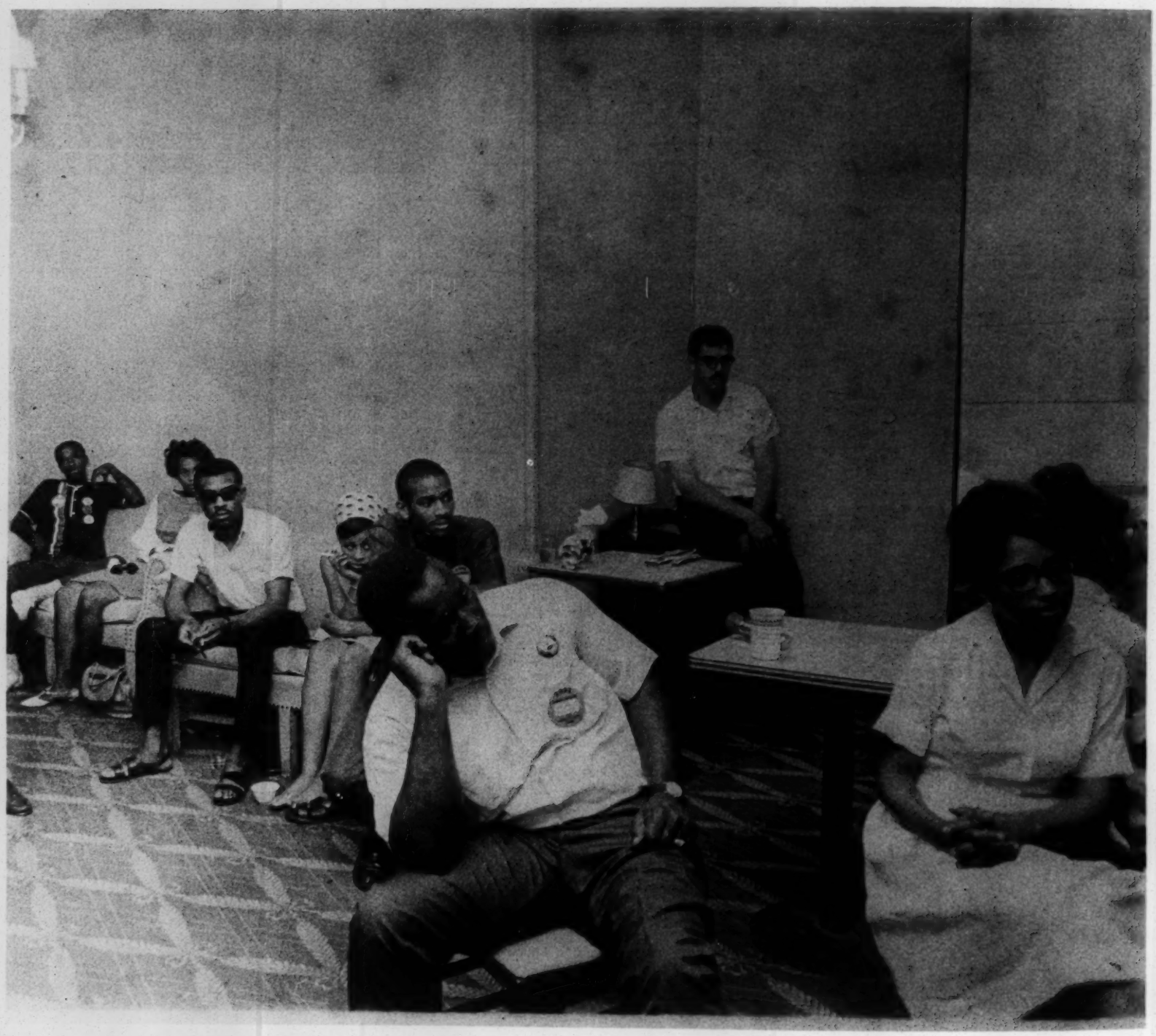
FRANK DANDRIDGE

KING
. . . but what is it?

About $14.00 a ton, clear glass better than the brown.

The demonstrators stopped to listen to this man.

Perhaps he spoke in tongues, in trances, as if stunned at first - perhaps he was very articulate. Would the man join them, lead them?



The demonstrators listened.

And they were'nt the only ones.

What talent there is in the inner city - the talent of so many different humans, some blasted, in a trick bag, coming out...

You know where its at!

But downed it is - by an exploitation, systematic and complete.

EX PARTE INJUNCTION

On the aforegoing Bill for an Injunction, etc., and Affidavit, it is this 3rd day of March, 1966 by the Circuit Court of Baltimore City,

ORDERED

That Mrs. Sarah J. Bundy, Cherry Hill Coordinating Council, Congress of Racial Equality, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Northwest [illegible]

IT'S NOT ENOUGH JUST TO REGISTER TO VOTE

☆☆ FEDERATION OF ☆☆
CIVIL RIGHTS
☆ ☆ ORGANIZATIONS ☆ ☆

BALTIMORE TEACHERS UNION
LOCAL 340, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS
4711 HARFORD ROAD, BALTIMORE, MD. 21214
PHONE: 254-2887

APRIL 13, 1966

OFFICERS
President
DENNIS CROSBY
Vice-President
CHARLES LAUBHEIM
Executive Secretary
HENRY B. WASKOW

COPY OF TELEGRAM SENT TO MR. ELI FRANK,
PRESIDENT OF BOARD OF SCHOOL COMMISSIONERS

MR. ELI FRANK, JR., PRESIDENT
BOARD OF SCHOOL COMMISSIONERS
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
3 EAST 25TH STREET
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND 21218

THE BALTIMORE TEACHERS UNION, LOCAL 340, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AFL-CIO HEREBY CALLS THE BOARD O SCHOOL COMMISSIONERS TO MEET WITH US IMMEDIATELY TO DISCUSS THE SERIOUS PROBLEM OF STAFFF INTEGRATION. WE ARE CONCERNED WITH THE FAILURE TO ACHIEVE INTEGRATED FACULTIES IN ALL PARTS

In a country founded on swindles for money.

''In the 65 years of Mission Rule, actual recorded figures show 62,000 deaths and 29.000 births. Disease ran rampant in the compounds. In the hopelessness and suffering, Indian mothers were known to have smothered their babies at birth rather than condemn them to live such an existence. More insidious was the vast psychological depression that overtook the Mission Indians, etc.''

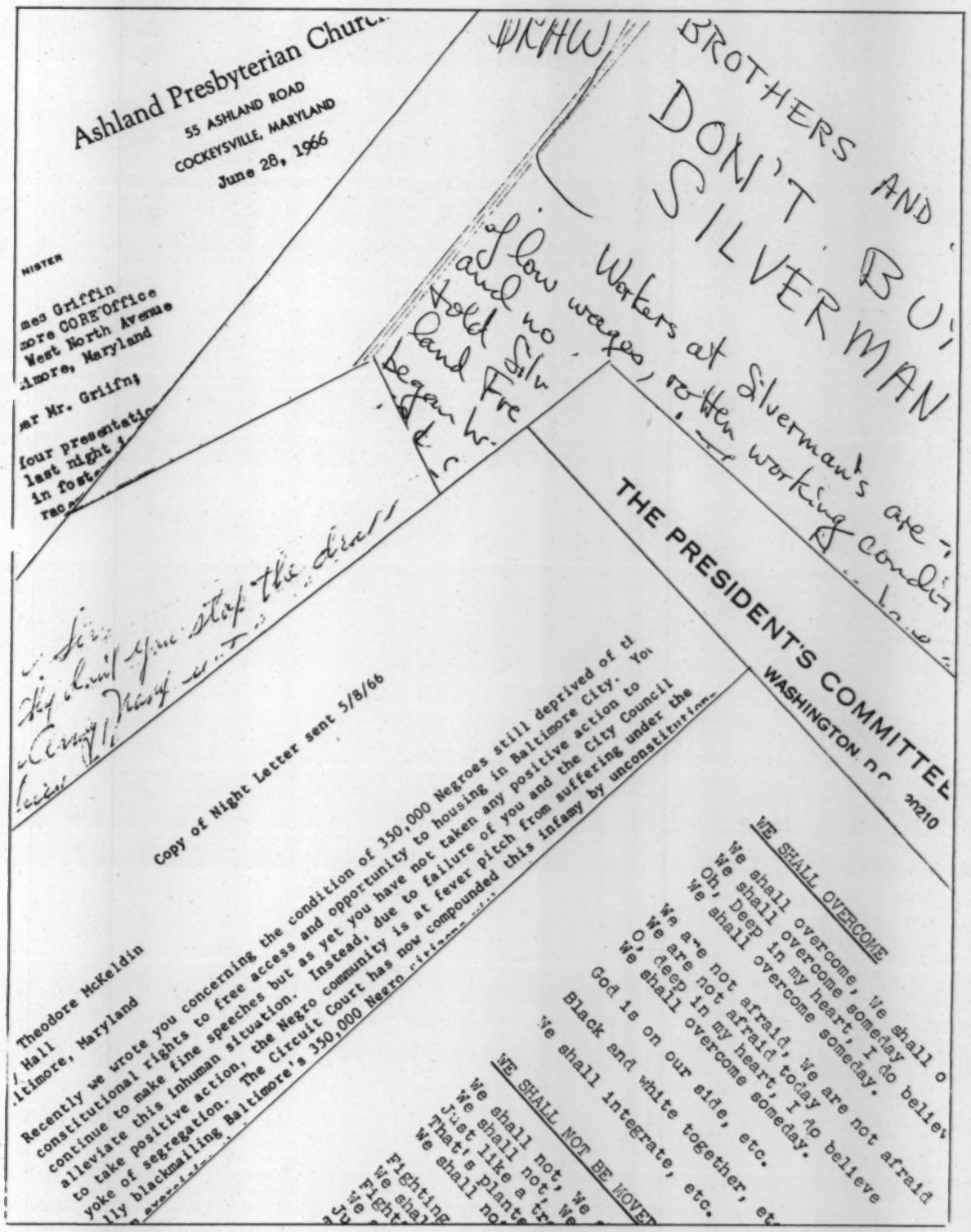
Department of Interior
Bureau of Indian affairs
''Indians of California''

A talent suppressed

Goes mainly to endurance

It goes into visions...some people sit on the stoops 'til they fall out...others in the bars 'til they flip out

Into the great god CON

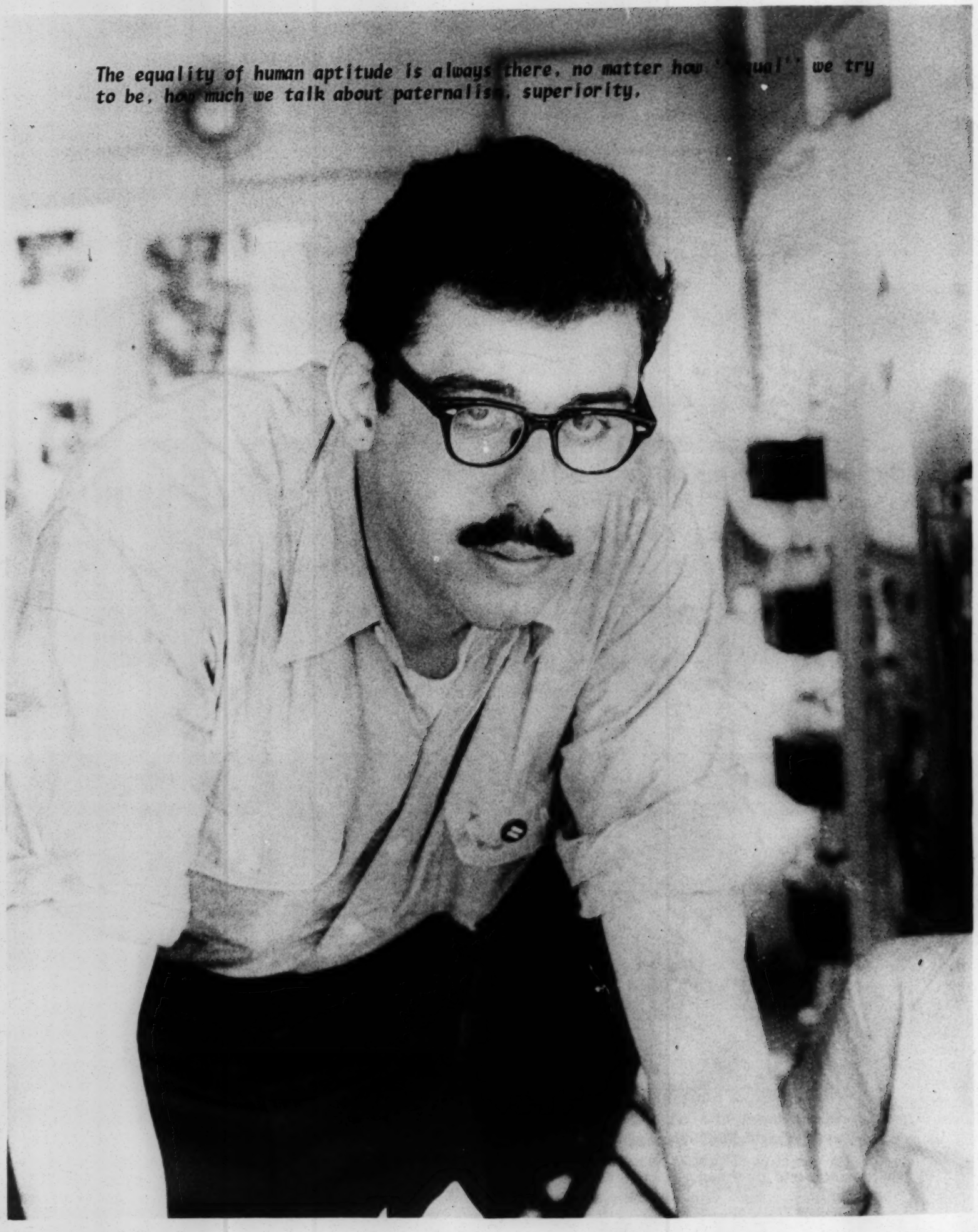


Into carts and wagons

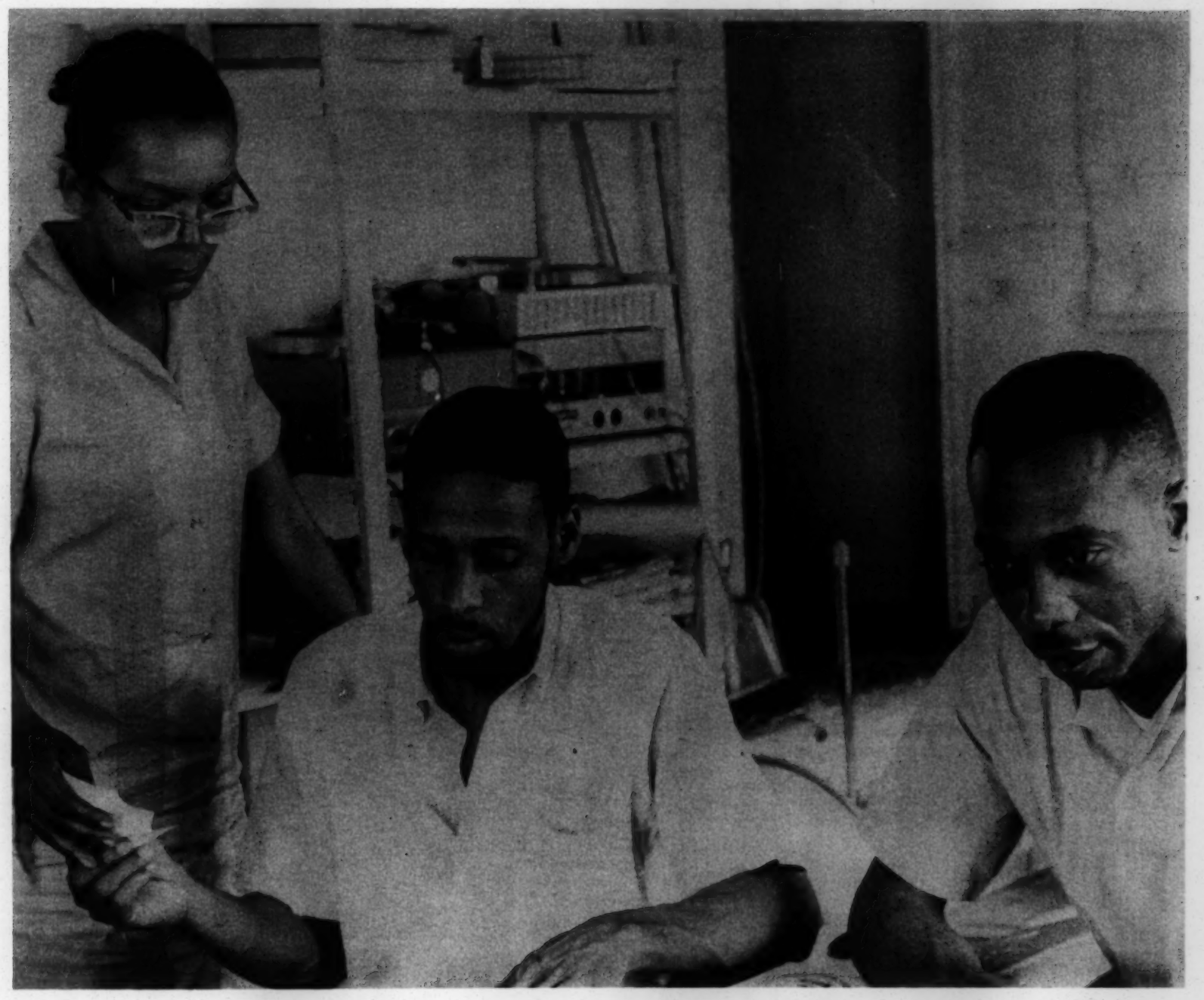
Ironing and cooking, taking care of children.

It goes into normal things - talking, making, achieving..out from all that oppression.

That paying more for less services.


The equality of human aptitude is always there, no matter how "equal" we try
to be, how much we talk about paternalism, superiority,

Those that remain intact, who have not died 7 years earlier (the slum average) are of a savage dignity.



It is time to honor what they have done.

Despite all the resentment ignorance can muster from the outside, despite the difficulties of coming in cold or ''playing it by ear'' from the inside.

PROPOSALS FOR ORGANIZING IN BALTIMORE

...lways been discussion in the movement on the
...mic problems and the need to organize
...d become an imperative. The pro-
...using, and inferior educ-
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A PROPOSAL FOR URBAN LEADERSHIP TRAINING

Introduction

The city is the center of American ...
the total population lives or wor...
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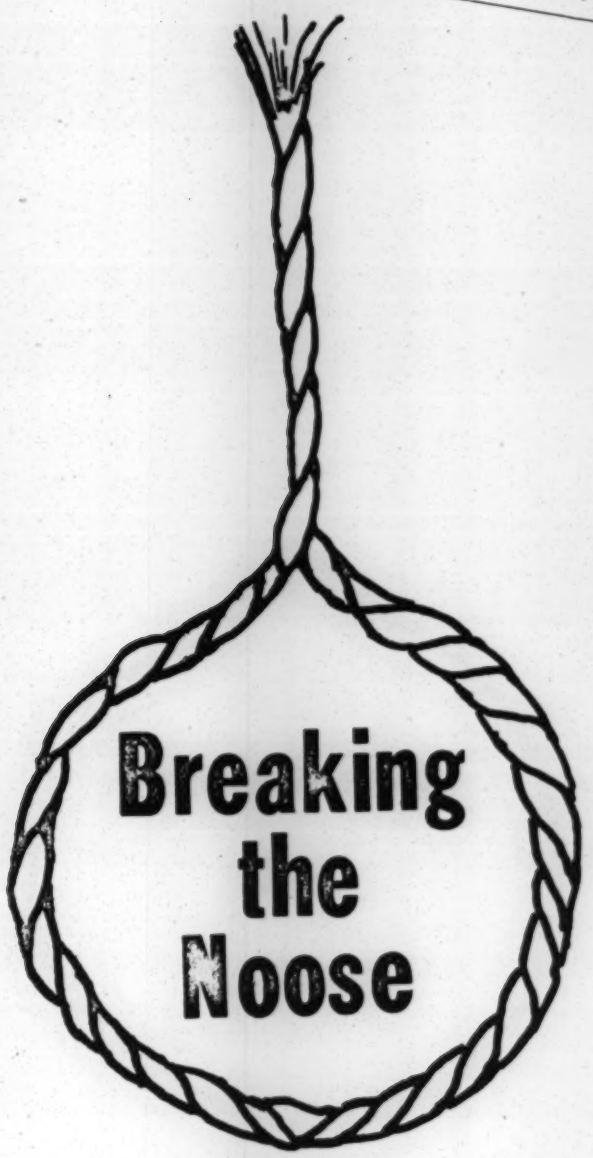


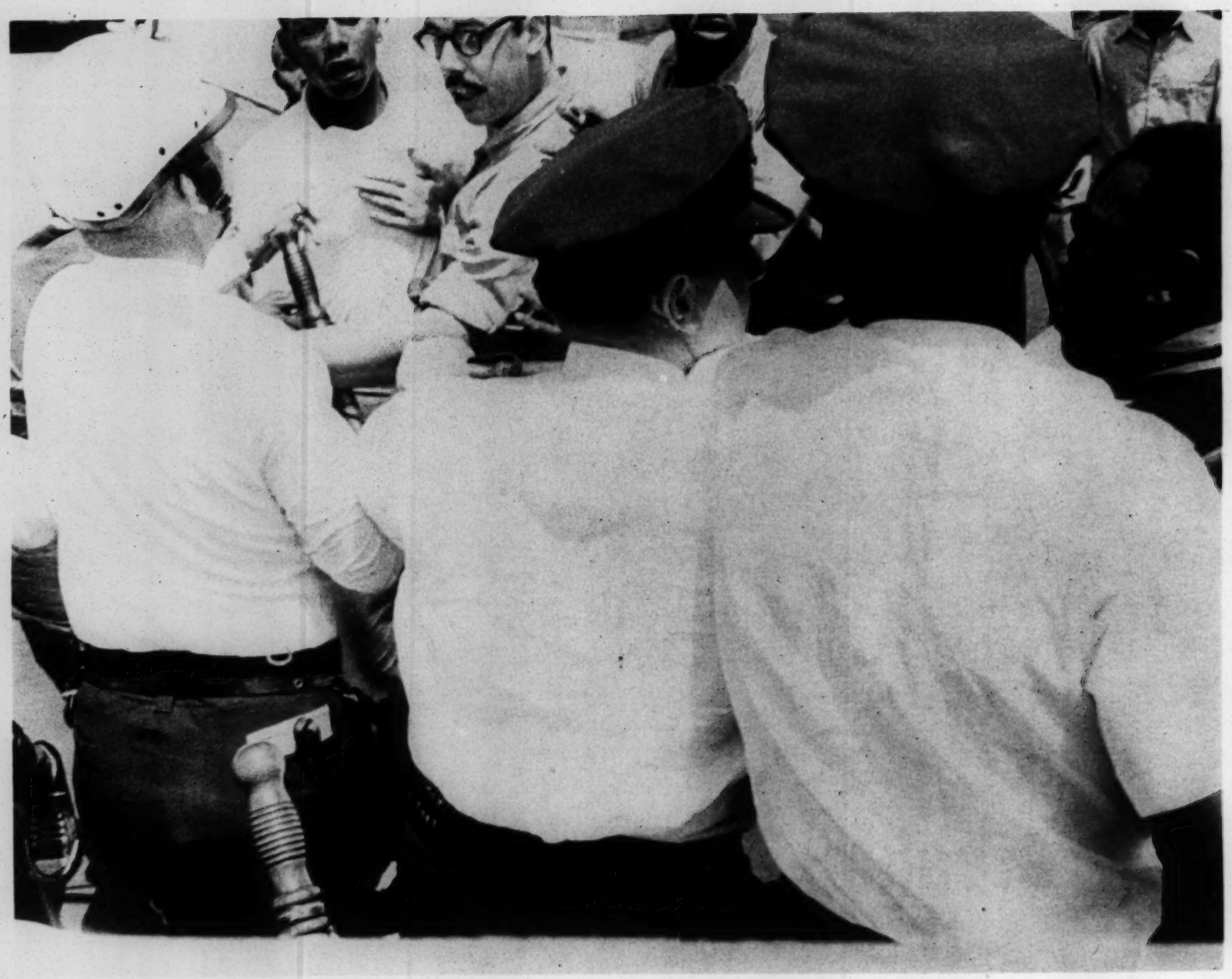
A TRAINING PROJECT TO PREPARE DEPRIVED UNEMPLOYED YOUTH WITH THE VOCATIONAL AND ACADEMIC SKILL AND MOTIVATION TO OPERATE A SMALL BUSINESS

A DISTINCTIVE PILOT PROGRAM
SUBMITTED TO:

OFFICE OF MANPOWER POLICY, EVALUATION & RESEARCH
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

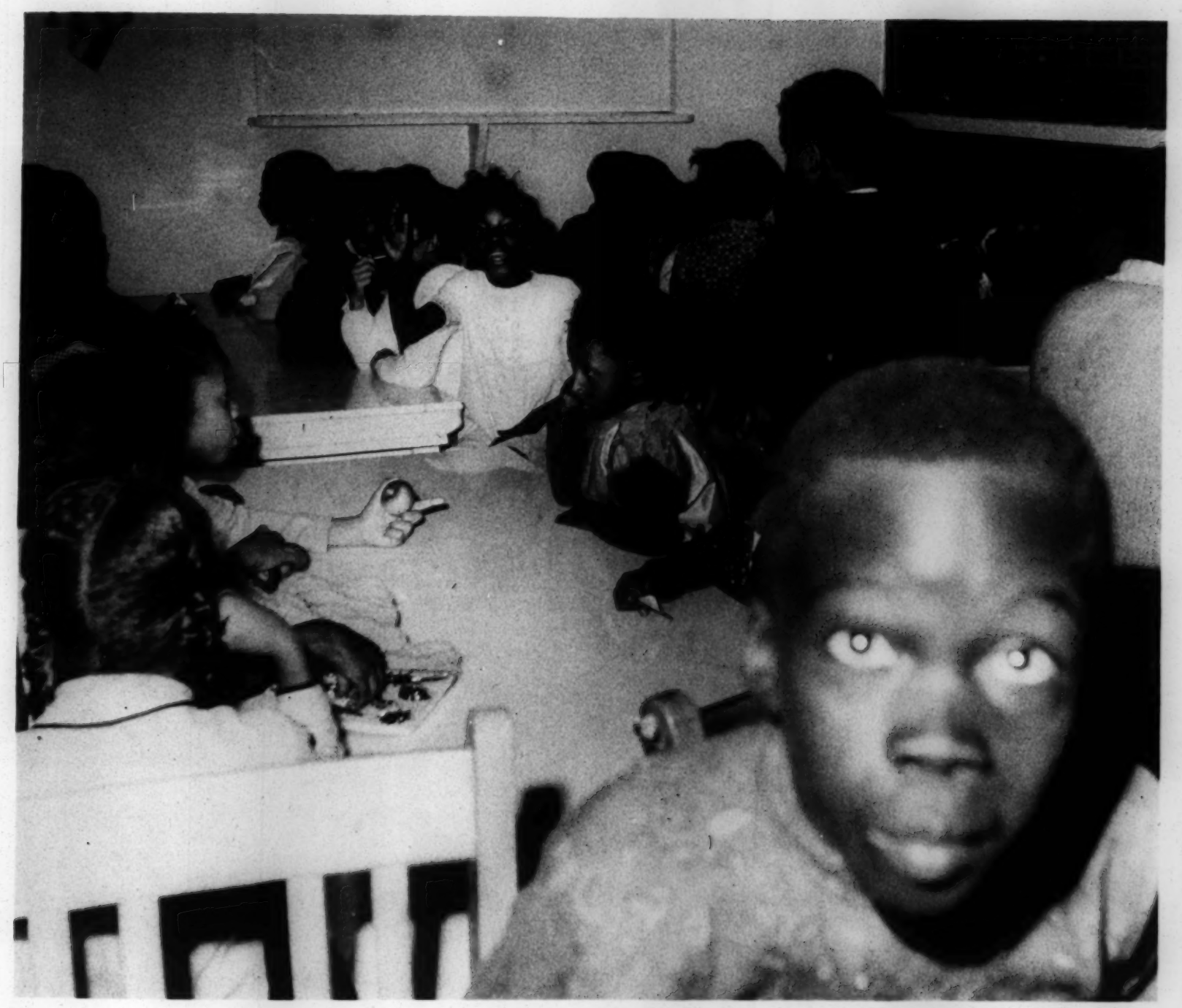
Still the project takes shape.

Reacting

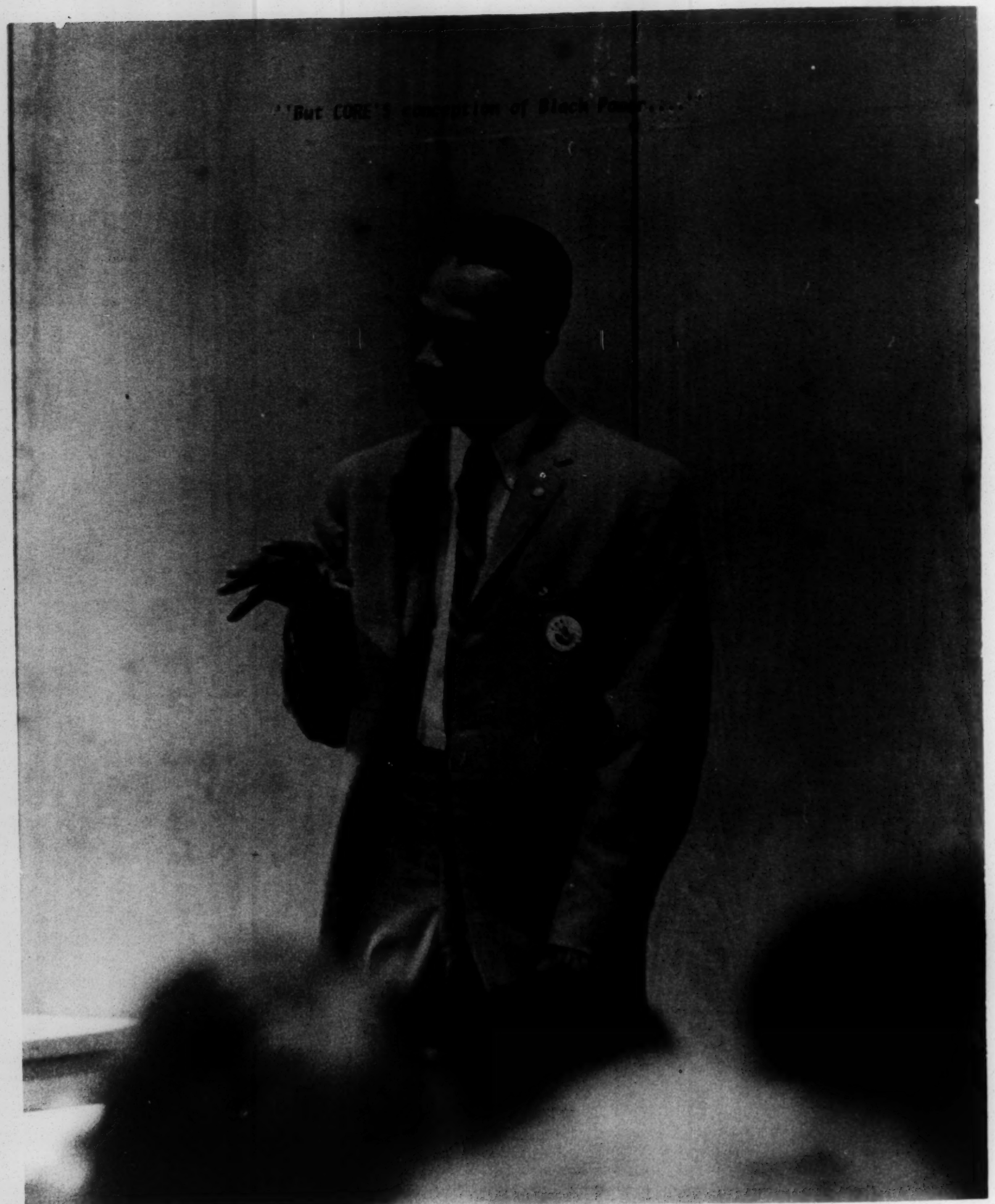


To stop old crises...near riots countered, complaints heard and channeled stammering frustration listened to, acknowledged.

Or acting



To prevent new crises: Housing Demonstrations, Welfare Mothers, Freedom Schools, Voter Registration, Staff Meetings, Office Maintenance, Speaking Engagements


"But CORE'S conception of Black Power...."

A working convention for community power

Out into the tenements canvassing, into the Nitty-Gritty, among those absentee-owned rats and roaches

BRING YOUR RATS TO THE RATLORD!

SLUMLORD KLOTZMAN CLAIMS THAT HE'S HIRED AN EXTERMINATOR WHO IS KILLING ALL THE RATS IN OUR HOUSES. WE KNOW IT ISN'T TRUE AND THAT HE'S JUST TRYING TO FOOL US AND GET THE CITY OFF OF HIS BACK.

LET'S SHOW HIM WE AREN'T FOOLED, AND THAT WE MEAN BUSINESS. GIVE KLOTZMAN BACK HIS RATS AND ROACHES. HE CAN TAKE THEM OUT TO HIS HOUSE - WE 'DON'T WANT THEM IN OURS.

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276-3096

Wondering at the great subtleties of the movement:

Self concepts, matriarchy, escapisms, sensitivity sessions, Wisconsin Sleepers, society, individual, creative tension-

The great ironies.

"BLACK POWER" AND COALITION POLITICS

BAYARD RUSTIN

THERE are two Americas—black and white—and nothing has more clearly revealed the divisions between them than the debate currently raging around the slogan of "black power." Despite—or perhaps because of—the fact that this slogan lacks any clear definition, it has succeeded in galvanizing emotions on all sides, with many whites seeing it as the expression of a new racism and many Negroes taking it as a warning to white people that Negroes will no longer tolerate brutality and violence. But even within the Negro community itself, "black power" has touched off a major debate—the most bitter the community has experienced since the days of Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois, and one which threatens to ravage the entire civil-rights movement. Indeed, a serious split has already developed between advocates of "black power" like Floyd McKissick of CORE and Stokely Carmichael of SNCC on the one hand, and Dr. Martin Luther King of SCLC, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, and Whitney Young of the Urban League on the other.

The first group argues that the time has come for Negroes to consolidate their political power in the black ghettos, elect congressmen, governors, and mayors, and then use the vast political machinery at their disposal to bring about the kind of changes that will benefit the Negro and the poor. The second group argues that the Negro must seek allies among the white majority and work with them to change the conditions that affect all poor people. Both groups agree that the Negro must organize politically, but the first group sees this as an end in itself, while the second sees it as a means to an end.

The first group is correct in its assessment of the importance of political power, but wrong in its belief that Negroes can win it by themselves. In Lowndes County, Alabama, for example, where Negroes are a majority of the population, they have begun a campaign to win political power through the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, which has a black panther as its symbol. Stokely Carmichael has said that the panther is a beautiful animal that symbolizes the strength of the black people in Lowndes County. But the panther is also a symbol of impotence, for it is a beautiful animal that is caged and unable to break out of its cage. Lowndes County Negroes are in a similar position. They are a majority in a county that is surrounded by white counties, and they have no hope of breaking out of their political isolation. They have begun a campaign to win a maximum of two congressional seats and control of eighty local counties.* (Carmichael, incidentally, is in the paradoxical position of screaming at liberals—wanting only to "get whitey off my back"—and simultaneously needing their support: after all, he can talk about Negroes taking over Lowndes County only because there is a fairly liberal federal government to protect him should Governor Wallace decide to eliminate this pocket of black power.) Now there might be a certain value in having two Negro congressmen from the South, but obviously they could do nothing by themselves to reconstruct the face of America. Eighty sheriffs, eighty tax assessors, and eighty school-board members might ease the tension for a while in their communities, but they alone could not create jobs and build low-cost housing; they alone could not supply quality integrated education.

The relevant question, moreover, is not whether a politician is black or white, but what forces he represents. Manhattan has had a succession of

What We Want

Stokely Carmichael

One of the tragedies of the struggle against racism is that up to now there has been no national organization which could speak to the growing militancy of young black people in the urban ghetto. There has been only a civil rights movement, whose tone of voice was adapted to an audience of liberal whites. It served as a sort of buffer zone between them and angry young blacks. None of its so-called leaders could go into a rioting community and be listened to. In a sense, I blame ourselves—together with the mass media—for what has happened in Watts, Harlem, Chicago, Cleveland, Omaha. Each time the people in those cities saw Martin Luther King get slapped, they became angry; when they saw four little black girls bombed to death, they were angrier; and when nothing happened, they were steaming. We had nothing to offer that they could see, except to go out and be beaten again. We helped to build their frustration.

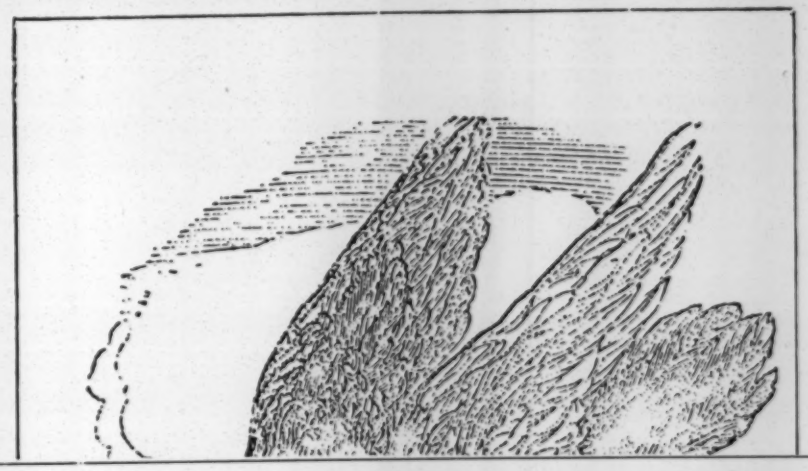
For too many years, black Americans marched and had their heads broken and got shot. They were saying to the country, "Look, you guys are supposed to be nice guys and we are only going to do what we are supposed to do—why do you beat us up, why don't

er. Thus we determined to win political power, with the idea of moving on from there into activity that would have economic effects. With power, the masses could *make or participate in making* the decisions which govern their destinies, and thus create basic change in their day-to-day lives.

But if political power seemed to be the key to self-determination, it was also obvious that the key had been thrown down a deep well many years earlier. Disenfranchisement, maintained by racist terror, makes it impossible to talk about organizing for political power in 1960. The right to vote had to be won, and SNCC workers devoted their energies to this from 1961 to 1965.

for agricultural committees which make crucial decisions concerning land use, loans, etc. Although they won places on a number of committees, they never gained the majorities needed to control them.

ALL OF THE EFFORTS were attempts to win black power. Then, in Alabama, the opportunity came to see now blacks could be organized on an independent party basis. An unusual Alabama law provides that any group of citizens can nominate candidates for county office and, if they win 20 per cent of the vote, may be recognized as a county political party. The same then applies on a state level. SNCC went to organize



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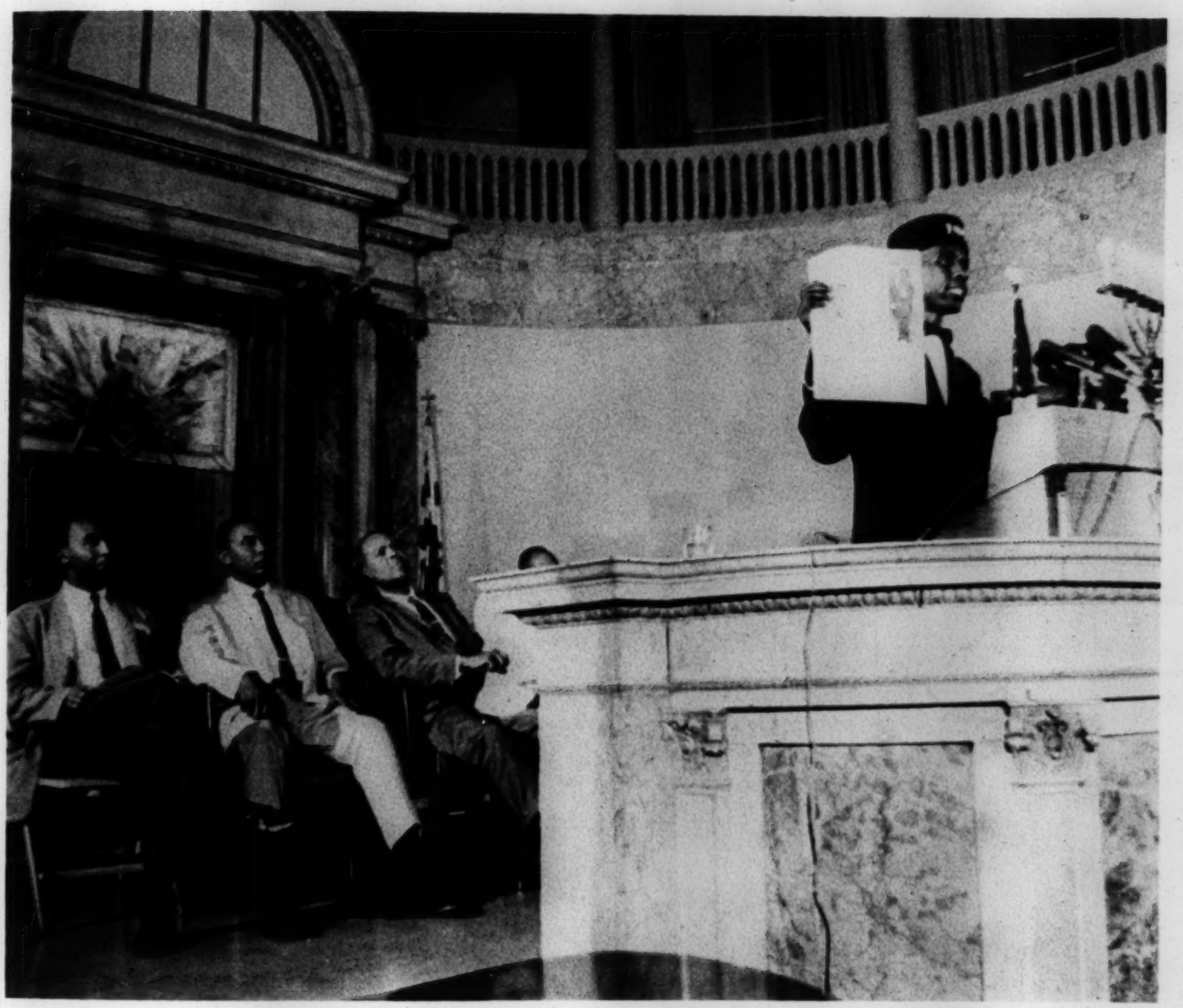
Like how the movement benefits the white folks

Asleep in their ghettos

Talk about apathy - at least we have resentment and direction.



We are tempted to call you ''blue-eyed devils.'' Poor blue-eyed devils without the mental stamina to be even apathetic.

Don't think your hang-ups aren't showing.

Or that one power has to be as corrupt as another

But in this case scorn is love, for we are in that kind of movement.

And this is the indignation that preserves us.

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Dave Eberhardt

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Carl X

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and the Target City Staff

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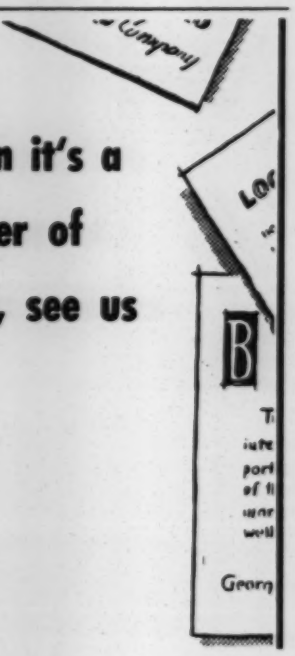

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CORE's Target City Project 1966--

"A Beginning"

What has CORE's Target City P... really accomplished in the time ... operating in Baltimore? He... accomplishments stack... of organizing th... for a bett... and po... Ci...

...ciety in which...

...s

lack Power is no mere slogan. It is a movement dedicated to the exercise of American democracy in its highest tradition; it is a drive to mobilize the Black communities of this country in a monumental effort to remove the basic causes of alienation, frustration, despair, low self-esteem and hopelessness.

Black Power is not hatred; it is a means to bring the Black American into the covenant of brotherhood.

Black Power is not Black Supremacy; it is a unified Black voice reflecting racial pride in the tradition of our heterogeneous nation.

Black Power does not mean the exclusion of White Americans from the Negro revolution; it means the inclusion of all men in a common moral and political struggle.

Black Power does not advocate violence; it advocates aggressive political and economic competition.

Black Power will not start riots; instead, it seeks to change the environment from which riots erupt.

Black Power is the instrument of people in the cross-road of change -- psychological, economic, political change -- which can result only in the freedom to develop themselves fully in every area of human activity.

...ight to split the ...the term, black power. ...wer becomes black supremacy, ...hatred for the white man.

...e of these things to the members of ...eve that black power is a very clear and ...ructive step toward the realization of liberty ...stice for all.

Black power means the organization of the Negro community into a tight and disciplined group for six purposes:

1. The growth of Negro political power.
2. The building of Negro economic power.
3. The improvement of the Negro self-image.
4. The development of Negro leadership.
5. The encouragement of Federal law enforcement.
6. The mobilization of Negro consumer power.

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Walter P. Reuther
Hodson R. Reynolds
Jackie Robinson
Arnold M. Rose
Nathan Schwerner
Fred M. Shuttlesworth
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Goodwin Watson
Joseph Willen
Jerry Wurf
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CORE
Target City Project

WALTER S. BROOKS
Project Director

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of

WILLIAM L. MOORE

member of Baltimore CORE

believer in Non-Violence

seeker of Truth

martyred

April 23, 1963

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COLUMBIA CLASS STRESSES PROTEST

12 in Social Work Project Organizing Action Groups

By THOMAS A. JOHNSON

Twelve graduate students at Columbia University's School of Social Work are earning master's degrees through a project that is pressuring government agencies and merchants groups, organizing sit-ins and preparing what could be the city's lastest rent strike.

And the students are pleased.

Miss Toye Brown called the program "a new definition of social work." Sidney Jones said it was "the nitty-gritty approach," and Julio Morales explained that it meant working "now for a change for the better."

They are a part of the student group involved in an $81,700 experimental project sponsored by the Federal Government. Since September, the students have worked to organize poor and low-salaried persons into direct-action, self-help programs.

Six students have been working as staff members in the national office of the Congress of Racial Equality and six as organizers with Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Employees Union. Traditionally, students have been placed with government or social work agencies.

The idea, Mrs. Valerie Jorrin, a field instructor with the CORE group, said, was to find organizations that were both independent and working for social changes.

Deal With Real Problems

"Neither are social work organizations, but both deal with gut issues, with real problems," Mrs. Jorrin said.

Students spoke of some of these problems during a recent staff meeting at CORE headquarters, 200 West 135th Street.

Mr. Jones told of a "lack of justice" when Negro and Puerto Rican parents faced city agencies with problems. He said they invariably lose "in a kangaroo court" when they approached city agencies alone, but that when CORE was involved on their sides, they invariably won.

Mr. Jones, a 30-year-old former Department of Welfare case worker, complained that "justice is never considered—with CORE they win, alone they lose."

Another student, Thomas Adams, said that pressure from the civil rights group was also being brought on the business community serving the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn. Mr. Adams is working to raise funds from the local business organizations for a youth employment and recreation program.

Miss Brown, who is 24, has the assignment through CORE to work with the People's Board of Education, a citizen's group dissatisfied with the workings of the official board.

"We're trying to get discussions going between local groups all over the city who are working for better schools to make them really effective pressure groups," Miss Brown said.

The associate director of CORE, Lincoln Lynch, explained yesterday that as CORE staff people, the students worked to help develop leadership on the local level.

David Feingold, one of two white students with the CORE unit, said the civil rights' advocacy of "black power" did not disturb him. He said the slogan, as CORE interprets it, "means programs in the ghettos for self sufficiency."

The New York Times
Feb. 20, 1967

MCKISSICK OPENS TRAINING CENTER

C.O.R.E. Official Says Goal Is Employment For All

By DANIEL DROSDOFF

Floyd B. McKissick, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, yesterday opened a new phase of the "Target City" project in Baltimore, describing its goal as primarily "full employment for every person."

The national C.O.R.E. leader spoke after cutting a ribbon at the new youth training center in the 800 block of North Gay street.

Financed by a $147,000 grant from the Department of Labor, the center is designed to train youths in the operation and management of filling stations. "Target City" plans to train 96 youngsters in 4 13-week sessions.

Called Culmination

Mr. McKissick yesterday called the training program "the culmination of 'Target City's' efforts in Baltimore."

He said although "Target City" would remain in Baltimore indefinitely, the board of directors will probably order a "reduction in staff" here next month.

Mr. McKissick said C.O.R.E. is now considering Newark and Cleveland as target cities for next year.

In unusual gestures toward community harmony, Mr. McKissick praised both the Baltimore power structure and "the cooperation of other civil rights agencies" for supporting the job-training program.

When the "Target City" project was first announced, Lincoln O. Lynch, associate national director, antagonized many Baltimore civil rights leaders by criticizing them for inaction.

Mr. Lynch was not present at the ribbon-cutting ceremonies yesterday.

Mr. McKissick said, "Here the political structure came together to support this program (the training project)."

He singled out Major. Gen. George M. Gelston, adjutant general of the Maryland National Guard for special praise. Noting the good relations between the general and C.O.R.E. when General Gelston was Baltimore's interim police commissioner this summer, Mr. McKissick said:

"You know, general, you're white and I'm black and they still call me a racist."

Called 'Significant'

General Gelston, who attended the ribbon-cutting ceremonies, gave a speech describing the training program as "terrifically significant."

"Based on its success, it could spread throughout the country," he said.

Gen. Gelston, who accompanied C.O.R.E. leaders to Washington, twice played a major role in helping the "Target City" officials arrange for a training contract with the Department of Labor. Mayor McKeldin, Senator Brewster, and Senator Tydings also gave major backing to the proposal.

Other Programs Planned

Mr. McKissick said "Target City" now has plans for at least two other job-training programs—one of them to be especially geared for women.

Antoine Perot, associate director of the "Target City" program, said one of the job-training projects planned for the future would be a program to provide secretarial skills to women on relief. The other would train leaders in community organizing.

Mr. Perot said, the source of money for the new training programs is not definite at the moment, and added, "We're really going to have to get together with the whole community.

"By ourself, we can't win," he said, "and if we lose, the whole community loses."

THE SUN
Baltimore, Tuesday, Dec. 6, 1966

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

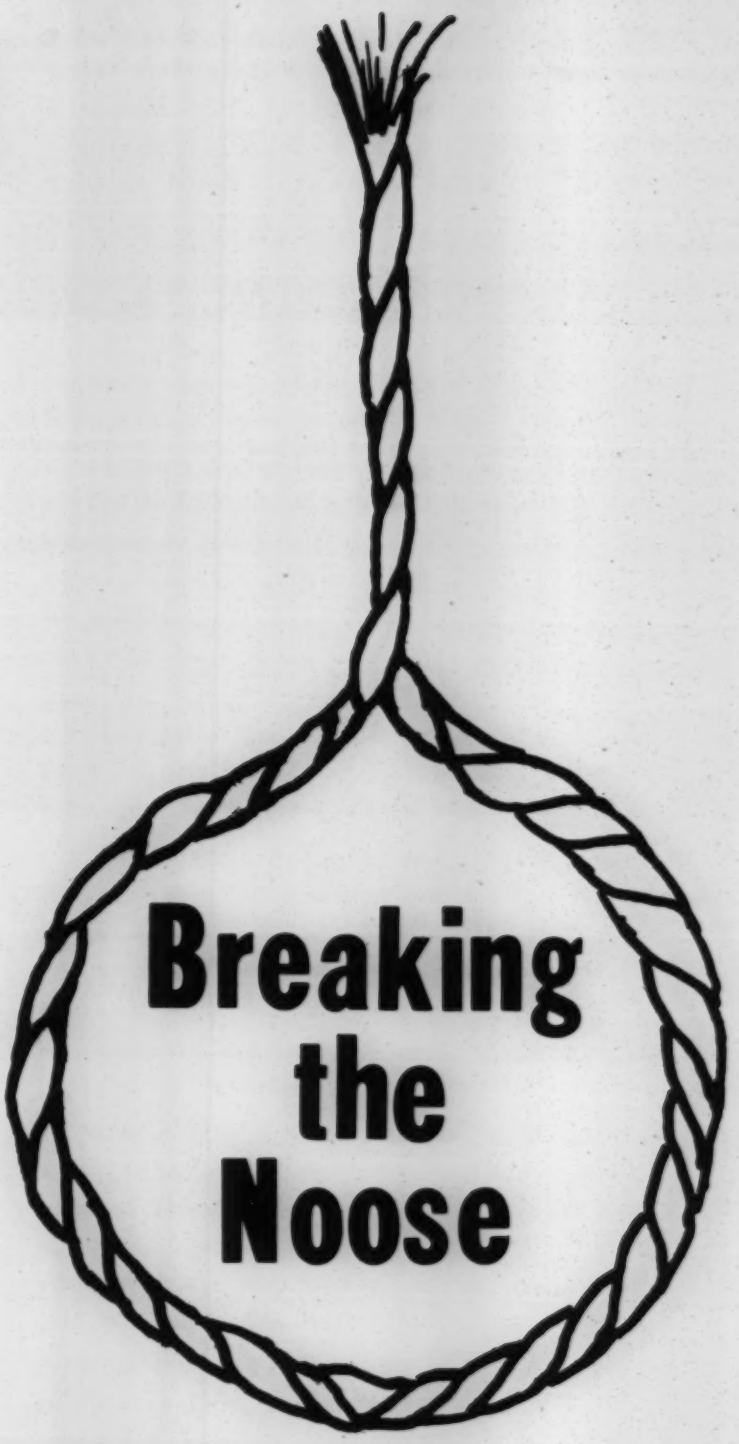
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

Target City CORE Project

to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods

WALTER S. BROOKS
PROJECT DIRECTOR

832 NORTH GAY STREET
BALTIMORE, MD. 21205
732-8217 -- 732-9330



BALTIMORE HAS A PROBLEM

It is the American problem of discrimination and poverty and segregation. It is the problem of tens of thousands of human beings suffering from discrimination-locked in the ghetto without roles to play in the larger society. It is the problem of the frustration of the aspirations and mobility of tens of thousands of human beings locked in the vicious cycle of poverty. It is the problem of the segregation of hundreds of thousands of black Americans in this city from their basic human rights to a quality education, decent housing, adequate health and welfare services, basic employment opportunities and securities, equal protection of the laws, and adequate political representation. It is the problem of the segregation of hundreds of thousands of black Americans in this city from that most important of human values-their self respect.

WE DO NOT HAVE TO LOOK VERY FAR TO SEE THE BALTIMORE PROBLEM.

. . . We see it in the hospitals where thousands of Negro children are treated every year for the ills of slum living-rat bites, lead poisoning, tuberculosis, and burns from pot-bellied stoves.

. . . We see it in the vocational schools where the vast majority of ghetto youth who attend these schools get trained for jobs that they will never be able to obtain after they graduate.

. . . We see it in the welfare system where inadequate benefit schedules and paternalistic attitudes by welfare bureaucrats corrode the human dignity of their clients.

. . . We see it in the economy of this city-where discriminatory hiring practices, lack of enforcement of minimum wage laws, chronic unemployment, effectively keep Negro workers on the bottom economically.

. . . We see it in the unfair pricing practices of merchants in Negro neighborhoods which force Negroes to pay more for basic commodities than whites.

. . . We see it in unions where lack of apprenticeship programs for Negro youth effectively lock them out from any but the most menial jobs.

. . . We see it throughout the school system - where poor equipment, inadequately trained staff, overcrowding and underfinancing year after year condemn Negro youth to inferior educations.

. . . We see it in the jails and mental institutions where the most broken and bitter people of the ghetto are locked in to live out their lives of despair.

. . . We see it in the practices of realtors - which close new housing developments to Negroes, which force Negroes to pay the same median rents as whites for housing which is far inferior.

. . . We see it in biased and antiquated housing codes which force Negroes into dilapidated and overcrowded dwellings.

. . . We see it in the factories and on the production lines where Negroes are paid inferior wages for the same jobs as whites.

. . . We see it in city government - where Negroes have been excluded from positions of administration and permitted only token political representation.

. . . We see it in the lack of respect with which police treat Negro citizens.

WHAT MUST BE DONE?

To solve the Baltimore problem - to end discrimination, poverty and segregation-requires the development of a multipronged movement that will deal with the economic and political powerlessness of the Negro community. It requires the arousal and organization of the Negro community to political self-conciousness and action. It requires the development of bases of economic power within the Negro community.

WHAT WILL BE DONE?

To help the black people of Baltimore to gain political and economic power over the life of their community is the goal of the Congress of Racial Equality.

During this summer there will be extensive non-violent direct action - demonstrations, street corner rallies canvassing, community organization - to crystallize issues and mobilize the people of the Negro community to act for change.

CORE'S PLAN FOR ACTION

Central to the work to be carried on in Baltimore is CORE'S plan for action for the total community. What is this plan for action and how will it work?

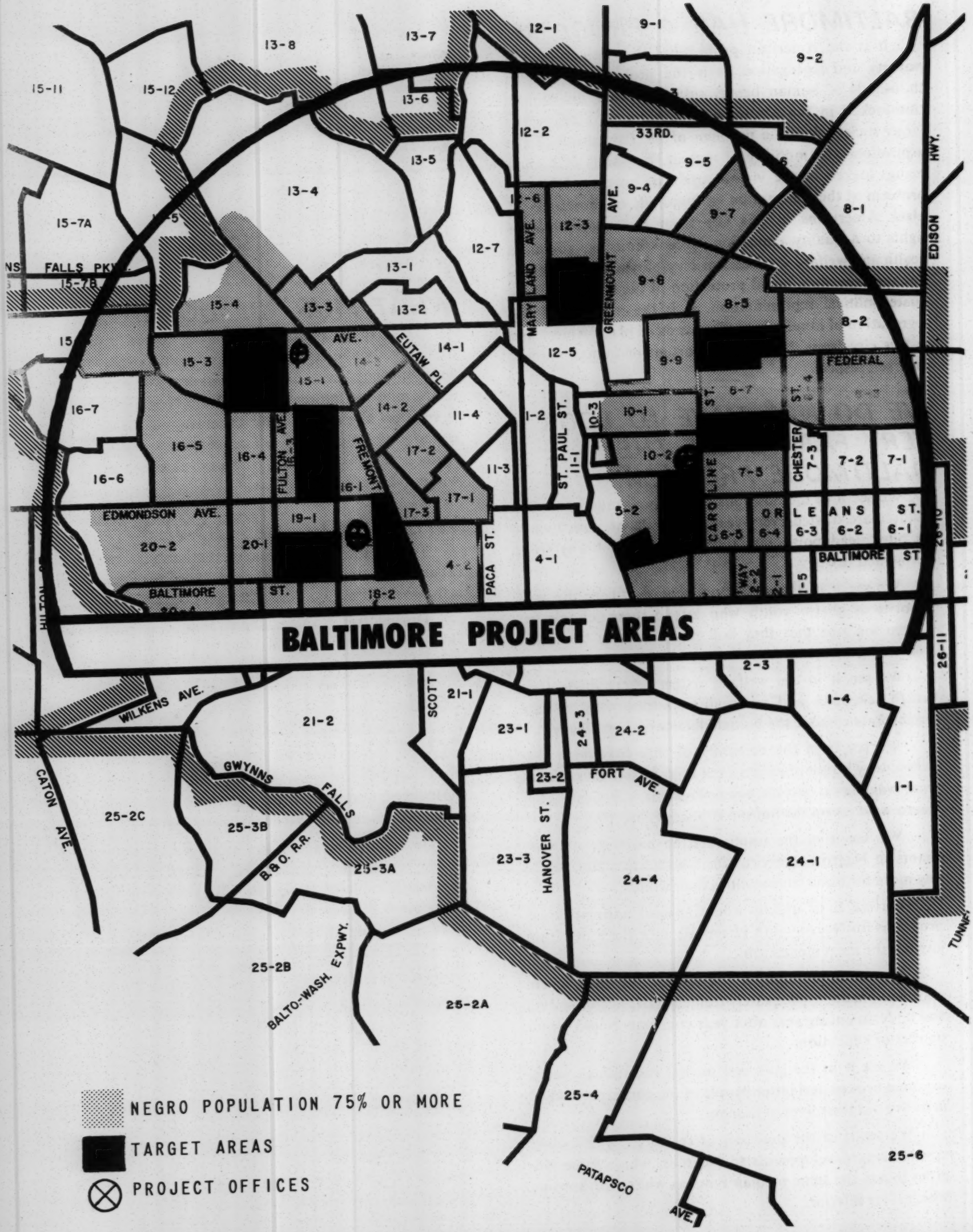
On the map on the following page the area enclosed by the semi-circle includes the areas of densest Negro population in Baltimore. Within this semi-circle CORE has selected 8 areas as initial TARGET AREAS. These areas are marked off in black.

In mobilizing and organizing these areas, the following steps will be taken.

1.) Within these 8 areas intensive mobilization by street rally will be carried on throughout the summer. The purpose of these rallies will be to let the people speak, to provide platforms around which the issues of most concern to the community - in housing, education, welfare, etc. can be debated and discussed.

2.) Following the rallies there will be follow-up meetings in the area churches where organizational structures and schedules for future meetings and events in the area will be discussed, debated and finally voted upon.

BALTIMORE PROJECT AREAS



3.) Finally, there will be the setting up of community councils to educate local residents on issues and candidates, and the tying together of people in the various target areas for cooperation in mass demonstrations to dramatize issues.

After the first areas have been organized, the movement will then be extended "checkerboard style" until all other squares in the semi-circle have been covered. It is through this general process that CORE intends to help the people of the ghetto develop their own movement for social change.

Some of the specific projects to be carried out by CORE in organizing the community and the problems in the area for the community can be outlined as follows:

1. *The organization of welfare recipients to fight the abuses of the welfare system.*

In this city tens of thousands of Negro poor do not receive the public-welfare benefits to which they are entitled: many who are eligible are not on the rolls, and many who are on the rolls do not receive full allowances. In addition, the Baltimore public-welfare system manages to keep many people from receiving benefits by failing to inform them of their rights; by treating them in a paternalistic manner; and by intimidating and shaming them so that they are reluctant either to apply or press claims.

To stop these unfair and degrading practices of the Baltimore Welfare department, CORE will engage in a program of educating welfare recipients and potential claimants to their legal rights and organizing them against the department's present practices of limiting information, intimidating applicants, demoralizing recipients, and arbitrarily denying lawful claims.

2. *Action to improve housing in the inner city*

Negroes are confined to substandard housing by an antiquated housing code guaranteed to maintain residential segregation and continue the lucrative profits of landlords. Although Negroes occupy only 29% of the housing in Baltimore, 52% of the dilapidated or deteriorating housing in the city is occupied by Negroes. In some areas of the ghetto, over 90% of the housing is considered substandard. The only similarity between Negro and white housing is the rent. The median rents for Negroes is $73.00; for whites it is $78.00. Yet for the same amount of money whites get services and decent housing while the black man gets the rats, roaches, and inferior housing The burden for the Negro is intensified by the fact that his family income averages almost $2,000 per year less than for whites.

CORE'S program in housing involves aiding tenants in developing organizations which will act around those issues - rents, services, enforcement of inspection codes, etc. that are of direct importance to them. This will involve block organizing in both the ghetto and in those areas of middle-class Negro housing where services are inferior to those of whites. In addition an attack will be mounted on the failure of the Urban Renewal Program to be directed in ways that will be meaningful for black people.

3. *Action for Improved employment Conditions*

The job situation for Negroes in Baltimore presents a more dismal picture than for almost any other Northern urban area. There is massive exclusion from such basic industries as construction, finance, transportation and communication. There is excessive unemployment in the east and west Baltimore ghetto areas with the unemployment rates running 3 times the national average. There is a disproportionate concentration of Negroes in low paying jobs in the wholesale/retail and personal services areas - wages range from the poverty level, to under $2,000. There is lack of protection of minimum wage laws. Although the Baltimore city council passed a minimum wage law of $1.00/hr. the law has been unenforced and most retail and service workers in the retail trades in ghetto areas receive well-below the minimum wage (some receive as low as $ .35 an hour).

In attacking the employment problem, The Baltimore Project will place first priority on unionization, better wages, and better working conditions for the underpaid workers in the ghetto areas of Baltimore. In these efforts the Maryland Freedom Union which has been organizing Non-unionized workers in the retail and service areas will be co-operating with CORE in acting for the enforcement of the minimum wage law, and the unionization of workers in the Baltimore retail area.

4. *Action to upgrade and integrate the schools*

The rate of integration in the Baltimore public school system has not changed to any great extent since the Supreme Court decision of 1954. Although there are supposedly 135 "integrated" schools in this city, only 15 have more than token integration (more than 5% of the school body Negro.) Furthermore, there are continuing and substantial inequalities between Negro and white schools in financing, class-room space, quality of teaching, course offerings, and conditions of teaching.

There is a need for a totally improved situation across the board in Baltimore. Core's actions will be directed toward educating the community for the need of changes in education.

5. *Freedom Schools*

Social change dealing effectively with the problem of discrimination and poverty and segregation will come slowly until there are substantial changes in the negative self-image of many Negroes. The movement progresses as rapidly as the people develop pride in themselves and their community. The main functions of the actions of the civil rights movement to date has been to give Black people a sense of pride and a sense of power. The Freedom School aids this process. Built around small discussion groups - through records, poetry, talks with movement people, the study of Negro history - community people are helped in their struggle to shake off the feelings of inferiority that inhibit their acting on their own behalf. During the summer, CORE will be conducting Freedom Schools on a regular basis in the ghetto areas.

6. *Voter Registration and Political Education*

All the activities CORE will engage in point ultimately to a renewal of the democratic process in this city and the bringing of the excluded Negro community into the centers of dicision-making. At present the Negro community, although 43% of the population of the city have only 2 representatives on the 21 man city council, minimal representation in the administrative branches of government, and a voting electorate which is only a fraction of what it could be. Gerrymandered political districts, segregationist politicians and lack of sustained and honest efforts to bring new voters onto the rolls, have kept Negro political power to a minimum.

All the programs - in housing, welfare, education, employment, community organization - are directed to developing a community self-consciousness about issues and candidates which will allow the community to truly have a voice in the councils of government. An extensive voter registration campaign, rallies to publicize issues, and the creation of community councils to provide the structures through which grass roots people could educate themselves politically is a major priority in CORE'S action plan for Baltimore. In this respect, the development of community organizations is a step in the building of political power.

WILL YOU HELP?

The problem of discrimination and poverty and segregation must be solved in Baltimore. But to solve it will require the direct support of the Baltimore community. One kind of support is the willingness of people to become "soldiers in the movement" to invest time and energy and talent in creating and sustaining new programs. Another is a commitment to the fund raising activities which are vital to maintaining the projects over a long period of time.

WON'T YOU MAKE AN INVESTMENT IN YOUR COMMUNITY'S FUTURE?

Target City Project Office
832 N. Gay St., 732-8217 and 732-9330,
Walter Brooks, Director

Baltimore Core Office,
832 N. Gay St. 732-8217 and 732-9330,
James Griffin, Chairman

Maryland Freedom Union
905 W. North Avenue
523-1812
Vivian Jones, President

DOMESTIC SERVICE
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram

TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

R. W. McFALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To GOV. NELSON ROCKEFELLER — March 3 19 67

Street and No. STATE CAPITOL

Care of or Apt. No. _____ *Destination* ALBANY NY

CORE IS GRAVELY CONCERNED WITH THE WORSENING SITUATION IN NEW ROCHELLE LOCAL BLACK RESIDENTS ARRESTED WHEN THEY DEMONSTRATE AGAINST JOB BIAS STOP STATE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS PROCRASTINATES STOP CITY OF NEW ROCHELLE INDIFFERENT AND MACY'S CONDUCTS BUSINESS AS USUAL WHILE TIME FUSE BURNS UNLESS IMMEDIATE AND EFFECTIVE STEPS ARE TAKEN TO RESOLVE THIS LATEST INDICATION OF RACISM CORE INTENDS TO INTENSIFY THIS STRUGGLE AT ALL LEVELS

LINCOLN O. LYNCH
ASSOCIATE NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)

Senders's name and address (For reference) 200 W. 135 St., N.Y.C. 10030 *Sender's telephone number*

WU1207 (R2-65)

DOMESTIC SERVICE
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram

TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

1207 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To JAMES MEREDITH — MARCH 13 1967

Street and No. 25CLAREMONT AVENUE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Care of or Apt. No. _____ *Destination* _____

YOU HAVE SHOWN A DEGREE OF COURAGE UNMATCHED IN RECENT HISTORY IN YOUR DECISION TO WITHDRAW FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL RACE IN THE 18TH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT. NOW WE ARE AS ONE MAN IN OUR HOPES AND AMBITIONS FOR THE BLACK COMMUNITY. FOR CENTURIES WE HAVE SUBMITTED TO THE TACTICS OF "DIVIDE AND CONQUER"--YOUR ACTION SYMBOLIZES THE DETERMINATION AND POLITICAL MATURITY OF BLACK PEOPLE EVERYWHERE, UNITING US AS NEVER BEFORE. I CAN THINK OF NO TIME WHEN I WAS PROUDER TO BE A BLACK MAN AND A FRIEND OF JAMES MEREDITH.

FLOYD B. McKISSICK
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CORE, 200 WEST 135 ST.

Senders's name and address (For reference) *Sender's telephone number*

ALL MESSAGES TAKEN BY THIS COMPANY ARE SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING TERMS:

To guard against mistakes or delays, the sender of a message should order it repeated, that is, telegraphed back to the originating office for comparison. For this, one-half the unrepeated message rate is charged in addition. Unless otherwise indicated on its face, this is an unrepeated message and paid for as such, in consideration whereof it is agreed between the sender of the message and the Telegraph Company as follows:

1. The Telegraph Company shall not be liable for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any message received for transmission at the unrepeated-message rate beyond the sum of five hundred dollars; nor for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for non-delivery, of any message received for transmission at the repeated-message rate beyond the sum of five thousand dollars, unless specially valued; nor in any case for delays arising from unavoidable interruption in the working of its lines.

2. In any event the Telegraph Company shall not be liable for damages for mistakes or delays in the transmission or delivery, or for the non-delivery, of any message, whether caused by the negligence of its servants or otherwise, beyond the actual loss, not exceeding in any event the sum of five thousand dollars, at which amount the sender of each message represents that the message is valued, unless a greater value is stated in writing by the sender thereof at the time the message is tendered for transmission, and unless the repeated-message rate is paid or agreed to be paid and an additional charge equal to one-tenth of one per cent of the amount by which such valuation shall exceed five thousand dollars.

3. The Telegraph Company is hereby made the agent of the sender, without liability, to forward this message over the lines of any other company when necessary to reach its destination.

4. The applicable tariff charges on a message destined to any point in the continental United States listed in the Telegraph Company's Directory of Stations cover its delivery within the established city or community limits of the destination point. Beyond such limits and to points not listed in the Telegraph Company's Directory of Stations, the Telegraph Company does not undertake to make delivery but will endeavor to arrange for delivery by any available means as the agent of the sender, with the understanding that the sender authorizes the collection of any additional charge from the addressee and agrees to pay such additional charge if it is not collected from the addressee.

5. No responsibility attaches to the Telegraph Company concerning messages until the same are accepted at one of its transmitting offices; and if a message is sent to such office by one of the Telegraph Company's messengers, he acts for that purpose as the agent of the sender; except that when the Telegraph Company sends a messenger to pick up a message, the messenger in that instance acts as the agent of the Telegraph Company in accepting the message, the Telegraph Company assuming responsibility from the time of such acceptance.

6. The Telegraph Company will not be liable for damages or statutory penalties when the claim is not presented in writing to the Telegraph Company, (a) within ninety days after the message is filed with the Telegraph Company for transmission in the case of a message between points within the United States (except in the case of an intrastate message in Texas) or between a point in the United States on the one hand and a point in Alaska, Canada, Mexico, or St. Pierre-Miquelon Islands on the other hand, or between a point in the United States and a ship at sea or in the air, (b) within 95 days after the cause of action, if any, shall have accrued in the case of an intrastate message in Texas, and (c) within 180 days after the message is filed with the Telegraph Company for transmission in the case of a message between a point in the United States and a foreign or overseas point other than the points specified above in this paragraph; provided, however, that this condition shall not apply to claims for damages or overcharges within the purview of Section 415 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended.

7. It is agreed that in any action by the Telegraph Company to recover the tolls for any message or messages the prompt and correct transmission and delivery thereof shall be presumed, subject to rebuttal by competent evidence.

8. Special terms governing the transmission of messages according to their classes, as enumerated below, shall apply to messages in each of such respective classes in addition to all the foregoing terms.

9. No employee of the Telegraph Company is authorized to vary the foregoing.

4-54

CLASSES OF SERVICE

DOMESTIC SERVICES

TELEGRAM

The fastest domestic service.

DAY LETTER (DL)

A deferred same-day service, at low rates.

NIGHT LETTER (NL)

Economical overnight service. Accepted up to 2 A. M. for delivery the following morning at rates lower than the Telegram or Day Letter rates.

INTERNATIONAL SERVICES

FULL RATE (FR)

The fastest overseas service. May be written in code, cipher, or in any language expressed in Roman letters.

LETTER TELEGRAM (LT)

For overnight plain language messages, at half-rate. Minimum charge for 22 words applies.

SHIP RADIOGRAM

For messages to and from ships at sea.

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LETTER TELEGRAM (LT)

For overnight plain language messages, at half-rate. Minimum charge for 22 words applies.

SHIP RADIOGRAM

For messages to and from ships at sea.

TELEGRAM TO HOUSE SPEAKER ANTHONY TRAVIA
STATE ASSEMBLY
ALBANY, NEW YORK

THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) STRONGLY DEPLORES SENATE ACTION ON LAVERNE BILL, TO MAKE IT A MISDEMEANOR IF CITIZENS RESIST UNLAWFUL ARREST. THIS BILL IS CLEARLY UNCONSTITUTIONAL AND AT FIRST GLANCE, CLEARLY IS AIMED AT CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVISTS. CORE URGES DEFEAT OF THIS BILL IN THE ASSEMBLY. CORE IS APPALLED AT THE SPATE OF REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION NOW BEING PRESENTED IN VARIOUS LEGISLATURES AND WOULD URGE INFLUENTIAL LEGISLATORS SUCH AS YOURSELF TO CALL ATTENTION TO THIS SITUATION. RESPECT COMES FROM JUSTICE, NOT FROM PUNISHMENT, SAYS SENATOR WILLIAM THOMPSON OF BROOKLYN. WE AGREE.

SENT BY NIGHTLETTER MARCH 14, 1967 9:40 P.m.

Dear Don -

Lincoln asked me to send this & mail copy to you.

Gloria

DOMESTIC SERVICE
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram

TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1207 (4-55)

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			Telephone	

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To Right Honorable Hugh Sherer, Prime Minister ~~April 12,~~ 19 ~~67~~

Street and No. Kingston, Jamaica West Indies

Care of or Apt. No. _____ *Destination* _____

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) shares with you, the Government and the people of Jamaica deep sorrow over the untimely loss of the Right Honorable Sir Donald Sangster.

The torch of freedom has now been passed to your hands and CORE GREETS YOU WITH CONFIDENCE THAT YOU will lead this beautiful ~~land~~ decisively in the difficult days ahead.

Warmest greetings.

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director

Senders's name and address (For reference)
CORE-200 W. 135th St.

Sender', telephone number
281-9650

DOMESTIC SERVICE
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram

TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1207 (4-55)

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To _____ April 17 19 67

Street and No. _____

Care of or Apt. No. _____ *Destination* _____

THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY SUPPORTS THE PROPOSAL OF THE QUEENS CLINICAL SOCIETY TO PROVIDE A TRAINING PROGRAM, DAY CARE FOR CHILDREN AND ALL ASPECTS OF MEDICAL AND DENTAL CARE FOR THE DISADVANTAGED PEOPLE OF SOUTH JAMAICA. THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND THE GOALS FOR SOCIAL BETTERMENT DETAILED THEREIN MERIT WIDE APPROVAL.

WE, THEREFORE, URGE THAT YOU USE YOUR INFLUENCE TO ACHIEVE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE COMMUNITY PROGRAM OF QUEENS CLINICAL SOCIETY.

FLOYD B. McKISSICK
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

Senders's name and address (For reference)
CORE 200 W 135 St.

Sender's telephone number
281-9650

TELEGRAM TO BE SENT TO:

Mayor John Lindsay
City Hall
New York, N.Y.

Long Island Press
Press Bldg.
Jamaica 33, N.Y.

Sen. Robert F. Kennedy
Washington, D. C.

Sargent Shriver
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 19th St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20516

Bob Magnum
Regional Director OEO
40 E. 41 St.
New York, N.Y.

Sen. Jacob Javits
110 E. 45 St.
New York, N.Y.

Congressman Joseph P. Addabbo
96-11 101 Ave.
Ozone Park, N.Y.

Mr. Mitchell Sviridoff
Human Resources Administration
51 Chambers St.
New York, N. Y.

DOMESTIC SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram

TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

1207 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To _____ 4-20 1967

Street and No. _____

Care of or Apt. No. _____ *Destination* _____

Information from the South Jamaica Chapter of CORE has shown that the proposal of the Community Progress Center to provide medical and dental care for the disadvantaged people of South Jamaica is sound, comprehensive with wide aspects of community involvement and strong controls.

We urge that you use your influence to achieve implementation of that proposal which best serves the interest of the community.

This statement supersedes any previous announcement made by CORE.

Floyd B. McKissick, National Director

Senders's name and address (For reference)

200 W. 135th St. NYC. 10030

Sender's telephone number

281-9650

DOMESTIC SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram

TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

1207 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To _____ April 17 19 67

Street and No. _____

Care of or Apt. No. _____ *Destination* _____

THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY SUPPORTS THE PROPOSAL OF THE QUEENS CDINICAL SOCIETY TO PROVIDE A TRAINING PROGRAM, DAY CERE FOR CHILDREN AND ALL ASPECTS OF MEDICAL AND DENTAL CARE FOR THE DISADVANTAGED PEOPLE OF SOUTH JAMAICA. THE CONCEPT OF COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT AND THE GOALS FOR SOCIAL BETTERMENT DETAILED THEREIN MERIT WIDE APPROVAL.

WE, THEREFORE, URGE THAT YOU USE YOUR INFLUENCE TO ACHIEVE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE COMMUNITY PROGRAM OF QUEENS CLINICAL SOCIETY.

FLOYD B. McMISSICK
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

Senders's name and address (For reference)
CORE 200 W 135 St.

Sender's telephone number
281-9650

TELEGRAM TO BE SENT TO:

Mayor John Lindsay
City Hall
New York, N.Y.

Long Island Press
Press Bldg.
Jamaica 33, N.Y.

Sen. Robert F. Kennedy
Washington, D. C.

Sargent Shriver
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 19th St., NW
Washington, D.C. 20516

Bob Magnum
Regional Director OEO
40 E. 41 St.
New York, N.Y.

Sen. Jacob Javits
110 E. 45 St.
New York, N.Y.

Congressman Joseph P. Addabbo
96-11 101 Ave.
Ozone Park, N.Y.

Mr. Mitchell Sviridoff
Human Resources Adminstration
51 Chambers St.
New York, N. Y.

TELEGRAMS

12/3	John Doar (JF)	$1.62
12/6	G. Tracey (GH)	2.13
12/7	Mrs. Lehan (JF)	2.37
12/10	Washington CORE (NS)	1.25
12/15	Schenley (JF)	2.34
12/16	President	1.94
12/29	James Williams (NS)	2.37
12/30	Cecil Brown	1.99
January:		
1/13	Governor Carl Sanders	1.89
1/14		
1/14	Bertram Gross	1.35
Feb		
2/16	C. Robinson (Adv. Comm)	3.05
	W. Michaelson " "	3.05
	J. Williams " "	1.25

file

April 28, 1967

Mr. Owens, President
New York Bell Telephone Company
140 West Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Owens:

Today, Friday, April 28, I personally called your office to inform you of an intolerable situation. In your absence, I spoke with Mr. White of your office and relayed the following information:

At approximately 2:00 p.m., Thursday, April 27, my secretary, Irma Hellinger, received a call from an individual who identified himself as Michael Trotckel of Ridgewood, New York,

When he told Miss Hellinger that he wanted us to know he belonged to a group of about five hundred white people in Ridgewood, New York, who were arming themselves in preparation for a summer of racial violence, Miss Hellinger advised Tina Potter, a secretary in the office, who attempted to have the call traced.

Miss Hellinger kept the party talking. The man was apparently speaking on a pay telephone, but appeared willing to continue the conversation, elaborating on the plans of his friends to "shoot down Niggers." He reported that he personally possesses three cases of ammunition and a one hundred gage shotgun and that he was saving to get a machine gun. He would not, however, divulge his telephone number or address.

He continued to feed coins into the telephone for forty-five minutes and only hung up when someone else wanted to use the telephone. It took ten minutes for Miss Potter to reach the correct supervisor to trace this kind of call. We were later informed that the remaining thirty-five minutes of the conversation were not sufficient to trace the call.

Two months ago, we received another call from a woman on a private telephone who threatened to bomb a plane on which I was scheduled

to fly. At that time, Miss Hellinger spoke with the woman for over two hours, while the telephone company unsuccessfully tried to trace the call.

At that time, we registered complaints with various departments of the telephone company as well as the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the New York City Police Department.

We at that time were instructed that, should this incident recur, we should call the operator directly. It would appear that the operators are not adequately trained to deal with an emergency trace and seem uncertain of the procedures to be followed.

This afternoon, Miss Flatley of the Annoyance Department called and instructed us, should this happen yet again, to call the operator and ask for the Service Assistant for an Emergency Trace. We don't know why we were not so advised earlier. We also do not know why the operators are not sufficiently familiar with emergency procedures to be able to automatically refer a request for a trace to the proper authorities.

There is always the chance that the person making the threatening call means what he says. Only a person who is mentally ill would make such a call and, occasionally, he is sick enough to carry out his threats. One such call untraced can mean the difference between life and death for many innocent people.

This letter is being written so that these incidents will be recorded. There have been several other such incidents since I have become National Director of CORE. Not once since I have been National Director has a threatening call been successfully traced.

We feel that this situation must be corrected immediately and would appreciate hearing from you regarding ways in which this condition can be changed.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

FBMcK:ilh

Tel. Telephone Complaint

Jib

The City of New York

COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
80 LAFAYETTE STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10013
Telephone: 566-5050

WILLIAM H. BOOTH, *Chairman*
DAVID H. LITTER, *Vice Chairman*

In reply refer to: IN 123

JUN 6 1967

June 2, 1967

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York - 10030

Dear Floyd:

This will acknowledge receipt of a copy of your letter dated May 22, 1967, addressed to Commissioner Howard Leary of the New York City Police Department.

I am sure that Mr. Leary will give this matter prompt attention.

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter.

Sincerely yours,

Bill

William H. Booth
Chairman

P.S. Please advise me of any action by the Police Department.

C
O
P
Y

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030
212 281 9650

C
O
P
Y

May 22, 1967

Commissioner Howard Leary
New York City Police Department
240 Centre Street
New York, New York

Dear Commissioner Leary?

This letter is being written to document a deplorable situation.

On April 27, we received a call at our office from an individual who identified himself as Michael Trotckel, of Ridgewood, New York. He used obscene language and told my Assistant, Miss Hellinger, that he belonged to a group of "German-Aryans" in Ridgewood who were arming themselves for a summer of racial violence. He stated that he, personally, owned a one hundred gage shotgun and that he also owned three cases of ammunition and was saving his money to buy a machine gun. He stated that he and his friends belonged to an organization that was arming itself in order to be able to "shoot down Niggers."

Miss Hellinger, who told the party that her name was Barbara Barry, notified Tina Potter, a secretary in the office, to have the call traced. Although the caller spoke with Miss Hellinger for about an hour, the call was not traced. Complaints were immediately filed with Mr. Owens, President of the Telephone Company. A copy of our letter to Mr. Owens, dated April 28, is enclosed herewith.

Mr. Trotckel called two more times over a period of a few weeks. He was coherent and did not contradict any of his previous statements. In fact, he elaborated on them. He said that he is a roofer by trade, and spends his rainy afternoons in "my bar."

The third call was traced successfully, to the Ridgewood Inn, Bleeker Street and Underdunk Avenue, Brooklyn, New York EV 2 9870.

The police were notified and Miss Hellinger spoke with a detective from the 32nd precinct named Detective Perlitz. We were told that, should Michael Trotckel call again, to call the 32nd precinct

directly and that policemen would be dispatched to the Ridgewood Inn. We were led to understand that only if the party was apprehended on the telephone, could he possibly be picked up. We were told that a case would be filed under "Threatening Calls - Hellinger."

Mr. Trotckel called again on Thursday, May 11, and talked with Miss Hellinger for about forty five minutes. Upon questioning, he said he was five feet nine inches tall and weighed approximately one hundred eighty pounds. He said he was muscular and about forty years of age.

Miss Potter called the 32nd precinct. She spoke with Detective McPherson. Instead of immediate cooperation, she received such irrelevant questions as: "Is he black or white?" "How did you get his name?" "What does he look like?"

These were improper questions because they wasted valuable time that should have been spent in dispatching men to the scene, before the caller hung up. If this were done, chances of apprehending the caller on the telephone would have been greatly increased.

Detective McPherson called again and spoke with Miss Hellinger. He informed her that two men from the 104th precinct, under Detective Scully, had been sent to the scene. He told her that if someone by the name of Michael Trotckel who fit the general description was there, he would be picked up for questioning. Miss Hellinger assured Detective McPherson that she could identify the voice of the caller, since she had spoken with him for a prolonged period of time.

Detective McPherson called again to report that the Ridgewood Inn was a German-American type bar in Ridgewood and that two men fitting the general description of Michael Trotckel were present. He stated that the barmaid had been uncooperative that because of "the civil rights movement, the Police Department, cannot work as effectively as it once did." He was asked to explain the statement and replied that "two or three years ago, we could have gone in there and asked to see everybody's identification. But because of the civil rights movement, there is a law against that."

He further stated that, he would notify his superior of the situation and that if the case were considered "important enough" an undercover agent would be assigned to the bar, on rainy afternoons. We have not since heard from Detective McPherson.

Michael Trotckel called again on Thursday, May 18. He was jubilant because he had not been caught. He told Miss Hellinger that: "Well -- you almost got me, but I'm too smart for you. Those cops came in here looking for the guy who made the calls: But they didn't get me." He then used obscene language again and hung up.

The detectives must have been quite obvious about the fact that they were policemen and very implicit about their mission. It is plain that once the caller knew he was being pursued, he would either desist or find a new

location from which to make his calls.

A new and volatile situation now exists. This already sick man now has reason to hold a grudge against CORE in particular (his wrath was heretofore general -- it extended to all Black people.) He has special reason to bear a grudge against someone named Barbara Barry, who he knows to be my secretary. He apparently feels a need to talk about his obsessions and he thought he could talk to Barbara Barry without revealing too much of himself as she didn't know him personally. But she tried to trick him and it is difficult to assess his full reaction now.

The police, instead of relieving the situation, have made it worse. It is now potentially even more dangerous.

This incident raises serious questions as to the sincerity and/or competence of the New York City Police Department. The man making calls may or may not be personally dangerous. It is, however, apparent that he was telling a good deal of the truth. He did, in fact, call from Ridgewood -- in fact, a German-American area. All calls, except the last were placed on rainy afternoons, when a roofer would not be working.

His hatred and fear of Black people seems to be an all-important factor in his life. He stated, during the course of conversation with Miss Hellinger, that he had killed six men in the war and could kill again, "if it's a Nigger."

He may well be telling the truth when he says that his friends are organized and arming and, if such a group exists, there is no doubt, it is dangerous.

It would seem that such a situation would be "important enough," to assign an undercover man to the Ridgewood Inn on inclement afternoons. Perhaps a call could be placed by the police (not, of course, identifying themselves as police) to Michael Trotckel at the Ridgewood Inn, while another detective is in the bar, ready to make an arrest, or at least pick him up for questioning.

We are not particularly interested in the prosecution of this one, sick man. We are, however, interested in ending this continual harassment -- which has already cost our already overburdened staff many hours of time and a great deal of strain. We are most interested in the protection of the lives and welfare of innocent Black people who might be murdered this summer.

I am looking forward to hearing from you immediately regarding this situation.

Very truly yours,

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director

FBMcK:ilh
cc: Mayor John V. Lindsay, City Hall, New York, New York
William Booth, Commissioner of Human Rights, New York, New York
Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Albany, New York
Mr. James Brody, Federal Bureau of Investigation

New York Telephone Company
140 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10007
Area Code 212 394-5007

FRANCIS J. MOSES
Vice President

MAY 5 1967

File

May 4, 1967

Mr. Floyd B. McKissick, National Director
CORE
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030

Dear Mr. McKissick:

In the absence of our President, Mr. Owens, your letter was referred to me.

I was sorry to learn of the threatening calls made to your office, and can well understand your reaction to our delay in attempting to identify their source.

It is a matter of serious concern to us when the telephone is used in such an irresponsible manner, and I have asked Mr. W. T. Dailey, our District Traffic Superintendent, to look into the circumstances you described very carefully. He reports that our procedure covering such maters is being reviewed with all operators, and that special arrangements have been discussed with your staff to expedite tracing of any such calls in the future.

Mr. Dailey, and Mr. C. R. Johnson, our District Plant Superintendent, would like to acquaint you personally with our continuing efforts to improve techniques employed to combat illegal use of our service. They will be in touch with you shortly, and I hope you will find it convenient to grant them a few minutes of your time.

Thank you for bringing this situation to our attention.

Yours very truly,

F. J. Moses

Vice President

JUN 6 1967

THE CITY OF NEW YORK
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10007

May 31, 1967

Floyd B. McKissick
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030

Dear Mr. McKissick:

I am in receipt of a copy of your letter to Commissioner Howard Leary dated May 22nd.

I am confident that Commissioner Leary will thoroughly investigate this matter and I have asked him to report to me on his findings.

Sincerely,

John V. Lindsay

John V. Lindsay
MAYOR

cc: Howard R. Leary